

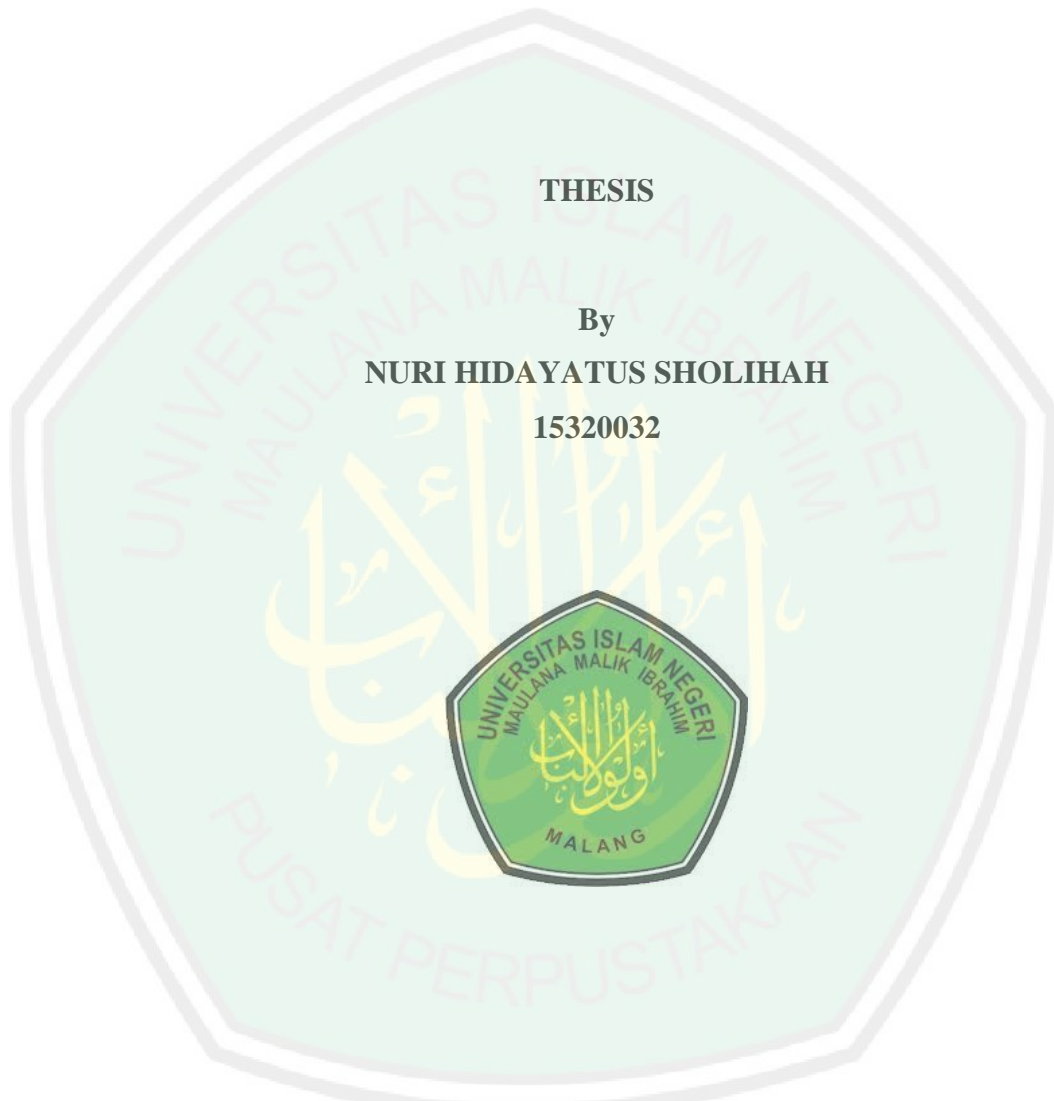
**SOCIAL ACTOR REPRESENTATION ANALYSIS ON *THE*
JAKARTA POST ONLINE NEWS OF PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTION**

THESIS

By

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**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK
IBRAHIM MALANG
2019**



**SOCIAL ACTOR REPRESENTATION ANALYSIS ON *THE*
JAKARTA POST ONLINE NEWS OF PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTION**

THESIS

Presented to

Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang

In partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Sarjana Sastra

By

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Malang, December 30th, 2019



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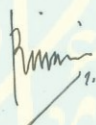
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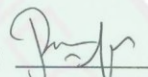
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MOTTO

“Prepare yourself as best you can for tomorrow before regret comes to you”



DEDICATION

This thesis is primarily dedicated to:

My beloved mother, AnifRosidah, and my lovely father, Sugiyono, who always gives me spirit, support, prayer, and love. For my lovely sisters and brothers, thank you very much a lot for endless love and prays. Also, my beloved partner, who always stand by my in joy and sorrow. Thank you very much for everything.



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All praises and gratitudes are sending to Allah SWT, the Lord of the universe. His mercies, blessings, and helps always stand behind me so that I can finish writing this thesis. God's mercies and blessings may always be poured down upon our beloved prophet Muhammad, the highest figure in the world, who guides us in the right way (Islam).

This thesis will never be completed without some contributions and supports from many people. Thus, my deepest gratitude is expressed to my advisor Agwin Degaf, M.A, for her valuable guidance and suggestions given to me.

Furthermore, I would like to express my profound gratitude to many people who contribute and motivate me to complete this thesis.

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As a result of this, this thesis would not be complete work without constructive suggestions from all readers. The writer expects this thesis would give a valuable contribution as an empirical base in the study of social actor representation and especially for the next researchers who are interested in discussing similar topics.

Malang, December 30th, 2019

The writer

Nuri Hidayatus Sholihah

ABSTRACT

Sholihah, Nuri, H. 2019. **Social Actor Representation Analysis on the Jakarta Post Online News of Presidential Election.** Thesis. Malang: English Literature Department, Faculty of Humanities, UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Advisor: Agwin Degaf, M.A.

Keywords: Social Actor Representation, Presidential Election, Online News.

Social actor representation (SAR) is an interesting topic to be analyzed. Through the analysis of the social actor in the news, it invites the reader to have critical thinking. Moreover, the representation of the social actor that analyzed is a famous person. In this research, the social actors proposed are the two pair candidates of the 2019 presidential election; Jokowi- Ma'ruf and Prabowo- Sandi. For this research, the researcher adopted news articles from the Jakarta Post online news with the limited time.

The research has consisted of two research questions. First is, how are the exclusion strategy used in the Jakarta Post online news to represent the social actor. Second is how are the inclusion strategy used in the Jakarta Post online news to represent the social actor. The researcher used the descriptive qualitative method. The result of this research was a descriptive analysis. In analyzing the data, the researcher used Van Leeuwen's theory. The theory of SAR is considered necessary in this research because it can influence a critical interpretation of the readers.

The researcher conducted this research by collecting the data from the Jakarta Post online news, classified the existing data using tables based on several strategies. After the researcher makes the table of findings, then the existing data in the table can be analyzed. Here, the researcher used the SAR theory proposed by Theo Van Leeuwen (2008). The SAR theory has consisted of two strategies; there are exclusion and inclusion strategies.

The result of this study shows that the journalist of the Jakarta Post mostly used inclusion strategy rather than the exclusion strategy. The strategy mostly used is identification. The journalist represented a social actor using an identity such as a class of people, age, gender, provenance, class, wealth, race-ethnicity, or religion. The identification strategy is mostly used to get support from the public. The identification is practical in figuring out and portraying a social actor. Journalists represent related to the identity that exists in a figure. The portrayal of the social actors through the identity attached to them can certainly invite more attention to the reader.

The researcher suggested for the next researcher who is interesting in this study to use another media, especially printed newspaper. Besides, it is better if the next researcher uses another approach to discourse analysis. Moreover, the use of other theories of discourse analysis is a better choice to deliver the result objectively.

ABSTRAK

Sholihah, Nuri, H. 2019. **Social Actor Representation Analysis on the Jakarta Post Online News of Presidential Election.** Skripsi. Malang: Jurusan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Advisor: Agwin Degaf, M.A.

Kata kunci: Social Actor Representation, Pemilihan Presiden, Berita Online.

Social actor representation (SAR) merupakan sebuah topik yang menarik untuk dianalisis. Melalui analisis aktor social pada pemberitaan, akan memancing pembaca untuk berpikir secara kritis. Terlebih jika aktor sosial yang diberitakan merupakan seseorang yang sangat penting. Dalam penelitian ini, aktor sosial yang dimaksud adalah dua pasangan kandidat pemilihan presiden 2019 yaitu Jokowi- Ma'ruf dan Prabowo- Sandi. Untuk penelitian ini, peneliti mengadopsi artikel berita yang diterbitkan oleh the Jakarta Post online dengan batasan waktu tertentu.

Penelitian ini terdiri dari dua rumusan masalah. Rumusan masalah yang pertama yaitu bagaimana strategi eksklusi digunakan pada berita online the Jakarta Post untuk merepresentasikan aktor sosial. Dan rumusan masalah yang kedua adalah bagaimana strategi inklusi digunakan pada berita online the Jakarta Post untuk merepresentasikan aktor sosial. Peneliti menggunakan metode kualitatif. Hasil dari penelitian ini berbentuk analisis deskriptif. Dalam menganalisis data yang ditemukan, peneliti menggunakan teori SAR (Van Leeuwen). Teori SAR dianggap penting dalam penelitian ini karena dapat mempengaruhi interpretasi kritis bagi para pembaca.

Peneliti menyelenggarakan penelitian ini dengan mengumpulkan data berupa berita dari the Jakarta Post online, kemudian mengklasifikasikan data yang tersedia menggunakan tabel berdasarkan beberapa strategi. Setelah membuat tabel penemuan, peneliti kemudian menganalisis data yang terpilih. Peneliti menggunakan teori yang dipelopori oleh Theo Van Leeuwen (2008). Teori SAR sendiri terdiri dari dua strategi yaitu eksklusi dan inklusi.

Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa wartawan the Jakarta Post paling sering menggunakan strategi inklusi dari pada strategi eksklusi. Wartawan merepresentasikan aktor sosial menggunakan identitasnya seperti usia, jenis kelamin, latar belakang, kekayaan, etnis, atau agama. Strategi identifikasi sering digunakan untuk mendapat dukungan dari masyarakat. Identifikasi ini praktis dalam menggambarkan dan mencitrakan aktor sosial. Penggambaran aktor sosial melalui identitas yang melekat pada mereka tentu mengundang perhatian yang lebih pada pembaca.

Peneliti menyarankan pada peneliti selanjutnya yang tertarik pada studi semacam ini untuk menggunakan media lain seperti koran cetak. Akan lebih baik jika peneliti selanjutnya menggunakan pendekatan selain analisis wacana. Terlebih, penggunaan teori selain analisis wacana merupakan pilihan terbaik untuk menyuguhkan hasil secara objektif.

مستخلص البحث

نوري هداية الصالحة، 2019، تحليل نيابة عن الممثل الاجتماعي (*Social Actor Representation*) في أخبار جاكارتا بوست عبر الإنترنت للانتخابات الرئاسية. البحث الجامعي، قسم الأدب الإنجليزي، كلية العلوم الإنسانية، جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية بمالانج.

المشرف: أغوين ديغاف، ماجستير

الكلمات الرئيسية: تحليل نيابة عن الممثل الاجتماعي، انتخاب الرئيس، الأخبار عبر الإنترنت.

كان تحليل نيابة عن الممثل الاجتماعي (SAR) موضوع مرموق تحليلها. تحليل نيابة عن الممثل الاجتماعي يستطيع أن يدعو القارئ إلى التفكير النقدي عندما يقرأ الأخبار. علاوة على ذلك، إذا كان الممثل الاجتماعي الذي ذكر هو شخص مهم. في هذه الدراسة، المقصود بالممثل الاجتماعي هو اثنين من المرشحين للانتخابات الرئاسية سنة 2019 بإندونيسيا وهو جوكو ويدودو-معروف أمين (Jokowi-Maruf Amin) وبرابوو-سندي (Prabowo-Sandi). ثم قام الباحثة باعتماد المواد من الأخبار التي يتم نشرها من قبل صحيفة جاكارتا بوست عبر الإنترنت مع حدود الوقت المحدد.

تتألف الدراسة من مشكلتين. المشكلة الأولى كيف استراتيجية الإفصاء المستخدمة في الأخبار على شبكة الإنترنت صحيفة جاكارتا بوست أن تمثل الجهات الممثالا اجتماعية. والمشكلة الثانية هي كيف استراتيجية الإدماج التي تستخدم في الأخبار على شبكة الإنترنت صحيفة جاكارتا بوست لتمثيل الجهات الممثل الاجتماعي. ولإجابة المشكلات، استخدمت الباحثة طريقة من الوصفية النوعية (*descriptive analysis*). ولذلك النتائج من هذه الدراسة يتكون من التحليل الوصفي. في تحليل البيانات الموجودة، استخدمت الباحثة نظرية نيابة عن الممثل الاجتماعي (SAR) لفان ليوين (Van Leeuwen). تعتبر هذه النظرية في البحث موقفا هاما لأنه يمكن أن يؤثر المجتمع الذي يقرأ الأخبار في التفسير النقدي.

وأجريت الباحثة هذا البحث من خلال جمع البيانات في شكل أخبار من جاكارتا بوست عبر الإنترنت، ثم تصنيف البيانات المتاحة باستخدام جداول تستند إلى عدة استراتيجيات، ثم

قامت الباحثة بتحليل البيانات المحددة بناء على نظرية SAR لثيو فان ليوين (2008). وتتكون من الاستراتيجيين وهي استبعاد (*exclusion*) وإدراج (*inclusion*).

ومن النتائج البحث قد أظهرت أن الصحافي من قبل جاكرتا بوست أكثر في كثير من الأحيان استخدام استراتيجية الإدماج من على استراتيجية الإقصاء. استراتيجية التضمين التي يتم استخدامها غالبًا هي استراتيجية هوية (*identification*). استخدام الاستراتيجيات بسبب جهة محددة.

تشير نتائج هذه الدراسة إلى أن صحفيي جاكرتا بوست يستخدمون استراتيجية التضمين أكثر من إستراتيجية الاستبعاد. يمثل الصحفيون ممثلين اجتماعيين يستخدمون هوياتهم مثل العمر أو الجنس أو الخلفية أو الثروة أو العرق أو الدين. غالبًا ما تستخدم استراتيجيات تحديد الهوية للحصول على الدعم من المجتمع. يعتبر هذا التعريف عمليًا في وصف وتصوير العناصر الاجتماعية الفاعلة ، ومن المؤكد أن تصوير العناصر الاجتماعية الفاعلة من خلال هويتها المتأصلة يستدعي مزيدًا من الاهتمام تقترح الباحثة على الباحث التالي المهتم بهذا النوع من الدراسة استخدام وسائط أخرى مثل. للقارئ الصحف المطبوعة. سيكون من الأفضل إذا استخدم الباحث التالي مقارنة أخرى غير تحليل الخطاب. علاوة على ذلك ، فإن استخدام نظريات غير تحليل الخطاب هو أفضل خيار لتقديم النتائج بموضوعية.

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APPENDIXES



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is an introduction to the thesis. It contains information about research background, statement of the problem, the objectives of the study, significance of the study, scope and limitation, the definition of the key terms, research method, data and data source, research instrument, data collection, and data analysis.

A. Background of the Research

Indonesia has an event that is held every five years, called the presidential election. This year, the presidential election held on April 17th, 2019. The presidential election is a medium to conduct sovereignty in Indonesia. The presidential election is a process to select one of the existing candidates who will be the leader of the country. The presidential election aims are to give democracy country, in which the leaders are based on the majority of populace voices. At the time of the election, there are many discourses turned up about the presidential candidates. Therefore, the presidential election moment is a controversial situation with any issues that always discussed. The issues can occur in any resources such as television programs, social media, print newspapers, and also online news. From this situation, the researcher chose to do analyzing the social actor representation through media coverage. The media coverage here means in online news that is the Jakarta Post online.

The Jakarta Post is one of the Indonesian media written in the English language. It was reported about Indonesia's country and also international issues.

The Jakarta Post also owns the political news content. Therefore, the researcher found the online news texts from the Jakarta Post online news as the data. For this study, the researcher took news text in the Jakarta Post start on January 18th, 2019, up to February 16th, 2019. The date was after the debate, until close the second president's debate that is held on February 17th, 2019. The appointed time was the appropriate time to be filtering the news. It is the time that has the influence is getting debatable news after the first round of debate. Moreover, there are some events that make controversial issues during the first debate. Therefore, it becomes a unique issue that interest to be analyzed. From the collected data during one month above, the researcher analyzed the data with a discourse analysis (DA) approach.

Discourse analysis can be useful in many fields that focused on communication, sociology, psychology, or anthropology. Discourse analysis is an approach concerning social relations like dominance and solidarity. Discourse analysis is the difference from critical discourse analysis, which regarded the use of language in speech and written text as a social practice (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). A critical discourse analysis influenced the dialectical relation between a discursive event with the situation, institution, and social structure. Critical discourse analysis sees the language as an essential factor, how the language used to see the social lameness. For this research, the discourse analysis approach used to investigate the discourses in the news article.

In this research, the researcher used the discourse analysis approach through the theory proposed by Van Leeuwen (2008) to analyze the data. Social actor

representation (SAR) by Theo Van Leeuwen is the theory for understanding how the group or people marginal their position in discourse. Social actors are significant because social actors are important to be analyzed in discourse (Koller, 2009). The social actor in this research means the two pair candidates; Jokowi-Ma'ruf and Prabowo-Sandi. In Van Leeuwen's theory, there are two kinds of categories used to analyze how the social actors represented. The two categories are exclusion and inclusion. In exclusion, there are groups or social actors that have been eliminated from the news. In inclusion, the inclusion is to analyze how social actors are shown in a report. Both exclusion and inclusion, there are distinguished into several categories as the strategy to analyze the discourses.

Related to the theory proposed above, the researcher takes news texts on the Jakarta Post during the presidential election as the object of the study. The researcher takes the news article as an object because it is a hot issue that is being debated to meet the upcoming presidential election of this year. Besides, the Jakarta post is complete toward presidential election issues than other platforms, such as Instagram, Twitter, or other social media. This study will be focused on the news article about the presidential election after the first round of the debate.

There are previous studies related to this study. The first study is; *Newspaper Ideology: A Critical Discourse Analysis of News Headlines on Syrian Refugees in Published Newspapers* (Ulum, 2016). This study was about a newspaper's analysis that used the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis. The data were the headlines of the newspaper. Through Van Dijk's theory, the researcher found about western editor approach the issue by looking at the

problem in terms of how Europe can withstand such a high flow of Syrians into the union.

Second, *The Representation of Social Actors in Top-Notch Text Book Series: A Critical Discourse Analysis* (Davari and Moini, 2016). This research identifies how English language teaching textbooks portrayed male and female social actors. Third, *Ideology in News Reports: Al- Jazeera Reporters as Representative: A Critical Discourse Analysis* (Duleimi and Ebadi, 2016). The study aims are to find out whether reporters are neutral in their media coverage or they have an ideology which accords with one of the warring parties of the conflict.

Fourth, *Critical Discourse Analysis in Donald Trump Presidential campaign to win American's Hear* (Ranchman and Yunianti, 2017). There are four findings for this study are, the utterances that illustrated political discourse in Donald Trump's speech, the way he delivered his political discourse, the aim of the utterances, and the effect of the utterances to people. The last previous study is *A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of Iranians in a Western Movie, "Not Without My Daughter"* (Rahmi and Amirian, 2017). The analysis shows the dichotomy of in-group favoritism vs. out-group derogation is a very effective discursive strategy at the disposal of the moviemakers who have used language as a weapon to attack Iran by representing an unrealistic image of Iranians history, culture, and ideologies.

From the previous studies that already mentioned before, there are significant differences between previous studies with research conducted by this

researcher. The object of this research is online news text. It was different from previous studies. In the previous studies, there is research on the same object (news) with this research. The research conducted by Ulum already focuses on the headline of printed newspapers only. In this study, the researcher describes all of the news articles. Besides, the data was found in the online news texts of the Jakarta Post. The researcher analyzes all of the articles online news with the specified time. The objective of this research is to describe the strategies used by the Jakarta Post that represented the social actor. Besides, the researcher uses different theories from previous studies. Other researchers mostly used Theo Van Leeuwen's theory in some parts, exclusion or inclusion. While in this research, the researcher uses all of the strategies proposed by Theo Van Leeuwen (exclusion and inclusion). The result of this study describes how the social actor represented through the exclusion or inclusion strategies, and also the dominant strategies used by the Jakarta Post online news.

B. Research Problem

Generally, this study will find out how the social actor represented in the news text in the Jakarta post online news. Specifically, this study divided into two statements:

1. How are the exclusion strategies used in the Jakarta post online news to represent the social actor?
2. How are the inclusion strategies used in the Jakarta post online news to represent the social actor?

C. Research Objectives

According to the research questions above, the researcher describes the objective as follows:

1. To describe the way social actors represented in the Jakarta post online news by the exclusion strategy.
2. To describe the way social actors represented in the Jakarta Post online news by the inclusion strategy.

D. Significance of the Research

The researcher has several aims from this social actor representation analysis of the presidential election seen from discourse analysis. Theoretical, this study provides a theoretical contribution to the sense of enriching the knowledge for linguistics. Reading the use of Theo Van Leeuwen's theory in this research is essential to the reader because there are some ways to represent the social actor (SA). Therefore, the reader understood how the theory used and what aims of represented SA in particular strategies. Practically, this study invites the reader to revive critical thinking awareness. By the exclusion and inclusion strategies, the readers have critical thinking of the news is written, and it comes to be. Besides, this study expected to be useful to give valuable knowledge about discourse analysis focusing on social actor representation.

E. Scope and Limitation

This research is focused on how the social actor, both Jokowi- Ma'ruf Amin and Prabowo – Sandi, were represented by the Jakarta Post. Due to the limitation, the researcher took from the Jakarta post online news. The researcher took news

text in the Jakarta post start on January 18th, 2019, up to February 16th, 2019. Why the researcher focused on that date? It caused by the date was after the presidential debate, until the second president's debate that is held on February 17th 2019. The appointed time was the right time to be filtering the news. It is the time that has an influence on the public with interesting topic issues. For the specified time, the researcher found 12 news texts that analyzed. The researcher analyzes the existing data through the theory of Theo Van Leeuwen (2008) with Eriyanto (2008) as support in order to easier understanding the theory. The researcher uses two strategies (exclusion and inclusion) proposed by Van Leeuwen.

F. Definition of Key Terms

1. Social Actor Representation

For this research, the researcher uses the theory of social actor analysis (SAR) from Van Leeuwen (2008). Theo Van Leeuwen's framework is used to investigate how the social actor is represented by the writer (the writer, in this case, is the journalist). Because the data that analyzed is the news text of the presidential election, so the social actor means are the two candidates of presidential election 2019, Jokowi- Ma'ruf and Prabowo- Sandi. For analyzing the representation of social actors, Van Leeuwen has two kinds of strategies. The first strategy is exclusion, which consists of passivation, activation, and nominalization. The second strategy is inclusion, which consists of differentiation- indifferenciation- genericization- specification,

nomination-categorization-functionalization- identification, assimilation-individualization, and association- disassociation.

2. The Jakarta Post

The Jakarta Post is a daily newspaper using the English language. This media also has a weekly edition on Sunday. Besides print newspaper and Sunday edition, the Jakarta post has the online news which not published in print newspapers.

3. Presidential Election

A presidential election is a political event that essential to conduct the power in a country which has democracy principle. In a democracy, the presidential election also a process of replacement position based on the constitution. For the election, all society has the authorization to choose one of the candidates.

G. Research Method

For this study, the researcher is dividing the research method into four stages. The four stages are research design, research instrument, stages of the data collection, and data collection. The material of this research is the text of online news in the Jakarta Post. The discourse analysis discovered the meaning of data. The qualitative approach is used in this research because the researcher describes the research problem through description and explanation. Descriptive research is applied in this study because this descriptive method would be richly described in the research.

1. Research Instrument

In this research, the researcher is the primary instrument. There is personal involvement of the researcher in collecting, analyzing, and producing the data. It is because the qualitative data cannot be collected by measuring the statistical process, questionnaire, or interview. The researcher found 12 news texts on the Jakarta post online news.

2. Data and Data Source

The data for this research is a form of words, clauses, phrases, and sentences. The researcher found 12 data of news text in the Jakarta post online news. Those twenty-two texts are found after the first debate up to before the second debate. The data sources of this research are the news text after the first round of candidate debate on the Jakarta post online. The researcher analyzed how the social actor has shown based on the theory used. The researcher found the news that used as the data source from the link www.thejakartapost.com because this is an official link which trusted as the source.

3. Data Collection

The researcher collected the data in several steps. Firstly, the researcher found the data from the internet. Secondly, data is selected from the news texts on the Jakarta post online. In this part, the news text took from January 18th until February 16th, which is the time after the first debate of the candidate. The last, the data are arranged systematically in the following research focus. The researcher analyzed

the data by using a discourse analysis approach. The theory that used is the social actor representation (SAR) theory by Theo Van Leeuwen (2008).

4. Data Analysis

The researcher analyzed the existing data through several steps. First, the researcher uses the aggregate data from the Jakarta Post online news in the specified time. Second, the researcher categorized the data appropriate based on the theory proposed by Van Leeuwen (2008). The researcher took the collecting data into a table of findings in order to make it easier for analysis. The data were consists of exclusion and inclusion strategy. Exclusion strategies consists of, passivation and nominalization. Inclusionstrategies , consists of, differentiation-indifferentiation, genericization- specification, nomination-categorization,functionalization-identification, assimilation-individualization, and association- dissociation. Third, the researcher explained how the strategies used in the text based on the table of findings. Fourth, the researcher discussed the result of the research. The last, the researcher made a conclusion based on the result for answered the researchfocus.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter contains two parts of the discussion. The first one is the theoretical framework, which have the basic theory of analyzing and investigate the data in this research. The second one is previous studies, which give the readers a slight overview of the related topic that has been previously investigated.

H. Discourse Analysis

The term “discourse” is utter a variety of expert interpretation. Van Leeuwen defined critical discourse by placing the discourse as a construction that is not neutral. The discourse is a manifestation of social action that produced a goal to be achieved by the speaker. From the definition above, there are two types for analyzing the discourse. The first is discourse analysis, and the second is critical discourse analysis. Discourse analysis means to analyze the language used. Van Dijk explained that analysis is the process of discourse analysis of language use and goal in obtaining a description explicitly and systematically.

Eriyanto (2008) explains the differences between discourse analysis (DA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA). There are three points of view concerning language in discourse analysis patterns. Firstly is positivist- empirical, based on this point, syntax, and semantics hardly used in analyzing the discourse. Secondly is constructivism, this part influenced by phenomenology. Contrast with the positivist- empirical, constructivism is not only seen that language as a tool for

understanding the objective reality. Constructivism is considered the subject as a central factor in discourse and social relations. Therefore, discourse as an analysis to open specific purposes and meanings. Thirdly is critical; this point related to constructivism. The critical purpose is to obtain a deep understanding of constructivism, which less sensitive in processing meaning historically or institutionally.

In this research, the researcher uses a discourse analysis approach, with the theory of social actor representation (SAR) by Van Leeuwen. The theory consists of exclusion and inclusion strategy. The social actor is shown as partially or eliminated. The process of exclusion is realized by three strategies, namely; passive, nominalization, and activation. Inclusion is concerned about how the social actor represented in discourse. The inclusion process is realized by differentiation-indifferentiation, genericization- specification, nomination-categorization, functionalization- identification, assimilation- individualization, and association- dissociation. Those types of approaches can be references to review more detail on how the position of the social actor in a discourse. The existing strategies of some experts can be used to analyze how the social actor represented through each version of strategies, including the theory of social actor representation by Theo Van Leeuwen.

I. Social Actor Representation

For this research, the researcher uses the theory of Theo Van Leeuwen (2008) with support from Eriyanto (2008) in order to easier understanding the theory. Theo Van Leeuwen introduced a discourse analysis model for analyzing

how the group or people marginal their position in the discourses (Eriyanto, 2008). The dominant group is more in control of the interpretation of the event and also the meaning. While the other groups which in lower position tend to be objects of meaning, in other terms described as bad. Van Leeuwen's theory shows how are sides and actors shown in a report. The theory of Van Leeuwen introduced a general model for drawing how to represent the social actor on the news. There are two kinds of Van Leeuwen views; there are exclusion and inclusion strategies. In exclusion, Van Leeuwen explained how social actors are included in the news. The second one is inclusion. Inclusion has a relation with how each group of people shown in a report.

1. Exclusion

Exclusion is an essential strategy of critical discourse analysis (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Some exclusion leaves no traces in the representation, excluding both the social actor and their activities. Here, the social actor represented excluded in the context. Exclusion consists of two parts, as follows:

a) Passivation

Theo Van Leeuwen has activation and passivation type in inclusion strategy. Here, the researcher put the passivation as in exclusion. It based on Eriyanto (2008) he had some differences point of sequence without changing the purpose or element of each strategy. Activation strategy is a representation of social actor by an active voice, here the social actor may be included in the text. Passivation strategy is happened when the

social actor represented as “undergoing” the activity, or as being "at the receiving end of it." Passivation can be proof through grammatical participant roles, transitivity structures in which activated social actors are coded as an actor in material processes (Halliday, 1985).

For example, *the anniversary event was held concurrently with a declaration of support for the incumbent by a group of volunteers*. The sentence was focused on something that happened here concerning to anniversary event held by volunteers. The focus is on the processes or something that happened rather than on the people carrying them out. Therefore, the social actor here is excluded from the text because the object is tended to show.

b) Nominalization

Nominalization belongs to the social actor's exclusion. This strategy often used to lose the social actor. For this strategy, Van Leeuwen (2008) gives an example analysis of news articles, *"the level of support for stopping immigration altogether was at a post-war high."* The example that already mentioned has the function as nominals, although, in that sentence, they refer to actions. The excluded social actors may be included; it can be through phrases which are modified with *by, from, of*, etc.

Based on the use of nominalization, the social actors excluded from the text. Van Leeuwen (2008) put the nominalization strategy into suppression as the third way to analyze. By adopting Van

Leeuwen's theory, Eriyanto (2001) uses nominalization in a different way, which is the second part of exclusion. From the different diversification, the researcher agrees with Eriyanto's division, which more specific way and without involved "nominalization" into suppression strategy.

2. Inclusion

Inclusion strategy is the contrast with the exclusion strategy. Exclusion tries to hide or delayed the existing social actor. Inclusion is a process of presenting the social actor through a particular action within the discourse. Representing the social actor through inclusion strategy consists of several ways: differentiation- indifferenciation, genericization- specification, nomination- categorization, functionalization- identification, assimilation- individualization, and association- disassociation.

a) Activation

Activation is a strategy that addresses the verb change as a noun. Usually, a suffix is given before a word. The active or nominal sentence does not only eliminate the subject, but also it can change the meaning of the sentence when the reader accepts it. Activation involves modifying the verb into a noun. Essentially, activation requires an object because activation is one of the strategies to modify the object that represents an actor intervention.

For example, "*Joko "Jokowi" Widodo **ended** the first presidential election debate on Thursday night with a strong closing statement that appeared to slam rival PrabowoSubianto, whom himself made several*

controversial remarks during the event.”The word “*ended*” is a verb which located after the subject. The subject here is Joko Widodo as a doer from the verb. The subject in this sentence is mentioned clearly. The activation way is included in the inclusion strategy because the social actor here included in the text. It is not the same as passivation, which excluded the social actor from the text.

b) Differentiation and Indifferentiation

Eriyanto (2008: 179) argued that a social actor or a phenomenon could be shown individually or by including another actor. The included of other social actors or groups can be a symbol of how the social actor was represented. This is a strategy to make a social actor excellent or bad. According to Van Leeuwen, "differentiation" is a strategy to show the differences an individual social actor or group. It creating the difference between the self and the other.

For example, “*the opposition camp, however, often criticized Jokowi’s administration for relying on foreign loans for infrastructure development across the country, with the Prabowo and running mate Sandiaga Uno promising they would develop infrastructure without foreign loans.*” The occasion to Prabowo’s entrenchment to denounce by way of promising that Prabowo creates infrastructure development without foreign loans. The example above occurs prejudice, and it will be a boundary of both social actors.

c) Genericization and Specification

In this strategy, between genericization and specification represent whether the social actor showed as classes, individuals, or specific. Usually, the text categories as genericization or specification are existed by showing the concrete or abstract information. The reference is specific since we have in mind specific specimens of the social class. Besides, it also can be genericization by mentioned as abstract, such as the former supporter. For the different deliver, it also makes the societies have different perceptions in the meaning.

For example, (1) *former supporters of Jokowi, in particular, have expressed their discontent with the incumbent, especially after the announcement of cleric Ma'ruf Amin as his running mate last August,* 2) *Sri Mulyani has expressed their discontent with the incumbent, especially after the announcement of cleric Ma'ruf Amin as his running mate last August.* There is a different impression between the use of the clear and unclear name. In the first sentence, the use of unclear name (former supporters), which means as plural shows that some people disappointed with the decision that Ma'ruf Amin as a running mate of Jokowi. While in the second sentence, the use of "Sri Mulyani" contains specific meaning.

d) Nomination and Categorization

Social actors can be represented either in terms of their unique identity, by being *nominated*, or in terms of identities and functions they share with others (*categorization*), and almost always of interest to

investigate which social actors are, in a given discourse, categorized and which nominated. For instance, nameless characters fulfill only passing, functional roles and do not become points of identification for the reader or listener. How a middle-class newspaper nominated only a high-status person, a government minister, while a working-class-oriented newspaper, in an article on the same topic, nominated “ordinary people.” For example, in defined something, the press or not only the press also tends to nominate men and women in different ways, for instance by referring to marital status only in the case of women or by referring to a female officer as “a captain,” rather than as “Captain Carole Maychill.”

Categorization is a strategy used to represent the social actor through the unique identity, high status, ordinary people, or occupation. For example: “*Running mate Sandiaga Uno, on the other hand, needs no help in that department, with multiple polls showing that young people are drawn to his image as a successful **businessman**.*” The word “*businessman*” shows that a social actor represented by the unique identity of himself. In showing the word “businessman”, probably the journalist unintentionally that it invites public interest for the vice president of Prabowo.

e) Functionalization - Identification

Van Leeuwen has differentiated the two categories as functionalization and identification. Functionalization occurs when social actors are referred to in terms of activity, in terms of something they do, for instance, occupation or role. Functionalization is typically realized in one of the following ways: first, by a noun, formed from a verb, through suffixes such as *-er*, *-ant*, *-ent*, *-ian*, *-ee*, e.g., “*interviewer*,” “*celebrant*,” “*correspondent*,” “*guardian*,” “*payee*”; second, by a noun which denotes a place or tool closely associated with an activity; third, by the compounding of nouns denoting places or tools closely associated with an activity and highly generalized categorizations, such as “*man*,” “*woman*,” “*person*,” “*people*”.

For the identification here can occur when social actors are defined, not in terms of what they do, but in terms of what they, more or less permanently, or unavoidable. Van Leeuwen had distinguished three types: *classification*, *relational identification*, and *physical identification*. In the case of classification, social actors are referred to in terms of the significant categories using which a given society or institution differentiates between classes of people. Include age, gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, and so on. Relational identification is proofed by showing their personal, kinship, or work relations with each other, such as; friend, colleague, aunt, etc.

Physical identification realized by physical characteristics uniquely, for example, blind, blonde, curly, etc. The example of identification strategy is; “*Donning white shirt, white scarf, traditional black peci and his sarong, Ma’ruf become the talk of the town.*” The sentence above shows the identity of Ma’ruf Amin self. It was included in classification type because peci and sarong are Ma’ruf Amin’s identity. It shows his religiosity. As the country that has many adherents of Islam, the identity of Ma’ruf Amin becomes a unique value for Moslem people.

f) Assimilation – Individualization

Van Leeuwen (2008: 37) was defined assimilation as the social actors which can be referred to as individuals or as groups. Given the high value which is placed on individuality in many spheres of our society (and the value placed on conformity in others), these categories are of primary significance in critical discourse analysis. Van Leeuwen distinguished the significant kinds of assimilation into two; aggregation and collectivization. The former quantifies groups of participants, treating them as statistics, the latter does not.

Aggregation plays a crucial role in many contexts. In our society, the majority rules, not just in contexts in which formal democratic procedures are used to arrive at decisions, but also and especially in others, through mechanisms such as opinion polls, surveys, marketing research, etc. Even legislative reform is increasingly based on "what most people consider legitimate." For this reason, aggregation is often used to

regulate the practice and to manufacture consensus opinion, even though it presents itself as merely recording facts. Individualization can be realized by singularity and assimilation by plurality. For the alternative way, assimilation can be realized by a mass noun or a noun denoting a group of people.

g) Association - Dissociation

Association refers to groups formed by social actors or groups of social actors (either generically or individually referred to), which are never labeled in the text (although the actors or groups who make up the association may, of course, themselves be named or categorized). The example of the use an association strategy is “*Prabowo’s support among conservative Muslims, including former sympathizer of the now-banned **Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)**, has led to rumors that he would turn Indonesia into an Islam-based state if he was elected.*”

Association can also be realized by “circumstances of accompaniment” (Halliday, 1985: 141), as in the sentence, “They played “higher and higher” with the other children.” In this case, the association is, perhaps, even more, fleeting and unstable. Possessive pronouns and possessive attributive clauses with verbs like “have” and “belong” can make an association explicit without naming the resulting social grouping. In this case, however, the association is represented as more stable, enduring, and, indeed, “possessive,” as in this example, where “problems” are an abstract reference to a specific kind of immigrant.

From the theories above, the researcher used the theory of Van Leeuwen to analyze the existing data. The data has consisted of news articles published on the Jakarta Post online. The researcher describes how the social actor represented in this media. The inclusion and exclusion strategy will be investigated in the Jakarta Post online news of reporting the social actor.

J. The Jakarta Post

The Jakarta Post is one of the English daily newspaper survivors of the 1997 Asia financial crisis and currently has a circulation of 40.000 copies. The Jakarta Post also has Sunday editions and online, which are not published in the newspaper edition. The target of today's readers is the educated foreign and Indonesian people, despite the ever-increasing number of Indonesian readers from the middle class. The Jakarta Post has won numerous awards and has been called "Indonesia's most prominent English daily." The Jakarta Post is a member of the Asia news network.

For the history of the Jakarta Post, this media is an idea of illumination minister Ali Moertopo and politician Jusuf Wanandi. At that time, there were two English daily, Indonesia times and Indonesian observe. However, because of the negative public perception of newspapers, they decided to make new ones. The contents of the Jakarta post are Indonesian and also international issues.

From those descriptions about the Jakarta Post, the researcher wants to take the data (news article) to analyze. Here the data used is about political issues during the presidential debate. Which is now is a time of severe political issues

circulating across any media, such as social media, television, or news. News article which taken by the researcher is from online news of the Jakarta Post.

K. Political News

Political news is an expansive part of reporting that incorporates the inclusion of all parts of legislative issues and political theory, even though the term, for the most part, alludes explicitly to the inclusion of governments and political force. Political journalism intends to give voters the data to plan their feeling and partake in the network, nearby, or national issues that will influence them. Political journalism, as often as possible, incorporates sentiment news coverage, as present political occasions can be one-sided in their revealing.

Nyhan and Sides (2011) contend that "journalists who report on governmental issues are now and again new to political theory research or question its importance to their work." Journalists covering legislative issues who are new to data that would give setting to their accounts can empower the story to take an alternate turn on what is being accounted for.

Political news coverage is given through various mediums, in print, communicate, or web-based announcing. Advanced media use has expanded, and it gives moment inclusion of the crusade, legislative issues, occasional news, and an open stage for the applicant. News sources known for their political reporting, similar to the Jakarta Post has expanded their utilization of this medium too. Printed, on the web, and communicate political amusingness displayed as

excitement has been utilized to give reports on parts of government status, political news, battle, and political decision refresh. The data may not be considered "counterfeit news," however, the lines among amusement and truthful news may appear to be obscured or one-sided while giving legislative updates.

This sort of news is examined, deciphered, and talked about by news media intellectuals and editorialists. It can need objectivity, which can forestall the precision of the introduced data. The revealing of news with a one-sided perspective can likewise remove the crowd's capacity to shape their very own feeling or convictions about what has been accounted for. This sort of detailing is emotional with a potential social or political reason.

L. Previous Studies

Many researchers have been researched the discourse analysis field. Here, the researcher took several previous studies. First is *Ideology in News Reports: Al-Jazeera Reporters as Representative: A Critical Discourse Analysis*. This research is about analysis to investigate the way reporter of Al- Jazeera English Satellite Channel uses to convey events and actions during the Syrian crisis. The aim of this study is whether reporters are neutral in their media coverage or they have an ideology which accords with one of the warring parties of the conflict. For this research, the researcher is using the theory of Van Dijk (1998).

The second research is *The Representation of Social Actors in Top-Notch Text Book Series: A Critical Discourse Analysis*. The purpose of this study is to investigate the English language teaching textbooks portrayed male and female

social actors according to their social roles and gender identities. The researcher was chosen Top Notch series to identify the linguistic representation of male and female social actors and the construction of gender identities in ELT textbooks. They are focused on analyzing the series in terms of features. Doing this research, the researcher used two analytical models from Van Leeuwen and Halliday. The result of the study is giving significant differences in the representation of male and female social actors in some discursive features. Based on the result of the study, male social actors were described as more autonomous, successful, and active compared to female social actors.

The third research is *Newspaper Ideology: A Critical Discourse Analysis of News Headlines on Syrian Refugees in Published Newspapers*. This study was about newspaper analysis to the Critical Discourse Analysis perspective. The data that analyzed were the headlines of the newspaper. This is a cross-cultural study that investigates the ideologies of newspapers from different cultures. The findings of the study were understood that western editors approach the issue by looking at the problem in terms of how Europe can withstand such a high flow of Syrians into the union, Turkish media sees the issue referring to the fact that Syrians on the way to Europe are in hard conditions.

The fourth study is *Critical Discourse Analysis in Donald Trump Presidential Campaign to win American Heart*. This research is analyzing Donald Trump's utterances in his presidential campaign in November 2015. There are four findings for this study are the utterances that illustrated political discourse in Donald Trump's speech, how the way he delivered his political discourse, the

purpose of the utterances and the effect on society. The utterances were being analyzed using Van Dijk thematic theory.

The fifth study is *A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of Iranians in a Western Movie, "Not Without My Daughter."* For this study, the researcher used Van Dijk theory to find out the ideological manipulations and misrepresentations of the movie. The analysis shows that the dichotomy of in-group favoritism vs. out-group derogation is a very effective discursive strategy at the disposal of the moviemakers who have used language as a weapon to attack Iran by representing an unrealistic image of Iranians history, culture, and ideologies.

Based on the previous studies above, the differences from this study are: Ulum presents the research on the newspaper, but the focus only on the headlines. While in this study, the researcher will analyze all of the articles online news with the specified time. The study aims are to describe how the strategies used by the Jakarta post to represent the social actor. Other studies, there are research with other objects such as on the western movie, on textbook which investigates the English language teaching textbooks portrayed male and female social actors, ideology in news report that analyzed whether reporters are neutral in their media coverage or they have an ideology which accords with one of the warring parties of conflict. The previous studies have used the theory of Van Dijk (1998), the analytical model of Van Leeuwen, and Halliday. Therefore, the researcher will use the theory of social actor representation by Van Leeuwen. This study will present the result with a different strategy than other researchers.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

The findings and discussion of this research cover the analysis of some discourses of the Jakarta Post online news during the presidential election 2019. The analysis is to know how social actors are represented in the news through exclusion or inclusion strategies. For the first, the researcher analyzes words or sentences, which include both exclusion and inclusion strategies. The data of this research are not presented in this chapter. They are entirely in the appendix.

There were 12 news articles with various themes, from January up to February, after the first debate of candidates. However, the elements of Theo Van Leeuwen framework (2008) will be adopted in this section to analyze the data. The data was taken from twenty-six articles include the issues of the two candidates, both Jokowi- Ma'ruf and Prabowo- Sandi. The news articles published from January up to February 2019 in the Jakarta post online. Those articles which were analyzed entitled as follows: 1) Silence is gold? Ma'ruf Amin suddenly appears relatable for millennials. 2) Seven key moments in the first presidential debate. 3) Cirebon mayor from Democratic Party declares support for Jokowi. 4) Bawaslu examines tabloid distributed to mosques ahead of elections. 5) Irwandi's Nanggroe Aceh Party declares support for Jokowi in the 2019 race. 6) Could nonvoters turn the election? 7) Prabowo will not create an Islamic caliphate, says Christian brother 8) Will the real millennial please stand up? 9) Rival camps woo different women's groups. 10) Jokowi plays it tough, accusing

Prabowo of 'outbursts of lies.' 11) Muhammadiyah warns of divided Indonesia ahead of April elections. 12) Rival camps gear up for the second presidential debate.

M. Findings

Article 1

The first article was taken from the Jakarta post online news published on Friday, January 18th, 2019. The news article entitled "*Silence is gold? Ma'ruf Amin suddenly appears relatable for millennials*," told about Jokowi's running mate. The text represents Ma'ruf Amin self by his daily fashion and character. Societies have the opinion that Ma'ruf Amin sees unsuitable when wearing sarong and white clothes in the formal event. He was standing on the stage with Jokowi and Prabowo- Sandi at the first debate of the candidate. On the other hand, the attitude of Ma'ruf Amin, which disposed of as "uncommunicative," was provoked any kind of comments from the society through social media.

Datum 1.1

*“When incumbent President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo picked Ma’ruf as his running mate, questions arose as to whether **the 75-year-old** cleric could help Jokowi court the so-called “millennial voters” -- a demographic that will **make up a significant voting bloc in 2019.**”*

In datum 1.1, which taken from the first paragraph, the reporter mentioned that Ma'ruf Amin was 75 years old. The sentence used to describe Ma'ruf Amin has included **identification** strategy, which a part of the inclusion strategy. The reporter wrote about Ma'ruf Amin's age and then made relations with millennials as the significant voter in the 2019 general election. As the vice president, Ma'ruf

Amin reputed could not help Jokowi success in the general election, which has a millennial era. Although, the judgment becomes a disagreement from one of the Hanura Party. He said that millennial are not only about age; the important one is the attitude. From the discussion above, it explains to the public that Ma'ruf Amin was old, but he is capable of becoming the vice president.

Datum 1.2

“After all, a sarong and, white sneakers hardly make for the killer outfit of the day.”

From the sentence above, Ma'ruf Amin's figure is depicted using an **identification** strategy. Types of identification here is a classification that shows how social actors are known to the public. The reporter represents Ma'ruf Amin through his age and religion. In this sentence, the reporter discusses the figure of a vice-presidential candidate through his background and identity who has not the other candidates. Of course, it is well known that Ma'ruf Amin had served as chairman of the MUI. It is seen how Ma'ruf Amin is a scholar. The clothes worn by Ma'ruf Amin, such as the sarong, are considered unsuitable for use, especially during a candidate's debate. Moreover, related to age, it is considered doubtful to be able to accompany Jokowi to become president.

However, anything that describes Ma'ruf Amin was responded by one of the Hanura parties. He stressed that millennial is not just about age, but the most important is action and attitude. The reporter presents Ma'ruf Amin identity as if the clothes worn by him are unsuitable for society. On the other hand, Ma'ruf Amin also presents with OesmanSaptaOedang statement, which can be an act of caring for Ma'ruf Amin figure. It can be concluded that actually, the reporter

wants to present the existence of support for Ma'ruf Amin through his age as if impossible to be.

Datum 1.3

“Donning a white shirt, white scarf, traditional black peci, and his sarong, Ma'ruf soon became the talk of the town.”

The reporter used the **identification** strategy as the way to represent Ma'ruf Amin in the text. The datum 1.3 sentences were very illustrating the figure of religiosity of Ma'ruf Amin through his black peci and sheath. Ma'ruf Amin did not escape from wearing sarong and peci. Even during the first debate between the presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Ma'ruf Amin still wore it. Standing on the stage of the debate together with the presidential and vice-presidential candidates, it was a moment highlighted.

However, it cannot be denied because it has indeed become Ma'ruf Amin's religious identity. Moreover, Ma'ruf Amin is the chairman of MUI. He has an excellent identity to forward as the vice president. Ma'ruf Amin, with his identity (uses the sarong and peci) naturally is become an effort to the interest of Kiai and students at traditional Muslim schools or *santri*. As the country that has the most prominent adherent of Islam, Ma'ruf Amin figure will get much supports, especially from Islam.

Datum 1.4

*“Some considered Ma'ruf a burden to Jokowi because of his **quietness during the debate.**”*

The sentence above is still the same as the previous paragraph. Reporters also wrote about the figure of Ma'ruf Amin, who was quietness or did not talk

much. Indicating the **identification** strategy is still carefully used by journalists in reporting the candidate's representative from Jokowi. During the 2019 elections, controversy often arose both the candidate Jokowi Ma'ruf Amin or Prabowo-Sandi. In this article, the focus is to discuss Ma'ruf Amin. Start from the usual clothes worn to his personality. Ma'ruf Amin's attitude became the talk of the millennials. When pair number 1 Jokowi and Ma'ruf Amin were allowed to speak, the vice-presidential candidate only spoke five times in a total of 23 minutes and 46 seconds. Half of Ma'ruf's talk time, he used to explain the terrorist issue, which was the main issue at the first debate.

The sentence mentioned in datum 1.4, based on the quantification of Ma'ruf Amin's spoke. The reporter mentioned the anxiety that Ma'ruf Amin becomes a burden to Jokowi because of the quietness at the debate. Here, the social actor represented as lower, whereas in the previous and the next sentence of this article, Ma'ruf Amin was depicted as a person who has kindness character but unseen by other people. Behind Ma'ruf Amin's attitude, as if it would not be suitable, it could provide advantages for himself.

Datum 1.5

“Luckily for Ma’ruf, his relative silence was gold for netizens.”

In the current era, it is widespread that there is the attitude or speech of a figure, which became controversial. Even it can be a joke for millennials on social media like Twitter. Like Ma'ruf Amin's attitude in the first presidential debate. From the pair of vice presidential candidate number 1, the debate was dominated by Jokowi. The moment was seen in the first round when discussing terrorist

issues. Ma'ruf Amin is more silent than talking. He counted only 23 minutes and 6 seconds with five times talking. Ma'ruf Amin's attitude invited netizens' comments. One of them correlates Ma'ruf's attitude, which tends to be "silent" with the religiousness he has. Through the attitudes and comments of netizens, the reporter concluded that "silence is gold," for netizens. Therefore, the actor in this news was represented by the **identification** strategy.

Datum 1.6

"On Twitter, @ikramarki correlated Ma'ruf's silence to his religiosity."

In datum 1.6, the reporter also presented the tweet of netizens who comment on Ma'ruf Amin's '*silent*' attitude. One of them is from the account that wrote the joke sentence; "Mr. Ma'ruf, why don't you talk often?" "Islam teaches us to avoid debate." By presenting the netizens' comments, the reporter represented Ma'ruf Amin with the religious personality he possessed. The actor "Ma'ruf Amin" actually represented by the **identification** strategy. Although Ma'ruf Amin was mentioned as a burden for Jokowi (in the previous datum) because of his silence, here Ma'ruf Amin praised that his silence reflects the religiosity of him. The reporter put the comment of twitter users into news articles to proud of Ma'ruf Amin character to interest society's sympathy, especially Muslim people.

Article 2

The second article entitled "*Seven key moments in the first presidential debate*," was published on Friday 18th, 2019. Like the title, this article has seven points that discussed the moments that happen in the first presidential debate. Among seven-point articles, it just four articles analyzed by the researcher

because in other articles were not matching data which suitable to be analyzed. The issues discussed in this article consist of several themes. The whole themes are about the authority of the president as the chief law enforcement officer, Prabowo gets agitated over ICW report, Gender should not be the primary concern, Jokowi fumes over accusations, and settlement of past atrocities.

Datum 2.3

“Prabowo abruptly cut off Jokowi’s question, but Ira told Jokowi to go on with his question.”

In datum 2.3, there are two actors excluded, Jokowi and Prabowo. In this case, Prabowo was raised with a wrong impression. At one point during the debate, Prabowo suddenly interrupted Jokowi's question, which was being conveyed. Then, Ira, as the host, told Jokowi to continue the question he was raising. In reporting this moment, the journalist uses a **differentiation** strategy. Presenting other groups or actors indirectly gives the impression that the group or actor is terrible compared to one of the other actors. In this case, the impression that appears to the reader is Jokowi as a good one compared to Prabowo as a bad one.

Datum 2.2

*“The incumbent went on to cite the case of **Ratna Sarumpaet**, one of Prabowo’s supporters whose bruised face initially triggered a political brouhaha, in what appeared to be an attack on Prabowo’s camp.”*

The sentence above was told about Prabowo’s supporter that has been a case of fake news. The journalist mentioned the name of Prabowo’s supporter clearly

or not general. In reporting this news, the **specification** strategy was used by the journalist. The use of the specific name is influenced by the reader think that Prabowo has a supporter who identified as disseminator the fake news. This matter is disfigured, a certain social actor.

Datum 2.3.

*Joko “Jokowi” Widodo **ended** the first presidential election debate on Thursday night with a strong closing statement that appeared to slam rival PrabowoSubianto, whom himself made a number of controversial remarks during the event.*

The sentence above indicates as **activation** strategy. In the sentence above, the social actor is represented as the social actor (Jokowi) who does the action. The word “*ended*” is a verb which located after the subject. The subject here is Joko Widodo as a doer from the verb. The subject in this sentence is mentioned clearly. The activation way is included in the inclusion strategy because the social actor here included in the text clearly. It is not the same as passivation, which excluded the social actor from the text.

Article 3

The third article entitled “Cirebon mayor from Democratic Party declares support for Jokowi.” This article, published on Sunday, January 2019, was reported about a support who declared by NasrudinAzis as a member of the Democratic Party. A head of the Democratic Party said that he felt Jokowi should have the opportunity to continue the development program that he started in 2014. Jokowi needs the next chance to continue his program to five years later. Nasrudin

was ready to accept the consequences of supporting Jokowi. Nasrudin was sure that his party would respect his decision.

Datum 3.1

“Cirebon mayor and Democratic Party member NasrudinAzis declared his support for President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo’s reelection bid on Saturday, despite his party being a member of the coalition behind Gerindra Party chairman PrabowoSubianto’s presidential campaign.”

In the sentence above was taken from the initial paragraph. The reporter uses the strategy of **differentiation**. Jokowi is seen as a better actor than Prabowo. The impression arose based on the news about NasrudinAzis, a member of the Democratic Party that expressed its support for Jokowi. Although, the party itself is a member of the Gerindra coalition, chaired by Prabowo. Here it is clear how the two parties (Jokowi and Prabowo) reported in the text. It is undoubtedly included in the differentiation strategy to compare one with the other. This article invites the public to understand that one of the Prabowo coalition is declared support for Jokowi. By included one of the social actors differently, it shows Jokowi is better than Prabowo.

Datum 3.2

*“Former West Nusa Tenggara Governor **Muhammad ZainulMajdi**, also known as Tuan Guru Bajang (TGB), former West Java deputy governor **Deddy Mizwar** and Papua Governor **Lukas Enembe** has declared their support for Jokowi.”*

In the sentence above, several figures are mentioned to support Jokowi in the 2019 presidential election. The figures mentioned are undoubtedly visible in detail; nothing is disguised. This strategy is called **specification** because there

were specific names of figures reported. It would be different if, for example, an actor or event was mentioned anonymously. Usually, anonymity occurs because reporters get insufficient evidence or information. So it is safer to write using anonymous. The reporter mentioned the specific name of Jokowi supporter as the way to rise of Jokowi position. Therefore, it will interest public sympathy.

Article 4

The news article was published on Tuesday, January 22, 2019, with the title "Bawaslu examines tabloid distributed to mosques ahead of elections." This news was discussed about the tabloid distributed to mosques and Islamic boarding. The tabloid also presents the stories of Muslim figures declared national heroes during the presidency of Joko "Jokowi" Widodo. It has a special report titled "Deceiving the public for political victory". On another page it has published "Hoax disrupts stability and security". In the Tabayyun rubric it highlights *Obor Rakyat* tabloid's "The origin of Jokowi & foreign accomplice defamation.

Datum 4.1

"Obor Rakyat's editors, SetyardiBudiono and DarmawanSepriyosa, were imprisoned in December for spreading false news about Jokowi during the 2014 election campaign."

SetyardiBudiono and DarmawanSepriyosa have been spreading false issues about Jokowi in the 2014 general election. In datum 5.2, the reporter takes another institution '*Obor Rakyat*' in order to show that Jokowi is in the right position. Therefore, the news that has been spread is false. Here, the journalist uses

indifferrentiation strategy to represent the social actor. The sentence categorized indifferrentiation because there was not comparison fact as in datum 12.2.

Article 5

The article entitled "*Irwandi's Nanggroe Aceh Party declares support for Jokowi in 2019 race*" clearly discusses support for Jokowi. Irwandi, as chairman of the PNA party, has declared full support for the pair number 1. He will continue to vote for Jokowi as he had when he chose Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla in 2014. The Chairperson of the Nanggroe Aceh Party hopes that Jokowi can be selected again in the 2019 election period. So that Jokowi can continue and complete the development programs that are being implemented. The Jokowi Ma'ruf campaign team has a target of winning 60% in the northern provinces of Indonesia. To welcome the 2019 presidential election, Muslim groups in Aceh want both presidential and vice-presidential candidates to compete in reading the Quran.

The step was taken in order to determine who the best candidates for leaders in Indonesia. Regarding the request to read the Quran, the Jokowi- Ma'ruf campaign team agreed. The incumbent agreed to obey with a requisite that competes is demand from the community. In contrast to the Prabowo- Sandi campaign team, they instead rejected the request for a Quran test because it was not necessary. However, if it is still being done, the examiner must be someone who is indeed an expert in reading the Quran.

Datum 5.1

“Irwandi's Nanggroe Aceh Party declares support for Jokowi in 2019 race.”

In datum 5.1 there is the reporting of actors who are then included by other groups or actors involved in reporting. "Irwandi's Nanggroe Aceh Party" shows a specific name. In this case, there is no generalization effect because other groups or actors involved are clearly stated. This strategy is called **specification**. It will differ if the reporter mentioned that "someone who has close with Gerindra Party declares support for Jokowi."

The word 'someone' will present different perceptions of the societies as the reader. Sentences in datum 22 serve as the title of the article published on 22 January 2019. In reporting something kind of a social actor, the journalist is often using the specific name. It will become a powerful interest in societies. Therefore, the reporter uses a determination strategy to show Jokowi's supporter or sympathizer clearly in order to convince the people. On the other hand, it can be enfeebled the rival (Prabowo).

Datum 5.2

“The Nanggroe Aceh Party (PNA) has decided to support incumbent President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo and his running mate Ma'ruf Amin in the 2019 presidential election.”

The first sentence in this article reiterates support for Jokowi. Using the **genericization** strategy, the journalists represented Jokowi through the presence of other groups. The intended group is the Nanggroe Aceh Party, which was written in the title of the article. Again, to show Jokowi's existence, journalists did

not hesitate to mention who the groups that supported Jokowi in the 2019 presidential election, but, Jokowi's supporter is not clearly mentioned. Journalists only mentioned the name of a group. In this case, it appears the reader's perspective that all of people who join in PAN party are Jokowi's supporters. The datum 5.2 is difference from datum 5.1, which mentioned the name of people clearly.

Article 6

"Could nonvoters turn the election?" It was a title of the news about abstaining in the election. This article mentioned that some voters and activists express they are disappointed with both presidential tickets. Jokowi campaigned that he will be solving the cases of human rights abuse. Apparently, it has been criticized by the expert or activists because Jokowi cannot fulfill his promise. On the other hand, a former supporter of Jokowi also said that they are disappointed with the incumbent. From those problems, many statements appear that abstaining is the best option for this year. LiniZurlia, one of the LGBT activist, said that she would abstain in the upcoming election.

Datum 6.1

"Former supporters of Jokowi, in particular, have expressed their discontent with the incumbent, especially after the announcement of cleric Ma'ruf Amin as his running mate last August."

The sentence above is categorized as **genericization** strategy. In this sentence mentioned that some of former supporters of Jokowi were declared their disappointed. Here the journalist just mentioned "*former supporters*," it means

that general. The effect of generalization will increase if the anonymous used in plurality, such as many people, some people, etc. The reader cannot gain whom the person or the specific name intended. The use of "*former supporters*" were shows plural meaning.

Therefore, the discourse above was given information as if all of the Jokowi's former supporters disappointed in Jokowi. They feel disappointed in Jokowi because of a lack of progress on uncovering atrocities committed in the country since 2014. On the other hand, LiniZurlia (LGBT activist) and Elisa Sutanudjaja also reluctantly will support Jokowi again because Jokowi reputed cannot work well. On the other hand, in 2014, they were declared their support for Jokowi.

Datum 6.2

“As head of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), Ma’ruf had supported several controversial regulations, including the Pornography Law and the joint ministerial decree banning the activities of minority group Ahmadiyah, saying in 2013 that such regulations were “very much expected.”

In the sentence above, Ma’ruf Amin is included in the text with his position in MUI as the head. Here, the journalist uses **categorization** as a strategy. Categorization strategy is consists of high status, work, or ordinary people. The reporter is written that sentence to relate with the request of society, which can be done by Ma'ruf Amin as the head of MUI. The reporter in providing Ma'ruf Amin is the head of MUI, indirectly allow society. The opportunity is to ask regulation

such as pornography law and the joint ministerial decree banning the activities of Ahmadiyah minority group.

Datum 6.3

“Ma’ruf was also a key expert witness in the highly publicized blasphemy trial that sent former Jakarta governor Basuki “Ahok” Tjahaja Purnama to prison, and he had signed a fatwa declaring that Ahok’s statement about a Quranic verse was insulting to Islam.”

Indonesia has many kinds of ethnics, language and also religions. Those three matters should be controlled as wise as can. In recent years, there was a case that involved Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or Ahok. The former governor Jakarta was in prison because of his insulting to Islam. Like in the sentence above, it was interesting, especially to Islam people. By the witness of Ma'ruf Amin as the head of MUI at that time, the society will more convince to carry out Ma'ruf Amin in the 2019 election. Based on the policy that Ma'ruf Amin given to Ahok, it shows about Ma'ruf Amin's contribution to build justice in this country. In this part, the **identification** strategy was used by the journalist to report about Ma'ruf Amin. Therefore, Ma'ruf Amin gets more support for society, especially Islam people.

Article 7

The news article entitled "Prabowo will not create an Islamic caliphate, says Christian brother" was published on Monday, January 28, 2019. It was told about the issue of whether Prabowo will create an Islamic caliphate or not if he won in the upcoming election. There were spread rumors that Prabowo will create

caliphate, but Prabowo clarified that he would accept support from anyone. However, it did not indicate how Prabowo would do if he has become a president.

Datum 7.1

*“Prabowo’s support among conservative Muslims, including former sympathizers of the now-banned **HizbutTahrir Indonesia (HTI)**, has led to rumors that he would turn Indonesia into an Islam-based state if he was elected.”*

The sentence above includes in **association** strategy. The social actor was related to other institutions who bigger. The existing of HizbutTahrir Indonesia in the sentence makes Prabowo in the lower position. It caused by the HizbutTahrirIndonesia is an organization that has hard doctrine. Moreover, HTI is one of organization in Indonesia who wants to change Indonesian democracy to an Islamic caliphate. It was undoubtedly contrasted with Indonesia, which has many differences of ethnic and religion. Therefore, from the put HTI organization, the reporter makes Prabowo in a lower position. Moreover, there was a rumor that he would turn Indonesia into an Islam-based state if he was elected.

Article 8

The article entitled "Will the real millennial please stand up?" was published on Wednesday, January 30, 2019. The article was told about millennial voters this year, which for the total of the electorate is dominated by 17 up to 35 aged voters. The article is also reporting Jokowi and Ma'ruf Amin when they have visited music festivals with them casual clothes and sneakers. On the other hand, TsamaraAmany, who 22-year-old legislative candidate also included in this article. She has campaigned in her social media such as Instagram and youtube.

Besides through vlogs and tweets, Tsamara was also gone door to door in over 100 locations in her district. She was holding a group of discussion which targeted to millennial, but the themes are not concerning in politics such as about movie industry or digital economy.

Datum 8.1

*“President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo has often appealed to the younger crowd by donning **casual clothing and sneakers** and attending music festivals, while campaign team members have sought to portray Jokowi’s 75-year-old running mate and Muslim cleric Ma’ruf Amin as a “millennial at heart.”*

The sentence above is indicating that the reporter used the **identification** strategy to depict Jokowi. Here, identification is a culturally variable that becomes characteristic of Jokowi. Jokowi is not like other people or functionary, he always comes into being a simple person in wearing clothes. The reporter was brought out Jokowi's clothes to show simplicity. It can be concluded that Jokowi is a simple person. Besides, Jokowi wears casual clothes and sneakers to attend music festivals. In reporting Jokowi through his simple clothes makes the reader interest because it was reflected a simplicity. Moreover, this year is related to millennial (17 up to 35 aged) that nearly half of the total voters. Therefore, this report was appeared to influence the reader for the incumbent.

Datum 8.2

*“Running mate Sandiaga Uno, on the other hand, needs no help in that department, with multiple polls showing that young people are drawn to his image as a successful **businessman**.”*

The sentence above is used **categorization** strategy in reporting social actors. The reporter was provided Sandiaga Uno as a businessman. This strategy can be classified by the high status, a work, ordinary people, or others categorize. By mentioned Sandi is a businessman. It will invite public interest for vice president of Prabowo, especially the young and the woman. In the time of the campaign, Prabowo- Sandi also performed in their campaign. Prabowo has been striving to project a more laid back public persona to interest millennial voters.

Article 9

The article entitled "Rival camps woo different women's groups" was published on Wednesday, January 30, 2019. The article was focused on the campaign of both candidates who bring supporters from the group of women. The group of women supporters from Jokowi- Ma'ruf and Prabowo- Sandi have come from different institutions. Jokowi's supporter is Khofifah IndarParawansa, a former minister in Jokowi's cabinet, Muslimat chairwoman, and now as governor of West Java. While the supporter of Prabowo has come from housewives with the name the housewives party, the militant housewives' force and the voluptuous housewives who fight for Prabowo- Sandi.

Datum 9.1

*“Among the high profile women who attended the event was **Yenny Wahid**, the daughter of former president and NU leader Abdurrahman Wahid, who publicly stated: “I am a [member] of Muslimat and I personally support Jokowi”.”*

The sentence above was clearly stated that there was a person as the daughter of former president and also the leader of Nahdlatul Ulama which declared the support for Jokowi. The journalist is not only showed the background

of the supporter, but also her name. The type of this text above is included in **specification** strategy. The process of writing as the text above makes the reader think that Jokowi has a supporter from one of the biggest groups of Moslem. If the influence figure is supporting Jokowi, the adherent possibility will be followed. Therefore, it was clearly seen that Jokowi has many supporters than Prabowo.

Datum 9.2

“Muslimat chairwoman Khofifah IndarParawansa, a former minister in Jokowi's Cabinet and a politician of the National Awakening Party (PKB), a member of Jokowi's coalition, also expressed support for Jokowi.”

The sentence above was told about support for Jokowi. Here, the reporter mentioned who declared Jokowi is. Khofifah, as Muslimat chairwoman mentioned clearly by the reporter. The reporter not only wrote about who Khofifah is but also how much Muslimat NU has members. There was claimed that NU has 32 million members in this country and abroad. It shows that Muslimat NU is the majority in Indonesia. By explaining how Khofifah is and how much the Muslimat NU, it will interest or convince the reader to support Jokowi. It is natural when a journalist reporting someone's support for Jokowi by the specific name. Because the information that shared is right for Jokowi, although it will become a threat against Jokowi. Based on the report above, it was included in **association** strategy. The association strategy is evidenced by put the group of Muslimat NU. It becomes a prejudice to the readers that as if to all of the Muslimat's members are Jokowi's supporters. For covering the social actor's news about a supporter, the journalist brings another name like Yenny Wahid in the previous text above.

Datum 9.3

*“Among the groups are the Housewives Party in Support of Prabowo-Sandi (PEPES), the **Militant Housewives’ Force (BEM)** and the **Voluptuous Housewives Who Fight for Prabowo- Sandi (ESPAS)**.”*

In the discourse above, the social actor was related to other groups. The other groups or communities were presented as a supporter of Prabowo- Sandi. There was explained that the supporters are well known female supporters who identify themselves as members of housewives and focus on protesting against the rising prices of staple food. Sandiaga Uno was familiar with his good looking and a businessman. The vice president of Prabowo has the impression that he could be a good listener for women's lamentation about the price of staple food. Therefore, the reporter shows the women's group for supporting Prabowo- Sandi.

In the same article, both Jokowi and Prabowo were presented in the text with the same strategy. Jokowi was represented through association. Prabowo was represented through **association** strategy. In this text, Prabowo- Sandi also presented accurately by related to another group. The difference between both texts is the reporter not mentioned how much the supporter of Prabowo- Sandi. From the different text above, there was sloping in the report of both social actors. Therefore, in this article, which reports about the candidate's supporter is show off and bring down one of the sides.

Article 10

The article entitled "Jokowi plays it tough, accusing Prabowo of 'outbursts of lies'" was published on Monday, February 4, 2019. The article was concerned

about the opposition of Jokowi to Prabowo. Jokowi made strong remarks slamming his rival in his speeches about Prabowo's statement that Indonesia could become extinct to accusing the rival camp using foreign consultants. In the 2019 presidential campaign at Semarang, Jokowi said that the most important thing was that he conveyed facts and data in his statements. However, the incumbent has taken the offensive against political attacks that are not first.

Datum 10.1

*“The anniversary event **was held** concurrently with a declaration of support for the incumbent **by a group of volunteers.**”*

The sentence above was told about celebrating Indonesia's largest Muslim organization NU. In the text, the social actor was not mentioned clearly. The article just focused on the event that held on Garut, West Java. According to Van Leeuwen, the strategy used in this text is **passivation**. The article was discussing declaration support to Jokowi by volunteers. There was focused on something happened, here concerning to anniversary event held by volunteers. The focus is on the processes or something that happened rather than on the people carrying them out. The social actor was excluded from the text, although it was reported about Jokowi, implicitly.

Article 11

The article entitled “Muhammadiyah warns of divided Indonesia ahead of April elections” was published on Wednesday, February 13, 2019. The article was told about Prabowo supporters from the Muhammadiyah coalition. There was a meeting in Bengkulu in the middle of February to gather hundreds of

Muhammadiyah executives and Jokowi also Prabowo. The event was attended by some Muhammadiyah figures such as Amien Rais and Suyatno. The two matters that would be discussed in that event are concerning about mainstreaming moderate Islam and how Indonesia must be more courageous in displaying itself as a political power in the Islamic world.

Datum 11.1

“A number of Muhammadiyah figures, including the former leader and National Mandate Party (PAN) patron Amien Rais and Muhammadiyah treasurer Suyatno, were on Prabowo-Sandiaga Uno’s campaign team.”

The sentence above was mentioned that Prabowo- Sandiaga Uno’s campaign team was visited by Amien Rais and Suyatno. In reporting Prabowo-Sandi’s campaign, the journalist is present the text with the **specification** strategy. The strategy is commonly used in this article for reporting the social actor.

Datum 11.2

“Amien, a supporter of Prabowo in the 2019 election, has been a vocal critic of Jokowi, and has been seen as a controversial figure in Indonesia’s political scene, although he is known as an icon behind 1998 reform, marking the downfall of Soeharto.”

The sentence above was told about one of supporter Prabowo which became controversial in the 2019 political scene. The name of figure was mentioned clearly, that is Amien. In this report, the strategy that journalists used is the **specification** strategy. For reporting social actors, the journalist used a specific name. The use of indetermination strategy in this discourse will appear the reader or societies to have the perspective that Prabowo’s supporter was judged as a backbiter, although it was the 1998 period.

Article 12

The title of an article published on Thursday, February 14, 2019, was "Rival camps gear up for second presidential debate." The news article was about the preparation of both candidates for the second presidential debate that holds on the upcoming February 17, 2019. In the upcoming debate, the two candidates will give several topics such as food, energy, natural resources, environment, and infrastructure. Among the several topics, Jokowi has an impression of his achievements in infrastructure, such as the development of toll roads in a particular region. Concerning infrastructure, Prabowo exactly has the opposite promise that he would expand infrastructure without foreign loans. Then, Jokowi's team is preparing clarification to answer claims from the rival. One clarification is put from the data on the government's debts used to pay infrastructure.

Datum 12.1

“Among the topics in the second debate, infrastructure was considered to be Jokowi’s strength in his reelection bid as his supporters have intensely promoted the incumbent’s achievements, such as the development of toll roads in the country’s regions.”

The sentence above was told about infrastructure, which is Jokowi's program. From any kind of strategy, here, the journalist used the **passivation** strategy to inform an issue of the social actor. In this news release, the focus is on something happened. The journalist was written infrastructure that could be the strength for the incumbent to the upcoming election. The effect of the use of passivation is the reader more attention to look at what happened rather than who reported is. Moreover, the passive form will influence the reader to less critical.

The reader will think about how as much as possible, the infrastructure is a success.

Datum 12.2

“The opposition camp, however, often criticized Jokowi’s administration for relying on foreign loans for infrastructure development across the country, with Prabowo and running mate Sandiaga Uno promising they would develop infrastructure without foreign loans.”

The sentence above was told about the opposition between Jokowi and Prabowo. Jokowi’s decision to entrust infrastructure on foreign loans became contrary to Prabowo's opinion. In reporting social actors, the journalist used **differentiation** strategy as the way to represent both social actors. The presence of Jokowi’s achievement infrastructure exactly gives an occasion to Prabowo’s entrenchment to denounce by way of promising that Prabowo creates infrastructure development without foreign loans. The differentiation strategy is occur prejudice. Primarily it will become a boundary of both social actors. The first social actor is better than the second social actor, or the contrary. Based on Van Leeuwen's thinking, the representation like "differentiation" is a strategy to show how the social actor has become ostracism or bad.

N. Discussions

After findings and analyzing the data from *the Jakarta Post* online news, a discussion of those findings is necessary in order to answer the research question of this research. The two research questions are: how are the exclusion strategies used in the Jakarta post online news to represent the social actor? Moreover, how are the inclusion strategies used in the Jakarta post online news to represent the

social actor? In this following discussion, the researcher presents the types of social actor representation used in reporting both two pair candidates, Jokowi-Ma'ruf and Prabowo- Sandi. The researcher describes how the way those social actors are represented in the Jakarta Post online news.

1. Social Actor Representation Strategies Used in the Jakarta Post Online News

According to data analysis, which has been analyzed in the previous subchapter, the researcher found two types of the strategy used in representing the social actor as Van Leeuwen theory; exclusion and inclusion strategy. Based on the result of the analysis, the use of inclusion strategy has several purposes, such as for marginalizing a particular group, stereotype an issue, differentiate a social actor with other, to show who is dominant in a particular group or country. Related to the theory, both the inclusion and exclusion strategy is used in this research. The two strategies used in the Jakarta Post online news is explained in the following part.

a. Exclusion

Exclusion strategy is an essential strategy in discourse analysis (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Usually, exclusion leaves no traces in the representation, excluding both the social actor and their activities. Exclusion strategy consists of two-part; those are passivation and nominalization. Based on the findings, the researcher describes the data, which includes into exclusion strategy.

1) Passivation

In this study, the writer of Jakarta Post uses passivation to hidden the social actor because the most important to report is the object, not the subject. There are about two cases of passivation cases (datum 10.1 and 12.1) contained in the text used in the Jakarta Post with a different article. The journalist of Jakarta Post almost uses a passivation strategy in their news to exclude social actors from a text. The function of passivation is to include the actor in part of the sentence. In this study, the writer considered to explain the actor's actions clearly and explain the action without a clear actor. For example:

Passivation	The anniversary event was held concurrently with a declaration of support for the incumbent by a group of volunteers. (Datum 10.1)
Activation	A group of volunteers held the anniversary event with a declaration of support for the incumbent.

The article above was discussing declaration support to Jokowi by volunteers. There was focused on something happened, here concerning to anniversary event held by volunteers. The focus is on the processes or something that happened rather than on the people carrying them out. The social actor was excluded from the text, although it was reported about Jokowi, implicitly. While in the activation strategy, the subject is needed, then there is a verb located after the subject.

b. Inclusion

The inclusion and exclusion strategy has a different way to present a social actor. In exclusion, the social actor was excluded through passivation and nominalization. It is hardly different from inclusion. Inclusion is represented as the social actor in particular action. The several strategies used in the Jakarta Post online news will explain in the following subchapter.

1) Activation

First, the inclusion strategy used in the Jakarta Post in reporting the social actor is activation. The representation of the use of activation and passivation strategy is the opposite. When the activation strategy is used, the social actor could be included in the text. For the activation strategy, the researcher found an example that exists in the datum 2.3. Here the sentence indicates as activation strategy:

Activation	Joko “Jokowi” Widodo ended the first presidential election debate on Thursday night with a strong closing statement that appeared to slam rival Prabowo Subianto, whom himself made a number of controversial remarks during the event. (Datum 2.3)
Passivation	The first presidential election debate on Thursday night was ended by Joko “Jokowi” Widodo with a strong closing statement that appeared to slam rival Prabowo Subianto, whom himself made a number of controversial remarks during the event.

The sentence above indicates as an activation strategy because the social actor is represented as the social actor (Jokowi) who does the action. There is subject (Joko Widodo) who as doer from the verb. Then, the word “*ended*” as a verb is located after the subject. Here, activation is a strategy to include the social actor in the text. It is not the same as passivation, which excluded the social actor from the text.

2) Differentiation- Indifferentiation

Secondly, besides the exclusion strategy, the discourses in the Jakarta Post also investigated by inclusion strategy. The strategy of inclusion that used in several news articles is differentiation-indetermination. The existing data identified as differentiation is contained three cases differentiation type (datum 2.1, 3.1, and 12.2) and a case in differentiation type (datum 4.1).

The social actor can be shown individually as a unique phenomenon, but it also contrasts by showing another figure. The presence of another figure indirectly shows that one group is better than another group. The use of a differentiation strategy could appear the effect on the reader. The text will make the reader to critical thinking between two social actors. The example of a differentiation strategy that used in the Jakarta Post online news is in the sentence:

Differentiation	The opposition camp, however, often criticized Jokowi's administration for relying on foreign loans for infrastructure development across the country, with Prabowo and running mate Sandiaga Uno promising they would develop infrastructure without foreign loans. (Datum 12.2)
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In the sentence, the presence of Jokowi's achievement infrastructure exactly gives an occasion to Prabowo's entrenchment to denounce by way of promising that Prabowo creates infrastructure development without foreign loans. The differentiation strategy occurs in prejudice. Mainly it will become a boundary of both social actors. The first social actor is better than the second social actor, or the contrary. Based on Van Leeuwen's thinking, the representation like "differentiation" is a strategy to show how the social actor becomes ostracism or bad. The next strategy was used in the Jakarta Post online news is indifferenciation:

Indifferenciation	Obor Rakyat's editors, Setyardi Budiono and Darmawan Sepriyosa, were imprisoned in December for spreading false news about Jokowi during 2014 election campaign. (Datum 4.1)
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In the sentence, there is a figure from other institutions that have been spreading false issues about Jokowi in the 2014 general election. The reporter takes another institution '*Obor Rakyat*' in order to show that Jokowi is in the right position. Therefore, the news that has been spread

is false. It is in contrast with the differentiation strategy, which compares both the social actors, one is better than the other one.

3) Genericization- Specification

Thirdly, the strategy used by the journalist is genericization-specification. For the genericization strategy, there were two cases that investigated as genericization (datum 5.2 and 6.1). While the specification, there are about six discourses which used specification strategy (datum 2.2, 3.2, 5.1, 9.1, 11.1, and 11.2). The journalist of the Jakarta Post uses genericization and specification to show how the social actor depicted in the text, whether mentioned by general or specific. As the example, here is the use of genericization strategy:

Genericization	Former supporters of Jokowi, in particular, have expressed their discontent with the incumbent, especially after the announcement of cleric Ma'ruf Amin as his running mate last August. (Datum 6.1)
Specification	Former minister of finance, Sri Mulyani has expressed their discontent with the incumbent, especially after the announcement of cleric Ma'ruf Amin as his running mate last August.

In this sentence mentioned that some of the former supporters of Jokowi were declared they are disappointed. Here the journalist just mentioned "former supporters," it means that general. The effect of generalization will increase if the anonymous used in plurality, such as

many people, some people, etc. The reader cannot gain whom the person or the specific name intended. The use of "former supporters" were shows plural meaning. It makes difference a perspective to the reader when the former supporter of Jokowi is changing into a clear name of a person, like in the specific table above. The use of "Sri Mulyani" name is more specific than "former supporters" as if all of the former supporters are disappointed to the incumbent.

The next example is the specification strategy that used in the Jakarta Post online news:

Specification	Amien, a supporter of Prabowo in the 2019 election, has been a vocal critic of Jokowi, and has been seen as a controversial figure in Indonesia's political scene, although he is known as an icon behind 1998 reform, marking the downfall of Soeharto. (Datum 11.2)
Genericization	A supporter of Prabowo in the 2019 election, has been a vocal critic of Jokowi, and has been seen as a controversial figure in Indonesia's political scene, although he is known as an icon behind 1998 reform, marking the downfall of Soeharto.

For reporting the social actor above, the journalist used a specific name. The use of specification strategy in this discourse will appear the reader or societies to have the perspective that Prabowo's supporter was judged as a backbiter, although it was in the past. Both genericization and

specification have a different perspective on the reader's influence. When the social actor represented through genericization, it could be anonymous because the figure is not mentioned. For any reason, it has a different impression when received by the public. When the social actor represented by specification, there was mentioned the specific name, and it has a singular meaning. The use of specification strategy does not take any questions because it was specific, as an individual.

4) Categorization

Fourthly, the other strategy used in the news text of the Jakarta Post is nomination- categorization. The nomination can be realized by a proper noun, which can be formal, semiformal, and informal. While categorization realized by unique identity, high status, ordinary people, or occupation. For this research, the researcher found categorization existed in the news text. There were two texts which show that the journalist uses categorization strategy (datum 6.2 and 8.2), for example:

Categorization	Running mate Sandiaga Uno, on the other hand, needs no help in that department, with multiple polls showing that young people are drawn to his image as a successful businessman. (Datum 8.2)
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Through the categorization, the social actor can be represented by the term of unique identity, high status, ordinary people, or occupation. The reporter was provided Sandiaga Uno as a businessman. By mentioned, Sandi is a businessman; it will invite public interest for the

vice president of Prabowo, especially the young and the woman. In the time of the campaign, Prabowo- Sandi also performed in their campaign. Prabowo has been striving to project a more laid back public persona to interest millennial voters.

5) Identification

Fifth, the strategy that has used in the Jakarta Post online news is categorized as functionalization- identification. Both functionalization and identification, it was just identification that used in the text. Eight texts have been used identification strategy (datum 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.5, 1.6, 6.3, and 8.1). The identification itself has three various types. The first is the type of classification, and the second is relational identification, it could be proofed by possessive or belonging together such "my daughter/ my mother." The third is physical identification. The types of identification used in eight texts are included in the classification type. There is an example of the identification strategy:

Identification	Donning a white shirt, white scarf, traditional black peci, andhissarong, Ma'ruf soon became the talk of the town. (Datum 1.3)
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Through the classification type, the social actors could be represented their differences among the class of people, age, gender, provenance, class, wealth, race-ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation. The effect of showing the social actor through this strategy is to influence the reader thinking about the social actor by unpretentious. Sarong and

peci is become the identity of Ma'ruf Amin, it shows his religiosity. As a vice-president, Ma'ruf Amin with his identity naturally becomes an effort to the interest of public, especially Islam people. Moreover, here is the country that has the most prominent adherent of Islam, so Ma'ruf Amin figure will get much supports, especially from Islam.

6) Association

Sixth, the last strategy used in the news text is association-disassociation. Association is a way that the social actor can be represented as a group. It refers to a group which formed b social actor or group of the social actor. In this strategy, the social actor always related to other groups. There were two texts which categorized in the association (datum 7.1 and 9.2). One of the two texts that identified as association strategy is:

Association	Prabowo's support among conservative Muslims, including former symphatizer of the now-banned Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), has led to rumors that he would turn Indonesia into an Islam-based state if he was elected. (Datum 7.1)
Disassociation	Prabowo's support among conservative Muslims symphatizer has led to rumors that he would turn Indonesia into an Islam-based state if he was elected.

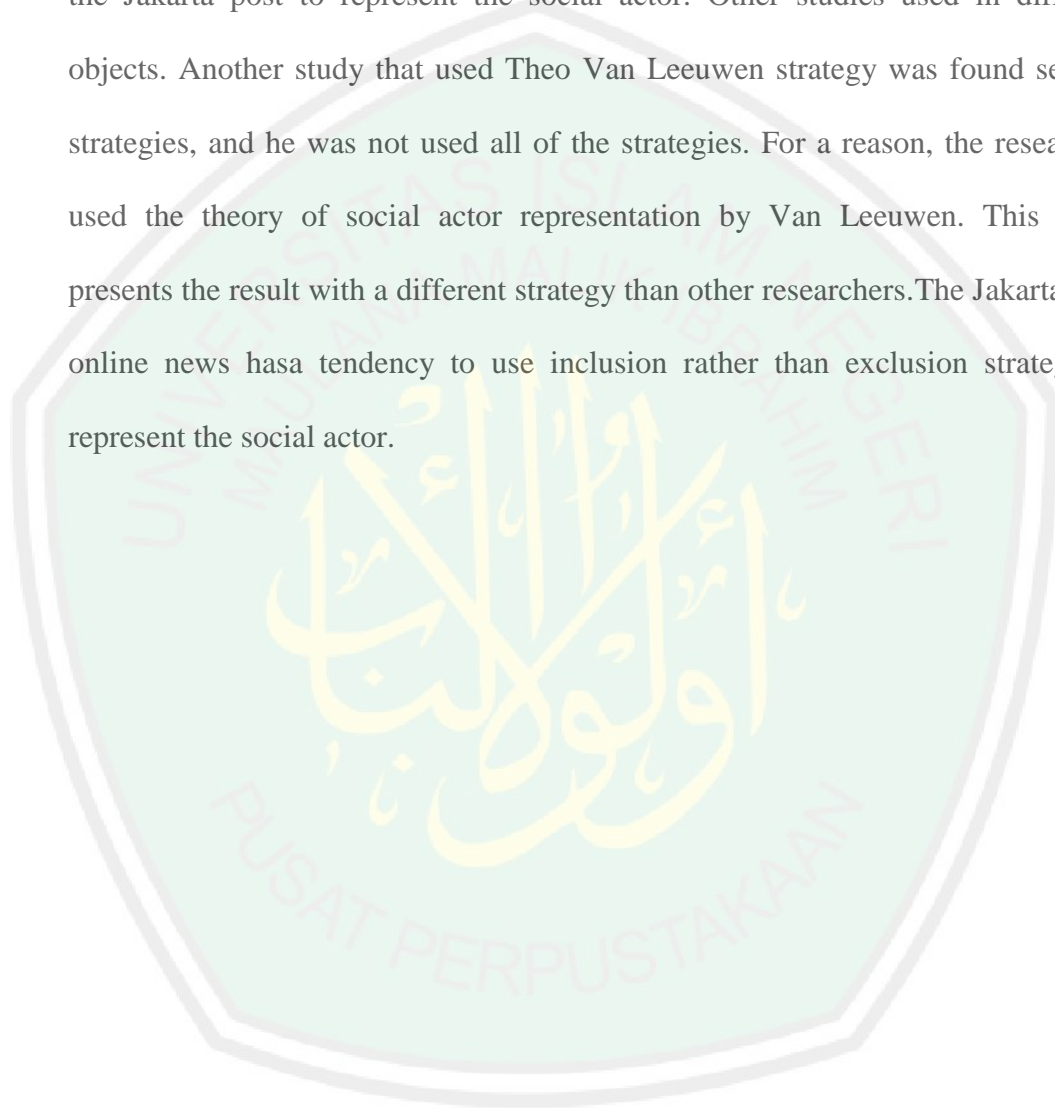
The social actor here (Prabowo) was related to other institutions or social groups. The existing of HizbutTahrir Indonesia in the sentence

makes the reader think that Prabowo is a part of HTI. As we know that HTI is a controversial group with the contrary assumption. HTI, in this case, shows where the social actor (Prabowo) exist is. Association shows a particular group related to the social actor, but the problem is whether the group mentioned explicitly or not. If the group is not mentioned explicitly, it becomes disassociation, like in the example above.

The findings of this research show that the journalist of the Jakarta Post mostly used inclusion strategy rather than an exclusion strategy. The identification strategy is often used in the texts. Based on the term of identification, this strategy mostly used is because it can easily create a unique figure of the social actor. It also makes the public interest in the social actors, especially to vote them. Therefore, the journalist of the Jakarta Post online is often used the identification strategy, which becomes an effective way to look for the support of the public.

For the previous studies, here, the researcher has several studies which in the same topic but different theories. There are *Ideology in News Reports: Al-Jazeera Reporters as Representative: A Critical Discourse Analysis*, *The Representation of Social Actors in Top-Notch Text Book Series: A Critical Discourse Analysis*, *Newspaper Ideology: A Critical Discourse Analysis of News Headlines on Syrian Refugees in Published Newspapers*, *Critical Discourse Analysis in Donald Trump Presidential Campaign to win American's Heart*, and *A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of Iranians in a Western Movie "Not Without My Daughter."*

According to the previous studies above, there are significant differences from this study are: in this study, the researcher analyzed all of the articles online news with the specified time. The study aims are to describe how the strategies used by the Jakarta post to represent the social actor. Other studies used in different objects. Another study that used Theo Van Leeuwen strategy was found several strategies, and he was not used all of the strategies. For a reason, the researcher used the theory of social actor representation by Van Leeuwen. This study presents the result with a different strategy than other researchers. The Jakarta Post online news has a tendency to use inclusion rather than exclusion strategy to represent the social actor.



CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter provides the conclusion of the findings and discussion of the previous chapter as well as suggestions for further researcher.

O. Conclusion

Based on the findings and discussion, the researcher proposed several conclusions. First, in reporting the news, the journalist of the Jakarta Post online news adopted the exclusion and inclusion strategy. The exclusion strategy is consists of passivation as the way to hidden the social actor because the most important to report is the object, not the subject. Second, the inclusion strategy is mostly used in reporting the social actor. The use of inclusion strategy is consist of some types, are differentiation- indifferntiation, genericization- specification, nomination- categorization, functionalization- identification, and association- disassociation. In this research, there was a news article that used two strategies, exclusion and inclusion. It occurs in the last news article (article 12). The last news article consists of a passivation strategy (included in the exclusion) and differentiation strategy (included in the inclusion).

Firstly, the strategy used by the journalist of the Jakarta Post is exclusion. In the part of exclusion, the researcher found a passivation strategy used to represent the social actor. There are two cases in the use of the passivation strategy. The purpose of the passivation strategy is to exclude the social actor from the text. It occurs because the object is more important to be focused, rather than subject.

Passivation is a process of how the social actor not involved in the text. Excluded social actor aim to protect themselves.

Secondly, the strategy used by the Jakarta Post is an inclusion strategy. The most strategy used in the news article is identification. The identification strategy is covering a unique figure of the social actor. From the use of identification, it is influencing the reader or the public to more interest in the social actors. The use of identification strategy is to hold the sympathy from the public. The Jakarta Post online news mostly used identification strategy because the identification strategy became an effective way to get public support. Besides, identification is practical in figuring out and portraying a social actor. Journalists represent related to the identity that exists in a figure. The portrayal of the social actors through the identity attached to them can certainly invite more attention to the reader. For example, when Amin was reported to be on the stage of the presidential debate by wearing sarong and cap, it was a religious depiction of Ma'ruf Amin.

In this case, the identification strategy is often used because this is a way that closes to get the reader's interest. The journalist represented a social actor using an identity such as a class of people, age, gender, provenance, class, wealth, race-ethnicity, or religion, which attached to the social actor. The reader more easily accepts this way because, in reporting, the social actors can not be separated from the identity attached to them.

Moreover, in Indonesia, identity politics is related to ethnicity issues, religion, ideology, and local interests generally represented by elites with each articulation. Identity is politicized through interpretation, which aims to get

support from people who feel 'the same,' whether racial, ethnic, or religious, as well as other adhesive elements. Therefore, the identification strategy is mostly used by journalists of the Jakarta Post to represent the social actors.

Besides, in reporting, the media often has a tendency or prominent. For example, in this research, the two social actors are represented by different strategies; it was delivering a side or a social actor that more favorable impression. It happens because every media of news has a particular ideology to political news. The ideology is influencing the representation of social actors, so the result becomes subjective. Therefore, the next researcher is better to use other theories in order to obtain the result objectively.

P. Suggestion

According to the result, the researcher proposed several suggestions for the reader and the next researchers who will research the same topic. The analysis of social actor representation on the Jakarta Post online news is providing to the reader as the understanding base of discourse analysis. First, the research is suggested to the reader in order to more have critical awareness in reading and receiving the news. In this research, the reader expected to differentiate the meaning of the use of exclusion and inclusion strategy. The use of exclusion strategy, for instance, passivation, it means that the journalist wants to hide the social actor. The social actor excluded from the text because of the passive sentence. Also, the use of inclusion strategy, in this case, the dominant strategy used in the text, was the identification strategy. The use of identification strategy

tended to portray the social actor because it becomes an interesting way to reach public interest.

Second, for the next researcher who will conduct the same topic of discourse, it is preferable to use another theory of discourse. It is because the theory of Van Leeuwen too focused on the text-only. The next researcher can look for another theory that can see another particular side to analyze the discourse. Even the use of other theories of discourse analysis is better to get the result more objective. Besides, the next researcher better if using printed newspapers because online newspapers are more prioritize the quantity rather than quality. Even some texts that have mistakes or grammatical errors. The printed newspaper is more prioritize the quality of the writing process than online news. Therefore, the researcher suggested that the printed newspaper is better to do analyze.

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CURICULUM VITAE



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