

**TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF THE JAKARTA POST NEWSPAPER ON
SENSITIVE ISSUES IN INDONESIA**

THESIS

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UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM

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SENSITIVE ISSUES IN INDONESIA**

THESIS

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MOTTO

“Do what you love, love what you do”



THESIS DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the strongest man and woman in my life, my beloved
father and mother.



ACKNOWLEDGMENT

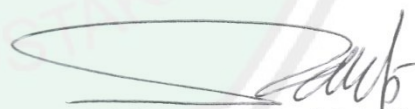
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Finally, I realize that this thesis is still far from perfection. Hopefully, this work can give a valuable contribution to the field of research on linguistics and media studies.

Malang, 28 Mei 2019



Mohammad Naufal Ardiansyah

ABSTRACT

Ardiansyah, Mohammad Naufal. 2019. *Textual Analysis of The Jakarta Post*

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Keywords: *Textual Analysis, sensitive issues, The Jakarta Post*

Nowadays, the discussion about textual analysis especially social representation in the media either printed or online media is apparently moved to the surface as a priority subject for investigating linguistic inquiry. It is caused by textual analysis is not only represented upon the text it self, but also the context such as social representation. The chosen texts or clauses are able to portray the journalist characteristic as a results. The text which is displayed will be the mirror of the readers construction.

This study aims at describing how social representaiion are used in The Jakarta Post online newspaper using textual analysis to construct readers opinion. The readers, therefore, are able to distinguish and analysis the media by text using Theo van Leeuwen theory on textual analysis. Furthermore, the focus of this study is to serve that constructing people's opinion as well ways of life is not only through speaking, but also through the ways of writing some news reports.

Theo Van Leeuwen (2008) introduces a discourse analysis model to detect and examine how a group or person is marginalized position in a discourse. In this case, the dominant group has more control of an event and its meaning, while for

groups with lower positions tend to be continually controlled, and poorly described. This relates toward a connection between discourse and power. Power is not only through channels formal, legal or state institutions, but also operates through discourse. The discourse is used to define something or a group as incorrect or bad. One of the most important agents in defining a group is media. News report in media is constantly being disseminated, thus the media spread understanding and awareness toward head of each reader or audience.

The results of this study show how The Jakarta Post online newspaper construct readers opinion in some sensitive issues by text. There are at least two underlying points that are highlighted from this research investigation. The first is about how the texts reported in The Jakarta Post online newspaper. The last is concerning on identification representation through the texts that influence to the readers. The identification representation formed in social actors has been discovered by amount of texts, clauses and statements. It is performed through word choices as well as inclusion and exclusion.

ABSTRAK

Ardiansyah, Mohammad Naufal. 2019. *Analisis Teks dari Koran The Jakarta Post pada Isu-isu Sensitif di Indonesia*. Skripsi. Jurusan Sastra Inggris. Fakultas Humaniora. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing: Abdul Aziz, M.Ed., Ph.D.

Kata Kunci: Analisis Teks, Isu-isu Sensitif. The Jakarta Post

Saat ini, diskursus tentang analisis teks terutama representasi sosial di media baik media cetak atau online tampaknya makin mencuat ke permukaan sebagai subjek prioritas dalam pemahaman linguistik. Analisis teks tidak hanya direpresentasikan pada teks itu sendiri, tetapi juga pada konteks misalnya representasi sosial. Teks atau klausa yang dipilih mampu menggambarkan karakteristik penulisnya. Pada hasilnya, teks yang ditampilkan akan menjadi cermin dari pemahaman para pembaca.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menggambarkan bagaimana representasi sosial di koran online *The Jakarta Post* menggunakan analisis teks untuk membangun opini pembaca. Oleh karena itu, pembaca dapat menganalisis teks media menggunakan teori Theo van Leeuwen. Sedangkan fokus dari penelitian ini adalah untuk memberikan pemahaman bahwa membangun opini dan cara hidup seseorang tidak hanya melalui pembicaraan verbal, tetapi juga melalui cara menulis beberapa laporan berita di media.

Menurut Theo Van Leeuwen (2008), model analisis wacana untuk mengidentifikasi suatu kelompok yang termarginalkan posisinya. Dalam hal ini,

kelompok yang mendominasi memiliki kontrol lebih besar atas suatu peristiwa, sedangkan kelompok lainnya cenderung terus dikendalikan bahkan digambarkan dengan buruk. Hal ini juga berhubungan dengan wacana dan kekuasaan. Kekuasaan tidak hanya melalui lembaga formal, hukum atau negara, tetapi juga melalui wacana. Wacana digunakan untuk mendefinisikan suatu kelompok sebagai pihak yang salah atau benar. Salah satu agen terpenting dalam mendefinisikannya adalah media. Berita di media terus disebarluaskan, sehingga media menyebarkan pemahaman dan kepedulian terhadap setiap pembaca atau audiens.

Penelitian ini menunjukkan bagaimana koran online *The Jakarta Post* mengonstruksi pendapat para pembaca dalam beberapa isu sensitif yang terdapat di dalam teks. Ada dua poin mendasar yang disorot yaitu pertama, adalah bagaimana teks tersebut dikabarkan dan ditulis di koran online *The Jakarta Post*. Yang kedua adalah tentang representasi identifikasi melalui teks yang dapat mempengaruhi pembaca. Representasi identifikasi yang terbentuk dalam aktor sosial telah ditemukan oleh sejumlah teks, klausa dan pernyataan. Ini dilakukan melalui pilihan kata serta inklusi dan pengecualian.

المستخلص

أرديانشه ، محمد نوفل . ٢٠١٩ . تحليل النص لجريدة جاكرتا بوست
حول القضايا الحساسة في إندونيسيا. أطروحة. قسم الأدب الإنجليزي.
كلية العلوم الإنسانية. جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الحكومية الإسلامية
مالانج. المشرف: عبد العزيز ، دكتوراه ، دكتوراه
الكلمات المفتاحية: تحليل النص، القضايا الحساسة. جاكرتا بوست

في الوقت الحالي، يبدو أن الخطاب المتعلق بتحليل النص ، وخاصةً التمثيل الاجتماعي في وسائل الإعلام ، سواء المطبوعة أو عبر الإنترنت، ظهر كموضوع ذو أولوية في الفهم اللغوي. لا يتم تمثيل تحليل النص فقط في النص نفسه ، ولكن أيضًا في سياقات مثل التمثيل الاجتماعي. يمكن للنص أو الفقرة المحددة أن تصف خصائص الصحفيين. في النتائج ، سيكون النص المعروض مرآة لفهم القراء.

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى وصف كيفية استخدام التمثيل الاجتماعي في صحيفة "جاكرتا بوست" على الإنترنت باستخدام تحليل النص لبناء آراء القراء. لذلك، يمكن للقارئ التمييز بين الوسائط وتحليلها باستخدام النص باستخدام نظرية ثيو فان ليووين لتحليل النص. بينما يركز هذا البحث على توفير فهم أن بناء رأي الفرد وطريقة حياته ليس فقط من خلال المحادثة اللفظية ، ولكن أيضًا من خلال كتابة بعض التقارير الإخبارية في وسائل الإعلام.

يقدم ثيو فان ليووين (٢٠٠٨) نموذجًا لتحليل الخطاب لتحديد ومعرفة كيف يتم تمهيش أو تمهيش جماعة أو فرد. في S هذه الحالة ، تتمتع المجموعة المسيطرة بمزيد من التحكم في حدث ما ، بينما تميل السيطرة على المجموعات ذات المواضيع الأدنى حتى لو تم وصفها بشكل سيء. هذا يتعلق أيضًا بالخطاب والسلطة. السلطة ليست فقط من خلال قنوات المؤسسات الرسمية أو القانون أو الدولة، ولكن أيضًا تعمل من خلال الخطاب. يستخدم الخطاب لتعريف شيء أو مجموعة كطرف خاطئ أو صحيح.

تظهر نتائج هذه الدراسة كيف تبني صحيفة The Jakarta Post على الإنترنت آراء القراء حول عدد من القضايا الحساسة الواردة في النص. هناك نقطتان أساسيتان على الأقل تم إبرازهما من خلال التحقيق في هذه الدراسة. الأول هو كيف يتم الإبلاغ عن النصوص وكتابتها في صحيفة جاكرتا بوست على الإنترنت. والأخير يدور حول التمثيل من خلال

النصوص التي يمكن أن تؤثر على القارئ. تم العثور على تمثيل الهوية التي تشكل في الجهات الفاعلة الاجتماعية من خلال عدد من النصوص ، والجمل والبيانات. يتم ذلك من خلال اختيار الكلمات والإدراج والاستبعاد.



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a general description of this study. It includes some significant things; research background, research problems, objectives of the study, significances of the study, scope and limitation, definition of the key terms, and research method.

1.1 Background of the Study

Language as a tool for thinking is used to convey ideas from the addressers to the addressees. To understand a text, the knowledge of grammar, morphology, semantics and phonology of a text is not necessarily enough. The addressees need to understand the rhetoric intent, the coherence and the worldview that the addressers show in a text (Kaplan, 1990).

According to Fairclough (Fairclough, 1989), textual analysis explains the content of the text, the texture, form as well as organization of the text through the vocabulary used, transitivity, mood and modality, interactional control features, topicality, politeness, presuppositions and the ambiguity.

In this millenium era, the community grows in the digital era in which almost all communities, especially in Indonesia, use digital media to carry out their life every day. Digital media is inevitable in the millennial era especially as a means of communication and connecting between people. The device does not escape from the daily needs of people in the world. The devices such gadgets are considered practical, portable, multifunctional and sophisticated. All the news and social life are reachable.

Mass media have become a part of human life since they play a crucial role in the millennial society. Printed or electronic media have an effect strongly in shaping issues or reader's opinion. So that, people can decide how to perceive the world by text. Television, newspaper, radio, magazine, etc are kinds of mass media. Newspaper is known as the primary medium of discourse on the international and national issues by presenting events happening around the world.

Newspaper may represent different types of readers, since newspapers are published in reader-based ideologies. The Jakarta Post newspaper is published and intended in national reader in Indonesia with English version. Most of the news reports are international and national issue that are consumed by thousands millennial people.

Every newspaper performs its own dependency and ideology. The newspaper represents most valuable current information. Republika represents Islamic values, while Kompas shows nationalism. Jawa Pos is for those who are concerned with youth-level people perspectives, and The Jakarta Post tends to perform national and international issue.

The development of society to read and analyze a discourse in the newspaper media must be more enhanced. This need becomes very important for people's understanding in receiving information in the media. There are a lot of readers taking and sharing information without basic understanding about the issues, especially when sensitive issues spread across many media without regarding to the journalistic code of ethics. The issue, such as tribe and belief

become the most frequently discussed. In fact, this issue can cause feud of thought and people fight. This problems are often superficially understood by the society as readers.

It is interesting to be talked when not all of the participants are explicitly mentioned in the texts. There is no mention of the student, for instance. The key participants (journalist and readers) are not realized in and by text, nor are the many other participants involved in the production and distribution of newspaper. The texts only realize the journalist's actions (reporting). The other element of the practice are usually seen as "context". But as the concept of social practice combines both text and context.

Mass media should be able to cover both sides. Moreover, they present the public some sensitive issues such as belief, tribes, community. etc. The sensitive issues reported by The Jakarta Post tend to national issues even sometimes it showed the global scale. The representation used by the writers of the articles regarding to this study has purposes either to persuade the readers to support or marginalize a certain group of people.

Thus, this present study comes in depth into textual analysis. The researcher analyzes the texts in the online newspaper which is published in The Jakarta Post newspaper. This study serves that presenting text's way of patterns is not only thought its texts, but also the ways how the journalists presented as a context. The researcher intends to point out some samples on the text in The Jakarta Post online newspaper. The researcher believes that The Jakarta Post online newspaper is English newspaper and internationally recognized in the

world, therefore, it is important to analyse and further comprehend how this media constructs readers opinion moreover in some sensitive issues by texts.

1.2 Research Question

Research problem to be studied is “How does The Jakarta Post newspaper construct readers opinion in some sensitive issues by text?”

1.3 Objectives of the Study

Objective of the study is intended to know how The Jakarta Post newspaper construct readers opinion in some sensitive issues .

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study hopefully can contribute to the readers theoretically and practically. Theoretically, this study is significant to be conducted because of the abuse of media in reporting some sensitive issues. Today’s media should understand how an individual represent the identity. The textual analysis is a tool to comprehend how The Jakarta Post newspaper spread out the issue around the society. Practically, textual analysis is pivotal for those who work or participate actively in media. Some journalist can sound and spread out the peace and cool down the sensitive issues.

1.5 Scope and Limitation

This study focuses on investigating the use of text in the news in reporting sensitive issues on Jakarta Post online newspaper published September 2017 to

April 2019. This study uses the whole text of the news such as the headlines news and the content of the news.

1.6 Definition of Key Terms

In this study, some key terms are to define:

1. Textual analysis: a way for researchers to gather information about how other human beings make sense of the world. It is one of the primary tools media researchers use to understand how meaning is made from media texts. The important considerations in textual analysis include selecting the types of textsto be studied, acquiring appropriate texts, and determining which particular approach to employ in analyzing. Another issue is determining how complete and accurate the texts are in order to conduct a sound analysis.
2. Jakarta Post newspaper: a daily English language newspaper in Indonesia owned by PT Bina Media Tenggara and the head office is in the nation's capital, Jakarta. In this study, the researcher takes online newspaper as a medium since it is digital, portable and accessible.
3. Sensitive issues: responsive or capable of responding to a stimulus or substance. It usually has a power of sensation.

1.7 Research Method

1.7.1 Research Design

This research is examined using descriptive qualitative research approach. It explores the understanding language and meaning on the individual text. In this research, the researcher chooses descriptive method since it is used to explain the identity and ideology used by the media and the use of language which occur in the text.

This research is identified as structuralism worldview research. In this way all meaning that is contingent as meaning depends on difference; it depends on the relationship between two concepts (such as hot and cold—we cannot know one without knowing the other). The topic of this research includes in the discourse analysis.

This study was conducted using textual analysis. Textual analysis proved to be the most effective method to evaluate sources due to its in-depth assessment of ideological and cultural assumptions as well social actor role reflected within the media chosen for study.

1.7.2 Research Subject

Generally, there are a number of Indonesia top media who are likely to publish and produce several important information with great management. In fact, they have a lot of subscribers or constant readers. Most of them use Indonesia to write the information. The Jakarta Post is the only one newspaper that use English as the main language. Therefore, the subject of this research is

text of Jakarta Post online newspaper. The texts are fully written in English. The news reported by Jakarta Post contains international, national and regional scope. Jakarta Post presents daily in offline and online form. This data are taken from the sensitive issues in the newspaper. The racism, ideology transfer, mass organization, and political campaign are some sample of sensitive issues that is reported in the text of Jakarta Post. The texts of this study are taken from the official website of The Jakarta Post newspaper at <https://www.thejakartapost.com/>.

1.7.3 Data Sources

The data of this research were taken from The Jakarta Post online newspaper from September 2017 to April 2019. There are four samples data which containing sensitive issues. The Jakarta Post reports all the news in full English and informs all aspect of life. The data source is taken from the original, credible, and official website, therefore, this data is valid and trust worthy because all products of journalism are based on code ethic of journalistics. The news that is written absolutely has the code writer that is person in charge of the news.

1.7.4 Research Instrument

The researcher is the primary instrument of this study by investigating, taking note, gathering the data through The Jakarta Post online newspaper. The researcher also marks the potential points to be analysed. Then, the researcher identifies the elements that includes to the textual analysis discussion. The main instrument of this study, therefore, is the researcher himself.

1.7.5 Data Collection

In collecting the data, the researcher obtained the data from official website of The Jakarta Post online newspaper. The researcher read the newspaper as much as possible to obtain and gather comprehensive understanding how the journalist post the news. The researcher finally read the data taken in this study and related the data toward some sensitive issues. Finally the researcher selected and accumulated the data or news which represent some sensitive issues.

1.7.6 Data Analysis

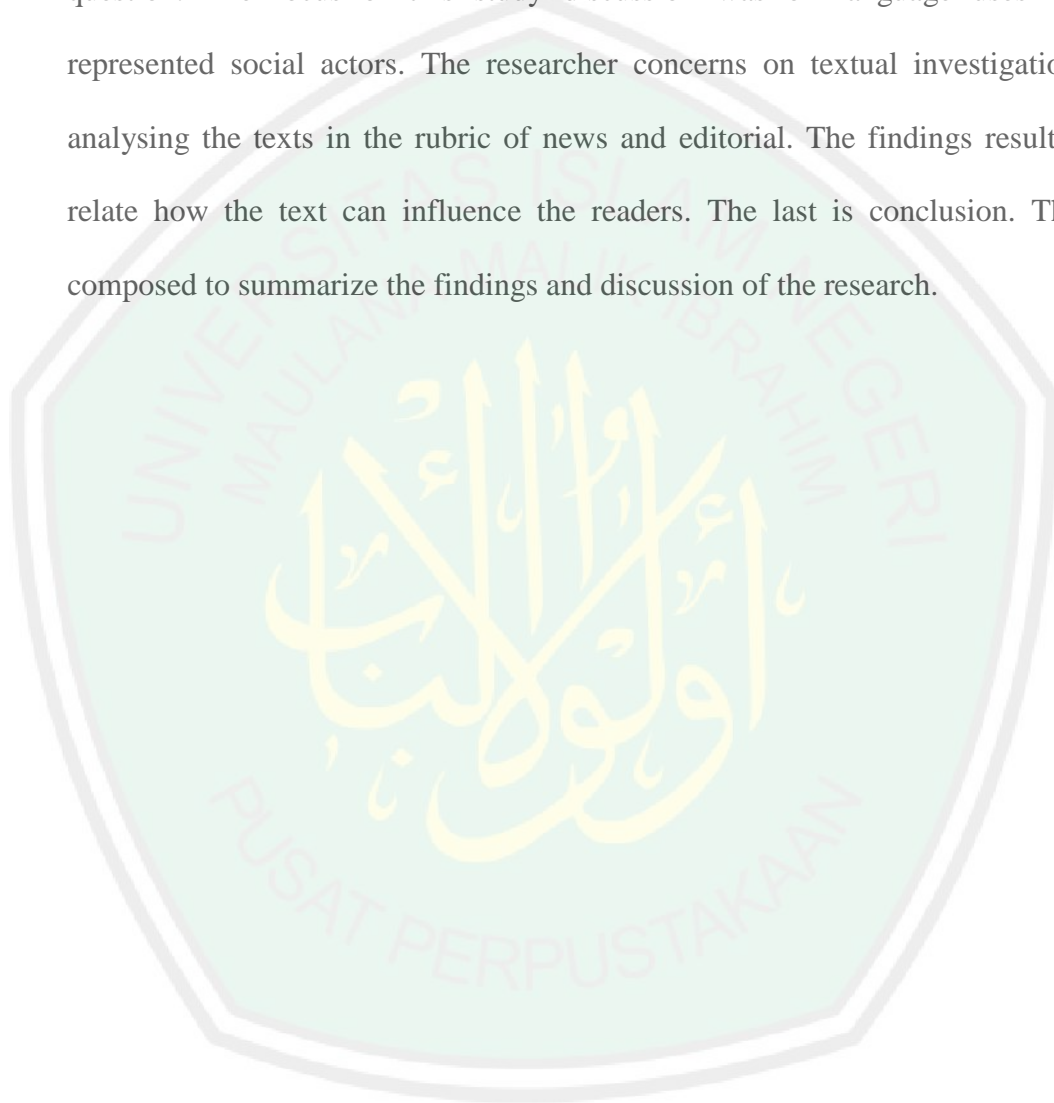
In analyzing the data, the researcher did several steps. First, the researcher categorizes some headlines related to the topics in the official websites based on Theo van Leeuwen (2008) theory on his book entitled *Language and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis*. The data were classified into two characteristics: the analysis of inclusion process and exclusion process.

The inclusion and exclusion process have their own categorization and classification. The texts can be classified whether inclusion or exclusion processes based on Theo van Leeuwen theory. The whole texts that considered important to be discussed were bold and underline while the whole texts are totally italic. The bold texts are samples to be discussed further.

Second, the researcher did identification and explanation toward the chosen texts. They are identified over the texts, adjusting to the theory. Furthermore, the analysis is classified into the brach of inclusion or exclusion. It

goes deeply on what makes distinguish both two patterns. Emphasis was given to headlines and text of news items that were considered important..

Finally, the researcher discussed the findings to answer the research question. The focus of this study discussion was on language uses which represented social actors. The researcher concerns on textual investigation by analysing the texts in the rubric of news and editorial. The findings results can relate how the text can influence the readers. The last is conclusion. This is composed to summarize the findings and discussion of the research.



CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

In this chapter, the researcher discusses about theoretical frameworks of the research and details of the theory which becomes the fundamental of analyzing and investigating the data. Then, the researcher also presents some previous studies to give slightly overview about the related topic which have been previously investigated.

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is mostly known as a shared perspective which consists of several particular approaches instead of calling it a school of linguistics. This case, approaches and sub-disciplines in language and discourse studies, it is not easy to determine the special principles, practices, aims, theories, and method of CDA (van Dijk, 1995: 17).

According to Halliday as cited in Todoli, et all (2006) language has three macro functions. The first is the ideational function. It means that language can represent the experience that speakers have about the world. The second is the interpersonal function. This function shows how language may reflect the experience of the speakers and from the relationship between speakers and hearers. The third is the textual function. It permits the speakers to produce a certain discourse or text which is understood by the hearers and connects that discourse with its co-text and context.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a methodology was chosen for this research because language takes on greater significance in the arena of providing and consuming services. Discourse according to Fairclough (1972) actively constitutes or constructs society using knowledge and power. A discourse can be viewed as a total system of knowledge that makes a multitude of true statements possible whilst articulating a particular truth and then maintaining the effects of that truth. CDA provides insight into how bodies of knowledge are used to influence public perception.

Theo van Leeuwen in one of his works related to CDA is “*Discourse as the Recontextualization of Social Practice: A Guide*” (Van Leeuwen in Wodak and Mayer, 2009). He introduced the approach to discourse based on the idea that discourses are recontextualizations of social practices. The crucial elements of social practices are (1) actions, (2) performance modes (specific ways of how an actions are performed), (3) actors, (4) presentation styles (the way in which actors present themselves, e.g. dress, grooming, etc.), (5) times, (6) spaces, (7) resources (specific tool and material needed), and (8) eligibility (specific qualities of the concrete elements of social practices).

He stated that discourse as transformation or recontextualizations of social practice. He divided transformation into three types. The first is deletion. It means that some components of a social practice may not be represented in a particular discourse. The second is substitution. For example, an actor is represented as a specific individual or as a type of a person. The third is addition. Discourses can add reactions and motives to the representation of social practices.

Further, he stated that the main ways in which social actions can be transformed are various. They are: (1) actions and reactions, (2) material actions (actions as doing) and semiotic actions (actions as meanings), (3) objectivations (actions and reactions are represented dynamically, as actions) and de-activation (actions and reactions are represented in a static way, as though they are entities rather than actions), (4) agentialization (actions and reactions are represented as brought about by human agency) and de-agentialization (actions and reactions are represented as brought about in ways that are impermeable to human agency, e.g. through natural forces, unconscious process, etc.), (5) concretization and abstraction, and (6) overdetermination (a given social practice stands for more than itself).

2.2 Discourse Analysis of Theo van Leeuwen

Theo Van Leeuwen introduces a discourse analysis model to detect and examine how a group or person is marginalized position in a discourse. In this case, the dominant group has more control of an event and its meaning, while for groups with lower positions tend to be continually controlled, and poorly described.

This relates toward a connection between discourse and power. Power is not only through channels formal, legal or state institutions, but also operates through discourse. The discourse is used to define something or a group as incorrect or bad. One of the most important agents in defining a group is media. News in media is constantly being disseminated, thus the media spread understanding and awareness toward head of each reader or audience.

The discourse created by the media may legitimize person or group and even marginalize other groups. There are two kinds of discourse theories of Theo Van Leeuwen. First, the exclusion process. This presence or absence of actors performed within reporting. This exclusion process could change the audience's understanding of an issue and legitimize it. Second, the process of inclusion. It is related to how each party or group is displayed via news in the media. Both the exclusion process and the inclusion use are called a discourse strategy. There are the detailed processes of it, as follows:

2.2.1. Exclusion

There are several strategies regarding how an actor (someone or group) issued during the conversation as follows:

a. Passivation

Through the use of passive sentences, actors can not be presented in the text, something that is not possible in active structured sentences.

b. Nominalization

As the name implies, this strategy is related to change verb (verb) becomes a noun (noun). Generally done by giving affixations. The word 'killing' can be present independently in sentences. The word nomination can not only eliminate the subject, but also can change the meaning of sentences when accepted by the audience.

c. Substitution of clause

This substitution of clauses can not only be used for eliminate actors, but can also be a substitute for actors. This matter done by reporters because reporters

consider their readers to know who is the actor in question. Because it is considered to know that, for efficiency word, then the actor is omitted. These changes may not be realized by the author, but makes the actor hidden in the sentence.

2.2.2. Inclusion

An event or a social actor can be displayed in the text independently, as a unique and distinctive event, but it can also be contrasted by displaying other events or actors in the text. The presence of inclusion can be a marker both of how a group or event is represented in the text. Group attendance or other events directly want to show that the group is not good rather than other groups. There are several kinds of discourse strategies that are carried out in the text to display something or someone, namely:

a. Indetermination and differentiation

This strategy presents two different actors in one reporting. The discourse strategy is carried out to compare and contrast. However, the presence of different actors is not reduce the meaning that you want to communicate to the public. In the news often actors or events are mentioned clear, but often also unclear (anonymous). This anonymity could be because journalists haven't got enough evidence to write, so it's safer to write anonymously. It could be because of structural fear if the category is clear from someone who is a social actor referred to in the text. The formation of this anonymity will create an impression different when accepted by the audience.

b. Abstraction and objectivation

This discourse strategy relates to the question of whether information regarding an event or social actor displayed by giving concrete instructions or what is displayed is abstraction.

c. Nomination and categorization

In reporting about actors or problems often there is a choice whether the actor is displayed as is, or who is called is the categorization of the social actor. This category can various, can be religion, status, physical form, and who others.

d. Identification

This discourse strategy is almost similar to categorization, but deep identification of the definition process is done by giving children sentence as explanatory. There are two propositions, the second proposition is explanation of the first proposition. Generally associated with words connection such as which, where, etc. Giving this clause can give certain meaning suggestions, because it is generally a judgment on someone, certain groups or actions.

e. Assimilation

This discourse strategy relates to the question, is the social actor reported the social status clearly categorized or not? Assimilation occurs when reporting is not a category of social actors specific, but the community or social group where someone is originated.

f. Association and dissociation

This discourse strategy relates to the question of whether the actor or a party is displayed on its own or connected with another larger group. The

association refers to understanding when in the text, social actors are killed by associations or groups bigger, where the social actor is.

2.3 Discourse and Identity

Discourse and identity explains the ways in which certain person display their identities such the way they are using language and interacting with other people. In a book entitled *Discourse Analysis: an introduction*, Paltridge (2008) stated that the earliest studies on the affiliation between language and identity is based on particular aspect. That is mirrored from the relationship between social variables such as social class in terms of variation in the use of linguistics variables as certain features of pronunciation and word choices.

According to Paltridge (2008), people's identities are not naturally existed. It is shaped and built in large part through the use of discourse. People need to understand deeply the discourse of it because language that is used in the discourse reflects someone's or institutions's identity. People have to understand the social context since discourse will give impacts on how someone interprets identity.

Language and identity is studied recently due to the super modern era presence. The identities established via online provided an interesting example of how people present personalities through their use of language that may, in some cases, be the same or not as their offline identity. This case is the continuing process of reflecting who we are.

2.3.1 Textual Analysis and Media

Textual analysis involves analysing texts. A text is something that we make meaning from. Whenever we produce an interpretation of something's meaning – a book, television programme, film, magazine, T-shirt or kilt, piece of furniture or ornament – we treat it as a text (McKee, 2003).

Analysis at the textual level is concerned with minutiae of the text such as how it is formed and what particular vocabulary and style is used in order to produce meaning. The codes were searched for instances where power and knowledge were present in the discourse, by whom and how this power was being used.

Textual analysis is an interpretative research method that identifies the text in relation to the contextual background. This approach is based on the understanding that the construction of the text cannot be separated from the relationship between media institutions and its social and cultural environment. Principally, the purpose of media texts analysis is to improve our understanding of the role played by the news media in constructing meaning within wider culture. Analysis of media texts always starts from the text to the wider culture of from text to audience (Cunningham and Turner, 1997).

As media theorist, McKee (2003) states textual analysis is a way for researcher to gather information about how other human beings make sense of the world. As the link between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary, media texts are naturally *polysemic*: open to many interpretations. In their attempt to ensure a particular meaning is made, the industries and individuals responsible for these

texts attempt to manipulate the relationship between signifier and signified to direct receivers to adopt an intended message.

The disciplines of mass communications and media studies, as well as some cultural studies, stands on the assumption that the texts surrounding people have an important effect on the way of thinking. It is presented as a kind of simple physical equation that when message is broadcast then people begin to think in this way. There is an assumption that if only the media changed the kinds of stories presented, then people would start to think over differently. This is the propaganda model of the media.

This way does not enough convince since there is no evidence that such a straightforward causal relationship exist between the texts that people interpret, and their sense-making practice. The researcher prefer to use this metaphor of language to think about how it works.

The researcher are not analysing texts to see how accurate people toward their representation of reality. This form of post-structuralist textual analysis is not about measuring media texts to see how accurate they are. But, this is only one methodology that can be used in cultural studies, media studies or mass communication studies. The realist mode of analysing texts is still an important one within these disciplines. This is particularly the case in media studies, where many writers seek to measure texts against reality. Indeed, this is the most common public mode of thinking about media texts. It seems like common sense:

- Texts can be measured as being more or less accurate.

- Which is to say, they can be measured as to how accurately they tell the truth.
- Which is to say, they can be measured as to how accurately they tell the truth about reality. (Ellis, 2000)

In post-structuralist textual analysis, researcher should not make claims about whether texts are accurate, truthful or biased. These claims are moral ones more than anything, attempting to close down other forms of representation take place, the assumptions behind them and the kinds of sense-making about the world that they reveal. Different texts can present the same event in different ways, and all of them can be as truthful and accurate as each other. When it is considered as accurate or inaccurate, then it never gets to the interesting part of the analysis – how these texts tell the stories, represent the world, and make sense of it.

McKee (2003) clarified the following headlines all introduced stories in online newspapers about the death of a British girl from ‘CJD’ – the human form of BSE (popularly called ‘mad cow disease’):

‘CJD kills girl, 14’ (*Guardian Unlimited, 2000*)

‘Millions watched Zoe’s final hours’ (*Electronic Telegraph, 2000*)

‘BSE safety controls dropped’ (*Independent online, 2000*)

To state the obvious, these are different headlines for stories covering the same event. But none of them is inaccurate or false. The first foregrounds the disease and the girl’s age; the second personalizes her with a name, and comments on her status as national spectacle; the third puts her into a context of government

policy on disease control. These are different perspectives and different representations. People can say that all three are accurate but how far does that get us in the analysis, when they are obviously working in very different ways?

2.4 Previous Studies

There are several relevant researchers that have conducted studies dealing with textual analysis. Winahyu (2011) investigates the opinion news in the Tempo magazine. The researcher uses Toulmin's theory (1958) that is modified by Ramage and Bean. She investigates the cohesion in that text to find the correlation of each sentence in the text.

The second research is investigated by Poorebrahim and Zarei (2013). The research focuses on the critical discourse analysis on how Islam is portrayed in four western newspapers; New York Times, The Independent, The Herald Tribune, and The Times by using Edward Said's notion of orientalism and Van Dijk's notion of ideological square. The result of their analysis shows that Islam is repetitively stereotyped and Muslims are negatively represented, both through various types of linguistics choices selected and via special construction of the headlines.

The third research is done by Prayudi and Retno (2016). The research discusses about textual analysis of the Jakarta Post online newspaper of presidential candidates in Indonesia. The research shows that the post represented the issues above through open, straight forward and critical reporting style which is new characteristics of Indonesian press in the era of 'reform'. The representation of the issues was The Jakarta Post's attempt to play its role as the news media

where it portrayed how the Democratic Party dealt with issue of presidential election. The post wanted to educate society to become aware of the presidential election.

The fourth research is from Nicholas Reeves. In his book entitled “*The Power of Film Propaganda: Myth or Reality?*” (1999), is useful for thinking about this phenomenon. His study looks at film-making in Britain during the first World War. These propaganda films were produced with the specific intent of changing how people thought about particular element of the world by making the enemy seem more demonic and the troops seem more heroic. It is an active attempts to intervene in sense-making practice by producing text with a deliberate message.

Reeves tries to work out how successful these attempts were by examining audience reports, opinion construction and discussion about the films. He assumes that:

Successful film propaganda proved remarkably elusive. Where it set itself the modest task of reinforcing existing ideas it did, on occasion, enjoy greater success. Even here, however, audiences constructed their own meanings in the films that they saw and thus it was the audiences, not the propagandist, who determined whether or not propaganda would succeed (Reeves, 1999).

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter consists of findings and discussion of the research. The findings show the presentation and analysis of the data to answer the question. The analysis result is discussed further in discussion sub-chapter. The researcher identifies the analysis which focused on how The Jakarta Post newspaper construct readers opinion in some sensitive issues by text. Then, the discussion comprises the description of the result of data analysis.

3.1 Findings

The findings describe how The Jakarta Post online newspaper construct readers opinion in some sensitive issues by text. The text which reports some sensitive issues on the newspaper is analysed by the researcher using Theo Van Leeuwen's theory. In his thought, the analysis is dealing with textual analysis, whether it is exclusion or inclusion. The whole data is discussed in this chapter.

The texts of The Jakarta Post online newspaper analysed in this present research were published from September 2017 to April 2019. The texts of this data uses the whole texts of the news such as the headlines news, the content of the news and editorial rubrics. However, the researcher only analysed six articles of different issues regarding sensitive issues since those data are considered sensitive issues contains. The data are discussed in sufficient detail as follows.

A. The use of inclusion and exclusion processes

Datum 1 (Monday, April 1, 2019)

**‘MY BODY IS NOT MINE’: INDONESIA WITHOUT FEMINIST
GROUP STARTS ONLINE CAMPAIGN**

An antifeminist group, *Indonesia Tanpa Feminis (Indonesia Without Feminists)*, has launched a social media campaign amid heated debate over proposed sexual violence legislation **that** pits feminists and some Islamic groups against each other.

On one of the posts, an unnamed woman holds up a sign saying she doesn't need feminism because it “demonizes traditional family constructs”. Some of the group's older posts framed feminism as a blasphemous Western idea that is antithetical to Islamic values. The group asserts that the feminist notion of complete authority over one's body is wrong, saying that “My body is not mine, but rather Allah's”.

An Instagram user commented on this particular post, saying that even though it is God's body, women should make sure that other people treat it well. “Don't we need to ensure that we live in a world where your/God's body is respected?” the user asked.

On March 27, the Instagram account posted a picture of dozens of women, all of them wearing hijab, with the caption: “In frame: Women who want their generation free from feminism poison.”

The text above explains about feminist issues in Indonesia. This issue is growing rapidly because the feminist movement in Indonesia has always been massively intensified, even mobilizing various social organizations and non-governmental organizations. As we all know that Indonesia is a country with the most Muslim population in the world. This background made the Indonesian group without feminists move against the feminist movement in Indonesia. They consider the feminist movement tends towards the western ideas that the narrative does not match toward Islamic values and the culture that exists in Indonesia.

The researcher finds some ideas based on discourse theories of Theo Van Leeuwen. In the headline mentioned "*Indonesia Without Feminist group*" categorized in nominalization and categorization. This category performs various form that can be religion, status, social group, physical form and others. This text uses the social status or grouping by stating "*Indonesia Without Feminist*" in the headline.

"*An antifeminist group*" in the first paragraph expresses identification. This strategy is almost similar to categorization, but deep identification of the definition process is done by giving "*Indonesia Tanpa Feminist*" clause as explanatory. Giving this clause can give deeper meaning because it is generally a judgement on certain group in this case is that Indonesia Tanpa Feminis group. The word "*that*" is included in identification category. As strategy mentioned previously, this is similar to categorization. The identification – *that* – explains the proposed sexual violence legislation. This way is able to provoke reader's opinion to briefly give a short judgement since the legislation is open interpretation.

In the second paragraph, the text “*one of the posts*” shows association and disassociation. Possessive pronoun and possessive attributives clauses with verb or noun clause such as ‘have’ and ‘belong’ can make an explicit association without naming the resulting social group. In this case, however, the association is represented in form of possessive attributive by saying “*one of the posts*”.

Oh the other hand, the clause “*an unnamed woman*” is belonging to abstraction. This strategy relates to the question of whether information regarding an event or social actor displayed by giving concrete instructions or what is displayed is abstraction. While in “*a blasphemous western*” is an exclusion in this datum that is included into substitution of clause. This matter done by reporters because reporters consider their readers know how is the condition reflects the western. Some of substitution showing a time sequence is “*when my mom took me to school*”. The example tells reader about the time sequence. This data – a blasphemous western – shows a condition sequence.

The third paragraph “*an instagram user*” is identified as exclusion. Giving this clause can give certain meaning suggestions, because it is generally a judgement on someone, certain groups or actions. This strategy is almost similar to categorization, but deep identification of the definition process is done by giving children sentence as explanatory. This is such an abstraction pattern.

Giving this clause can give certain meaning suggestions, because it is generally a judgment on someone, certain groups or actions. The next text is in the last paragraph which shows the same with the previous clause. This clause “*all of*

them wearing hijab” is identification. This is further categorized in as physical identification. This way is quite clear shaping the reader interpretation.

Datum 2 (Wednesday, March 27, 2019)

**NORTH SUMATRA UNIVERSITY BREAKS UP STUDENT FORUM
ON LGBT LITERATURE**

Shortly after disbanding its student press, Suara USU, for publishing an LGBT-themed short story, North Sumatra University (USU) has barred former members of the now-defunct press organization from holding discussions on LGBT issues.

*Officials from the USU rectorate made the decision on Tuesday to break up a forum organized by Suara USU to discuss a literary piece titled *Semua Menolak Kehadiran Diriku di Dekatnya* (Everyone Refuses My Presence Near Her).*

The piece, which describes the discrimination faced by homosexuals in the country, was written and posted by Yael Stefany Siaga on the Suara USU website.

The forum, which was attended by literature experts and members of the press, was already well under way when members of the rectorate insisted that the discussion be shut down immediately.

The incident faced resistance from students and shows how the university's growing intolerance of the LGBT community is now threatening academic freedom.

"They're not allowed to organize discussions anymore". If they still want to hold such events, then they should do so outside the campus," Efendi said, while dispersing discussion participants at the Suara Usu secretariat.

"We, as students, have the right to freely hold discussions. The reason why we held the discussion in the first place was because we wanted to gauge responses from literature experts about the short story controversy," Widya said.

The text above explains the dissolution of the discussion conducted by one of the student press organizations at the North Sumatra University. The rectorate bureaucrat dissolved the discussion about LGBT after the media crew at Suara USU published short stories about sensitive topics and were considered to violate the campus code of ethics.

In the headline news, the word "*North Sumatra University*" is categorized nominalization categorization. This strategy is typically realized by proper noun which can be formal (surname only, with or without honorifics), semiformal (given name and surname) or informal (given name only). The word "*North Sumatra University*" represents formal nominalization.

The first word in the first paragraph show exclusion, specifically substitution of clause. The writer intends to show up the time sequence of this case before going forward the current case. There are a lot of ways to express time sequence that is categorized in substitution of clause. The clause "*shortly after disbanding its student press*" indicates that there is a short introduction to this case.

“*USU rectorate*” in the second paragraph is categorized in association. This way is done in order to be labeled as institution decision, not personal as well. In this sense, it refers to groups form of academic status. This status is associated to form a group of educational interest. But, rather than being represented as personal, the group is represented as an alliance which exists only in relation to a specific activity or set of activities, in this case, their role in relation to education institution.

The identification – “*which*” – explains the discrimination faced by homosexuals in the country. This way is mentioned identification-classification since this word gives more information about the previous texts. This is an inclusion. While in the next paragraph, the clause “*literature expert*” is included abstraction and objectivation. The subjects are not displayed clearly. The academic status, in this case, is showed in the narration. This way is to inform reader the attendance by hiding the certain subject.

In addition, the word “*when*” show an exclusion since it shows a substitution of clause. The text explains more about time sequence that is “*members of the rectorate insisted that the discussion be shut down immediately.*” The following “*which*” is an exclusion. This is a substitution of clause. The writer intends to show up the time sequence of this case. It is to reports the time the member was undertaken a good job by implementing the rules from the rectorate.

In addition, substitution of clause as well is showed in the clause “*how the university’s growing intolerance of the LGBT community*” which represents the

social condition sequence. This is framing the reader opinion about the university condition constructed by the writer or journalist.

The next is an exclusion specifically passivation. Through the use of passive sentences, actors can not be presented in the text. The passive form “*they’re not allowed to organized discussions anymore*” omits the subject. This way, according to Theo Van Leeuwen, is a strategy to hide the actor. In this case, USU is omitted. The word “*as student*” is categorized in nomination and categorization. This category performs various form. In this case, the text used is to show the academic status.

Datum 3 (Tuesday, September 19, 2017)

DEATH OF FREE SPEECH

*A discussion on the 1960s upheaval **was broken up** on Saturday, with police telling an “**anticommunist**” mob that no communism-related activity had been taking place, thus the police claim to have maintained public security.*

***Police blame organizers** for failing to inform them that a seminar titled “Conveying the truth on the history of 1965/1966” would be held, citing the 1998 law on conveying opinions in public open space — while the event planned until Sunday took place at the Jakarta Legal Aid Office (LBH Jakarta). A festival on free speech replaced Sunday’s talks.*

***Leaders of the Foundation of the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (YLBHI) and LBH Jakarta** said even under the New Order, security personnel had never gone so far as to disperse an event inside the building. LBH Jakarta*

director Alghifari Aqsa said police conveyed earlier that they would not take issue with the event, as long as a few officers were present.

*To cries of Allahu Akbar (God is great), even the **Indonesian Military (TNI)** was seen nearby, greeted by the groups who equate discussing historical events in Indonesia to attempts to “revive” communism and the now defunct **Indonesian Communist Party (PKI)**, which was blamed for the September 1965 coup attempt and rebellion in 1948.*

*A recent survey on Asians’ views on democracy showed Indonesians were the most optimistic about the state of democracy in their country. **Over 75 percent of Indonesian respondents** expressed trust in the police.*

The headline news shows the reader how exclusion is shown in the first time before going further to the whole text. The word “*death*” is included into nomination category. Nomination process allows the exclusion of social actors. The word “*death*” function as nominals because it refers to actions. “*Death*” is the final result of killing, in which this nominal needs actor to be true. The example above involves a human actor, the people who do the “*death*” itself. The context may lead the readers to infer that the actor was involved, but there can be no certainty.

It is often difficult to know whether suppressed social actors are or are not supposed to be retrievable by the reader or, indeed, the writer. The example above, for instance, does not tell us who is involved in the act of “stopping the discussion”.

The first paragraph passivation “*was broken up*” is exclusion as well. Through the use of passive sentences, actors can not be presented in the text. The passive form “*was broken up*” omits the subject. This way, according to Theo Van Leeuwen, is a strategy to hide the actor. In this case, police is omitted even the next paragraph it is explained.

Whereas, “*anticommunist*” word in the first paragraph expresses identification. This strategy is almost similar to categorization, but deep identification of the definition process is done by giving “*no communism-related activity*” clause as explanatory. Giving this clause can give deeper meaning because it is generally a judgement on certain group.

In the second paragraph, the clause “*Police blame organizers*” explains inclusion. This form of category is activation. Activation occurs when social actors are represented as the active roles. In this case, the word “*police*” performs as an actor. This action may be realized by grammatical participant roles, by transitivity structures in which activated social actors are coded as actor in material processes, behavior in behavioral processes, senser in mental processes, sayer in verbal processes, or assigner in relational processes (Halliday, 1985).

In next paragraph, the clause “*Leaders of the Foundation of the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (YLBHI) and LBH Jakarta*” is categorized nominalization categorization. This strategy is typically realized by proper noun which can be formal (surname only, with or without honorifics), semiformal (given name and

surname) or informal (given name only). The clause above represents formal nomination.

The following paragraph shows the clause “*Indonesian Military (TNI)*“ is categorized nominalization categorization. As the previous category explained, this strategy is typically realized by proper noun which can be formal, semiformal or informal. The clause above represents formal nomination. In addition, the clause “*Indonesian Communist Party (PKI)*” is as the same as the previous category that is nominalization categorization.

In the last paragraph, the statement “*over 75 percent of Indonesian respondents*” tells aggregation assimilation, an inclusion. According to Theo Van Leeuwen, there are two kinds of assimilation. Those are aggregation and collectivization. This part is included into aggregation since it is realized by the presence of definite or indefinite quantifiers which either function as the numerative or as the head of the nominal group.

Datum 4 (Wednesday, March 6, 2019)

FAITH (FIELD) NO MORE

*On the face of it, the decision of the **Bandung City Population and Civil Registry Agency** in West Java to issue identity cards with a “faith” field rather than a “religion” one, may seem like a progressive move.*

*The move could also be seen as bold given the fact that it was made by government officials operating in a province **deemed** one of the most religiously conservative in the country. Kudos should also go to local administrations in*

Semarang, Tegal, Blora, Jepara and Cilacap all in Central Java, **which** have decided to allow believers of non-denominational faiths to simply check “faith” in the religion field on their identity card.

As a matter of fact, we should also give praise to the Constitutional Court, which ruled in **response** to a judicial review of articles 61 and 64 of Law No 23/2013 on population administration that denying to record native faiths in the identity card violated the principle of equality before the law.

But as with many other political decisions, the devil is in the detail. The **absence of guidance** on how to implement the court decision has not only made the decision to include “faith” on identity cards ineffective; it could in fact spell more trouble for followers of native faiths in the country. We could argue that the court decision and the follow-up policies from some local administrations are not progressive enough simply because it lumps myriad local native faiths into one generic term “faith”.

This decision reduces to a simple administrative category the complexity of personal and social aspects of subscribing to a faith that has been passed down for generations.

Even for **those** who subscribed to minority faiths recognized by the government, the bureaucracy could find ways to discriminate against these people, especially when they set out to build a place of worship.

How can we be sure that putting “faith” in the religion field would not encourage more discrimination; or in the event of a political crisis, what would be

the guarantee that subscribers to these non-denominational faiths would not be targeted by pogroms.

The most progressive step the government can take is simply to do away with the religion field. Just drop it from the identity card, because religion is your personal business.

The text above explains the readers about the faith column of Indonesian societies in their identity card. The first paragraph has a clause “*Bandung City Population and Civil Registry Agency*”. This clause shows nominalization categorization. This strategy is typically realized by proper noun which can be formal (surname only, with or without honorifics), semiformal (given name and surname) or informal (given name only). The clause above represents formal nomination.

In the second paragraph, the word “*deemed*” is passivation category. It is represented as undergoing the activity, or as being at the receiving end of it. It is beneficialized social actors because it forms a third party which, positively or negatively, benefits from the action. The identification “*which*” explains the decision of allowing believers of non-denominational faiths to simply check faith in the religion field on their identity card. This way is mentioned identification-classification since this word gives more information about the previous texts. This is an exclusion.

The word “*response*” in the third paragraph is categorized nomination. Nomination and process nouns similarly allow the exclusion of social actors. In

addition, the words “*absense and guidance*” in the following paragraph above is categorized as well nomination. They function as nominals although they refer to actions. The texts above do not tell the reader who is responsible for the action, just as in the case of nominations and passive agent deletions.

In the following paragraph, the sentence “*this decision reduces to a simple administrative category*” classified as an inclusion. This form of category is activation. Activation occurs when social actors are represented as the active roles. In this case, the clause “*this decision*” performs as an actor. This action may be realized by grammatical participant roles, by transitivity structures in which activated social actors are coded as actor.

In the last paragraph, the word “*those*” is an indetermination. It occurs when social actors are represented as unspecified, anonymous individuals or group. No one can know the intention but futher concrete explanation like mentioned above. This is inclusion.

Datum 5 (Friday, May 5, 2017)

RADICAL IDEOLOGIES THRIVE ON CAMPUSES

The growing support for radical ideologies, including those calling for the establishment of a transnational Muslim caliphate, at Indonesian universities has raised alarm over the future of the country’s unity and pluralism.

Such concern was evident on Thursday when Coordinating Political, Legal and Security Affairs Minister Wiranto gathered dozens of vice rectors of student affairs from state and private universities in Greater Jakarta.

During the gathering, the minister told the members of academia that Indonesia was facing a new nonconventional threat to national security: the rise of radical ideologies that threaten the state ideology of Pancasila.

These ideologies, he said, were also thriving on campuses.

*“**Pancasila** is our nation’s way of life, and when people begin comparing it to other philosophies, this already serves as a warning. There’s already an early attempt to obstruct our state ideology,” Wiranto said. “Any ideology that opposes Pancasila, may it be called right-wing, left-wing, or an extremist ideology, cannot be disseminated on university campuses.”*

The gathering came amid the growing perception that Islamic radicalism is gaining ground across the country, with religious groups once considered as fringe now becoming more assertive and even playing a prominent role in the recent Jakarta election.

State Islamic University (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta vice rector of student affairs Yusron Razak acknowledged there were groups of students at the university that showed interest in the idea of a caliphate or Muslim rule.

He said this phenomenon did not only occur at Islamic universities, but also at other state and private universities.

*“It happens at many universities. Lately we have even seen the **declaration** of a caliphate in IPB [Bogor Agriculture Institute],” Yusron said.*

Recently, a video showing thousands of students at IPB Darmaga Campus pledging allegiance to the establishment of an Islamic state in Indonesia went viral.

The video is said to be part of the National Symposium of Campus Propagation Institute (LDK) held by LDK Coordination Agency (BLDK) in 2016.

IPB officials said they had not attended the event.

The phenomena has put university administrations in a difficult position as they cannot ban students for simply showing interest in or discussing certain ideologies.

Yusron stressed that even though some students expressed interest in creating a caliphate it did not mean they would engage in violence against Pancasila.

He explained that in the name of intellectual freedom, discourses and discussions on any ideology should be allowed.

***"I cannot ban the discussion.** Only the authorities can do it. However, we should also guard our dignity as a higher education institution, because academically we should uphold objectivity and critical thinking," he said.*

What worried Yusron was the possibility of horizontal conflicts that might occur if the student groups supporting the implementation of sharia were confronted by other student groups who felt more strongly about Pancasila.

“I think there should be a mechanism created by the government to prevent the spread of radical ideology, but in a wise way that is within the corridor of the law,” he said, adding that it was important to prevent conflicts.

Similarly, Jakarta State University (UNJ) vice rector of student affairs Achmad Sofyan Hanif said the academics in universities could not ban their students for showing interest in caliphate ideology as long as they did not commit violence.

“We only want to remind students who want to voice their opinions [about a caliphate] not to bring the name or wear attributes of the university,” Achmad said.

Wiranto, however, raised the possibility of taking drastic measures to stem the tide of radical ideologies on campuses, but said they would have to be discussed with university leaders first.

“In the meantime, we agreed at the meeting to intensify civic education at universities [...] there should be a program to strengthen the youth’s sense of belonging to the country,” the chief security minister said.

As the government and universities seek ways to address the growing support for Islamism among students, calls are again mounting for the state to disband intolerant mass organizations that are considered to promote anti-Pancasila values.

The texts report above tells the readers about the growing of transnational Muslim caliphate or – some say radical ideologies – at Indonesian universities.

This issues was responded by Coordinating Political, Legal and Security Affairs Minister Wiranto. He gathered dozens of vice rectors of students affairs from state and private universities in Jakarta.

The first paragraph shows a clause “*Indonesian universities*”. It is included abstraction and objectivation. The subjects are not displayed clearly. The academic status, in this case, is showed in the narration. This way is to inform reader the attendance by hiding the certain subject.

The second paragraph has a clause “*when Coordinating Political, Legal and Security Affairs Minister Wiranto gathered dozens of vice rectors of student affairs from state and private universities in Greater Jakarta.*” which show an exclusion since it shows a substitution of clause. The clause above explains more about time sequence that is mentioned on Thursday previously

The word *Pancasila* in the next finding is included nomination categorization. This way is typically realized by proper noun which can be formal, semiformal or informal. The clause above represents formal nomination. Indonesian people have known that Pancasila presents as state ideology. This ideology comes up as political nomination to unite all Indonesian people to live peaceful in frame of diversity.

The clause “*State Islamic University (UIN) Syarief Hidayatullah Jakarta*” is categorized as nomination categorization. This strategy is typically realized by proper noun which can be formal (surname only, with or without honorifics), semiformal (given name and surname) or informal (given name only). The clause

above represents formal nomination. *State Islamic University (UIN) Syarief Hidayatullah Jakarta* is one of islamic state university in Indonesia.

The word “declaration” is categorized nomination. Nomination and process nouns similarly allow the exclusion of social actors. They function as nominals although they refer to actions. The texts above do not tell the reader who is responsible for the action, just as in the case of nominalizations and passive agent deletions.

The last, “*I cannot ban the discussion*” explains inclusion. This form of category is activation. Activation occurs when social actors are represented as the active roles. In this case, the word “*police*” performs as an actor.

Datum 6 (Wednesday, October 10, 2018)

***FACEBOOK PAGE FOR GAY STUDENTS STIRS CONTROVERSY
IN GARUT***

A Facebook group page that claims to be a online hangout place for young gay people from Garut, West Java, has sent ***the religiously conservative regency*** into a moral panic.

Hundreds of school principals in Garut gathered on Wednesday to publicly denounce the presence of the LGBT community in school, as reported by *kompas.com*.

The Garut Education Agency's head of the middle school division, Totong, said the public denouncement represented the collective resistance of school

principals against the LGBT community. However, he said he had yet to identify which students were a part of the Facebook community.

As part of an effort to eradicate homosexuality in schools, he said the education agency would instruct school principals to engage students in religious programs.

In addition, teachers will also be encouraged to arrive at their respective schools earlier in the morning to check on their students.

“Since earlier this year, **we’ve prohibited** cellphones in schools. We’ve also confiscated cellphones of students who violated the rule,” Totong said, adding that involvement in gay communities would result in expulsion.

The Facebook page, “Kumpulan Barudak Gay SMP/SMA Garut” (A Community of Garut Gay Middle School/High School Students), which has amassed around 2,600 members, is currently under investigation.

Garut National and Political Unity Office (Kesbangpol) head Wahyudijaya of the said the office had coordinated with the Indonesian Child Protection Commission (KPAI) to identify Facebook accounts associated with the page.

In addition, he said the agency had also cooperated with the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) to discuss further action regarding the case.

Meanwhile, KPAI commissioner for education Retno Listyarti urged the government to implement a strict system that prevents children from being involved in LGBT campaigns.

“Children do not yet have a sexual orientation. Things such as the gay Facebook page could potentially distort the way children view themselves,” she said in a statement.

Communications and Information Ministry spokesman Ferdinandus Setu said in a statement that the ministry’s internet content division would restrict access to the Facebook page if it contained pornographic material.

Furthermore, he said the ministry would coordinate with the Garut Police for further investigation into the case.

Indonesia does not legally ban homosexuality, but the country has seen a rise in anti-LGBT sentiments in recent years.

The clause “a facebook page” in the first paragraph expresses identification. The definition process is done by giving further explanation “Kumpulan Barudak Gay SMP/SMA Garut” (A Community of Garut Gay Middle School/High School Students) in the seventh paragraph.

The following clause that states “the religiously conservative regency” is an exclusion. This is included into substitution of clause. This matter done by reporters because reporters consider their readers claims about Garut regency is known as religiously conservative regency.

The clause *Hundreds of school principals* in the second paragraph shows abstraction. This strategy relates to the question of whether information regarding an event or social actor displayed by giving concrete instructions or what is displayed is abstraction.

In the sixth paragraph, the clause “*we’ve prohibited*” explains inclusion. This form of category is categorized activation. An activation occurs when social actors are represented as the active roles. In this case, the sentence “*we*” performs as an actor that represents Garut Education Agency's head of the middle school division said by Totong.

In addition, the clause *Garut National and Political Unity Office (Kesbangpol) head* categorized nomination categorization. This strategy is typically realized by proper noun which can be formal (surname only, with or without honorifics), semiformal (given name and surname) or informal (given name only). The clause above represents formal nomination.

3.2 Discussion

In this discussion section, it is clearly stated in the findings of this research investigation, the text can construct activity sequences. It is in line with the theoretical framework in the book entitled *Discourse and Practice* written by Theo van Leeuwen (2008).

As discourses are social cognitions, socially specific ways of knowing social practices, they can be, and are, used as resources for representing social

practices in text. This means that it is possible to reconstruct discourse from the texts that draw on them.

The researcher analysis result shows that text representation in Jakarta Post online newspaper of an individual or institution can be seen from the use of texts, as well as inclusion and exclusion. For the example, in the relevant actions, ‘the killing of demonstrators is included, but some of the actors may be involved in them ‘the police’ which is excluded. The finding description is to be discussed below.

3.2.1 Constructing reader’s opinion representing social actors (inclusion and exclusion)

To discuss the pattern of inclusion and exclusion in the whole data texts above, it is important to bring the ways variously that each social actors category is represented as a common denominator. These common denominators do not easy to recognize the way of referring to them. They merely serve as an anchor for the analysis, a kind of calibration. Further, it needs to follow the difference that underlies the way the author argues the case.

In any case, the patterns of inclusion and exclusion must be integrated with the way in which they are represented. In datum 1, the researcher points eight samples that can influence the reader’s opinion. There are five inclusions and the remaining are exclusions. The clause “*Indonesia Without Feminist group*” shows inclusion in nominalization and categorization pattern. It performs a social group or status, therefore, the reader is intended to know the categorization as the social

actor. It is followed by “*an antifeminist group*” clause as the further explanation of it. While in the clause “*an unnamed woman*” appears as exclusion to hide the actor identity. This pattern expresses the essential meaning or comment from an unnamed woman in her post. As well as the following clause – “*a blasphemous Western*” – show the idea of exclusion. This way is included into substitution of clause in form of condition. The reporter is aimed at emphasizing readers about western condition. In this first datum, the reporter utilizes inclusion and exclusion in which inclusion pattern of this way is dominated.

To know how something is expressed, datum 2 shows readers nine data as samples. There are four inclusion patterns and five exclusion patterns. The word “*North Sumatra University*” is performed as formal nominalization. This inclusion has a vital influence because it is explained in the title of the news. The news which is published on Wednesday, March 27, 2019 also shows “*as student*” clause in the last paragraph that is included as inclusion. This category – nominalization and categorization – performs various form. In this case, the text used is to show the academic status.

The following clause is that “*shortly after disbanding its student press*”. This shows a substitution of clause in term of time in which the reporter wrote “*shortly*”. While the text “*literature experts*” is clearly stated as exclusion since the abstraction and objectivation are displayed in the discourse. The concrete person is omitted. The academic status, in this case, is showed in the discourse. This way is to inform readers the attendance by hiding the certain subject.

An exclusion is also represented in clause “*how the university’s growing intolerance of the LGBT community*”. It represents the social condition sequence. This is framing the reader’s opinion about the university condition which is constructed by the writer. While the following is an exclusion as well in form of passivation. “*They’re not allowed to organize discussions anymore*”, according to Theo van Leeuwen, is a strategy to hide the actor or subject. In this case, USU is omitted.

Datum 3 that is published on Tuesday, September 19, 2017 shows the reader about the issue of reviving communism. Indonesia has an annual issue in this part specially on September, 30 as G30S/PKI. The title uses nominalization category that functions as nominals since it refers to action. Nominalization processes allow the exclusion of social actors. The word “*death*” is the final result of killing. This sample involves human actor. In this context, the text choice may construct the readers to infer that actor was involved even there can be no certainty. This exclusion pattern is emphasized by the following clause in the first paragraph. The clause “*was broken up*” shows an exclusion as well. Through the representation of passive form, actors cannot be presented in the text. These two exclusion processes are only form in this datum, while the others are inclusion.

There are six inclusion processes found in this datum such as activation, identification, and assimilation. The sentence “*police blame organizers*” is activation. It occurs when social actor are represented as the active role. The actor is *police*. While the statement “*over 75 percent of Indonesian respondents*”

displays assimilation in from of aggregation. Aggregation assimilation is realized by the presence of definite of indefinite quantifiers which either function as the numerative or as the head of nominal group.

This datum shows more inclusion rather than exclusion. This is in line with the news title that is *“The Death of Free Speech”*. This title actually is intended to support people to voice their voice, therefore, the reporter choose inclusion to show more actor than object.

Datum 4 which published on March 6, 2019 entitled *“Faith (Field) No More”* shows three inclusion patterns and four exclusion patterns. The sentence *“this decision reduces to a simple administrative category”* is included as an inclusion since it shows activation category. Activation occurs when social actors are represented as the active roles. In this case, the clause *“this decision”* performs as an actor. This action may be realized by grammatical participant roles, by transitivity structures in which activated social actors are coded as actor.

In addition, the word *“those”* is an indetermination. It occurs when social actors are represented as unspecified, anonymous individuals or group. No one can know the intention but futher concrete explanation like mentioned above. This is an inclusion. While the word *“deemed”* is categorized as passivation category. This form omits the subject as the actor. Passivation pattern is well-known as an exclusion.

The identification *“which”* explains the decision of allowing believers of non-denominational faiths to simply check faith in the religion field on their

identity card. This way is classified as identification classification since this word gives more information about the previous texts. Moreover, the texts “*response*” and “*absense and guidance*” are mentioned the same. This two exclusions are included into nomination. They functions as nominal although they refer to actions. The texts above do not tell the reader who is responsible for the action, just as in the case of nominalizations and passive agent deletions.

Datum 5 which published on Friday, May 5, 2017 entitled “*Radical Ideologies Thrive on Campuses*” has three inclusions processes and 3 exclusions processes. This findings needs to discuss further how this texts build up the readers opinion by those two patterns.

The first paragraph clause “*Indonesian Universities*” is owned by exclusion. This clause means abstraction and objectivation since the writer does not state clearly what university it is. There are a lot of universities in Indonesia which is coterogized as state university and private university. This strategy indicates a claim on indonesia university, therefore, readers can assume some assumnsions toward this clause.

The pattern above is the same with the word “*declaration*” as well. This processes move the action word that declare toward declaration. This word is indicated as noun that means as an action. In some cases like robbing has a nomination process that is intended to drive the reader about thieving that shows a negative action. This process is exclusion as well.

Nevertheless, in the next paragraph by statement “*I cannot ban the discussion*” refers to inclusion patterns. This strategy is included toward activation where an subject is displayed and stated clearly (who doing what). By using this strategy, the researcher assumes that this statement means a intelligibility so that the reader can catch the whole intention.

Datum 6 entitled “*Facebook Page for Gay Students Stirs Controversy in Garut*” has three inclusions patterns and two exclusion patterns. The news article which published on Wednesday, October 10, 2018 explained about how the facebook page drives a controversy in Garut regency.

The clause “*the religiously conservative regency*” which shows exclusion brings some opinion construction about Garut regency. According to wikipedia, Garut is one of regency in West Java, Indonesia.

The reporter drives the readers to a thoughts that Garut regency is performed as religiously conservative regency. Related toward facebook page phenomenon on gay community on social media, this condition considers breaking a social agreement on anti-LGBT. As a result, this condition could cause a public moral panic until some institutions take a part of intervention such The Garut Education Agency's head of the middle school division, Garut National and Political Unity Office (Kesbangpol), KPAI commissioner for education, and Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) to discuss further action regarding the case.

“*Hundreds of school principals*” clause is also exclusion pattern that is categorized as abstraction. This number of school principals does not state clearly

how many they are. While an inclusion pattern is stated in the clause “*we’ve prohibited*” that shows an activation. As in the following paragraph, the case Garut National and Political Unity Office head show inclusion in term of nominalization categorization processes.

At least, there are five different strategies in these data above. There strategies can occur in many different combinations and patterns. First, the researcher found 18 inclusion patterns and 13 exclusion patterns. Second, the strategy of exclusion is not representing people or actors at all in contexts whereas in the reality they exist. Third, the strategy of depicting people as the agents of actions which are held in low esteem or regarded as subservient, deviant, criminal, or evil. Forth, the strategy of showing people as homogeneous groups and thereby denying them individual characteristics and differences. It means that they are all the same. Fifth, the strategy of negative cultural connotations. Sixth, the strategy of negative racial stereotyping.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter involves two significant points, that are conclusion and suggestion. It concludes the findings of the research investigation and offers the recommendations for further researchers interested in textual analysis implementing the theoretical framework informed by Theo Van Leeuwen's theory.

4.1 Conclusion

There are at least two underlying points that are highlighted from this research investigation. The first is about how the texts reported in The Jakarta Post online newspaper. The last is concerning on identification representation through the texts that influence to the readers. The researcher had figured out 4 chosen data in term of news articles, including editorial and news found in the Jakarta Post online newspaper those are discourse about *'My Body is not Mine': Indonesia Without Feminist Group Starts Online Campaign, North Sumatera University Breaks up Student Forum on LGBT Literature, Death of Free Speech, and Faith (Field) no More.*

In case of identification representation formed in social actors which is presented within news report, it has been discovered amount of texts, clauses and statements that illustrate how the representation of The Jakarta Post online newspaper is performed through word choices as well as inclusion and exclusion.

There are two basic patterns in which the representation is presented. First, it can be seen from word or clauses selected that means of expressive values that reveal particular feelings. The journalist as in the text entitle *Death of Free Speech* by statement *police blame organizers* implemented inclusion especially activation. Activation occurs when social actors are represented as the active roles. In this case, the word “*police*” performs as an actor. This action may be realized by grammatical participant roles, by transitivity structures in which activated social actors are coded as actor in material processes, behavior in behavioral processes, sener in mental processes, sayer in verbal processes, or assigner in relational processes (Halliday, 1985).

The second pattern is exclusion. This pattern shows how the journalist construct readers opinion by excluding actor(s) in the text. The news report entitle *North Sumatera University Breaks up Student Forum on LGBT Literature* especially in the statement *The forum, which was attended by literature experts*. The clause *literature experts* explains abstraction. This means the subjects are not displayed clearly. In this case, the academic status is showed in the discourse. This strategy is to inform readers the attendance by hiding the clear subject by name.

4.2 Suggestion

In addition to the results of this research analysis, this study is not totally perfect work. There would be missing explanation that are not accidentally done by the researcher when he was undergoing the analysis and investigation on text reports by The Jakarta Post online newspaper. As a matter of fact, below are some

suggestions concerning on discourse and textual analysis investigation that may be helpful and meaningful for the other researchers upon doing researches in the same field. It could be the optional works which may be undergone for a follow up research of further studies.

Firstly, the next researchers are able to explore whether or not the identification representations of text report on media who have been well-known by public enable to construct and influence the readers opinion. They can utilize the other theoretical frameworks informed by Theo van Leeuwen theory about textual analysis. This proposal will face up identification representation discourse. The second suggestion, futhermore, is about investigating on social actors representation on the text reports in media expecially in term of reporting sensitive issues. It will see whether these kinds of discourses involve the power of constructing readers opinion or not.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

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APPENDIXES

Table of Inclusion and Exclusion

Datum 1

| INCLUSION | EXCLUSION |
|---|--|
| Indonesia Without Feminist group (nominalization categorization) | an instagram user (abstraction) |
| An antifeminist group (identification) | an unnamed woman (abstraction) |
| That (identification) | a blasphemous western (substitution of clause) |
| All of them wearing hijab (identification) | |
| one of the posts (association) | |

Datum 2

| INCLUSION | EXCLUSION |
|---|--|
| North Sumatra University (nominalization categorization) | Shortly after disbanding its student press (substitution of clause) |
| USU rectorate (association) | Literature expert (abstraction) |

| | |
|--|---|
| Which (identification) | When (substitution of clause) |
| as student (nominalization categorization) | How the university's growing intolerance of the LGBT community (substitution of clause) |
| | They're not allowed to organized discussions anymore (passivation) |

Datum 3

| INCLUSION | EXCLUSION |
|---|----------------------------------|
| Anticommunist (identification) | Death (nomination) |
| Police blame organizers (activation) | was broken up (passivation) |
| Leaders of the Foundation of the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (YLBHI) and LBH Jakarta (nominalization categorization) | |
| Indonesian Military (TNI) (nominalization categorization) | |
| over 75 percent of Indonesian respondents (aggregation assimilation) | |

| | |
|---|--|
| Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) (nominalization categorization) | |
|---|--|

Datum 4

| INCLUSION | EXCLUSION |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| Bandung City Population and Civil Registry Agency (nominalization categorization) | deemed (passivation) |
| This decision reduces to a simple administrative category (activation) | Which (identification) |
| Those (indetermination) | Response (nomination) |
| | Absence and guidance (nomination) |

Datum 5

| INCLUSION | EXCLUSION |
|---|--|
| Pancasila (nominalization categorization) | Indonesian universities (abstraction) |
| State Islamic University (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta (nominalization) | When Coordinating Political, Legal and Security Affairs Minister Wiranto |

| | |
|--|--|
| categorization) | gathered dozens of vice rectors of student affairs from state and private universities in Greater Jakarta. (substitution of clause) |
| I cannot ban the discussion (activation) | Declaration (nomination) |

Datum 6

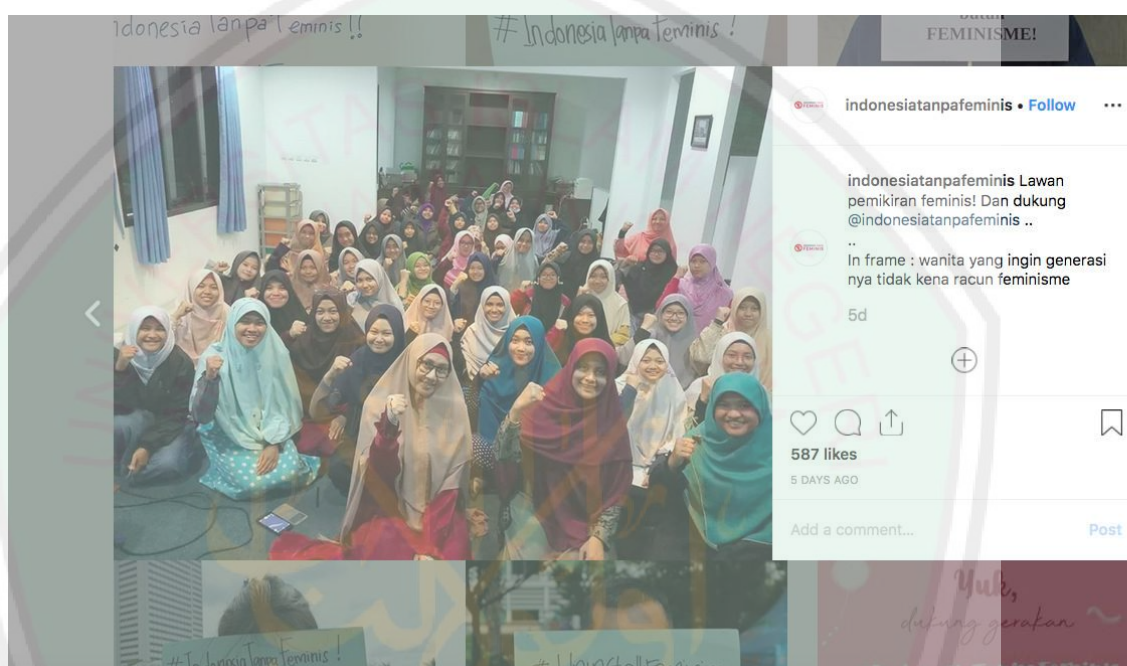
| INCLUSION | EXCLUSION |
|--|--|
| A Facebook group page (identification) | the religiously conservative regency (substitution of clause) |
| we've prohibited (activation) | Hundreds of school principals (abstraction) |
| Garut National and Political Unity Office head (nominalization categorization) | |

‘MY BODY IS NOT MINE’: INDONESIA WITHOUT FEMINISTS GROUP STARTS ONLINE CAMPAIGN

Rizki Fachriansyah

The Jakarta Post

Jakarta / Mon, April 1, 2019 / 02:55 pm



A screen capture of the Instagram account of Indonesia Without Feminists. (JP/-)

An antifeminist group, Indonesia Tanpa Feminis (Indonesia Without Feminists), has launched a social media campaign amid heated debate over proposed sexual violence legislation that pits feminists and some Islamic groups against each other.

The group’s Instagram page, whose description reads “My body is not mine; Indonesia doesn’t need feminism”, is filled with photos of women holding signs with the hashtags *#UninstallFeminism* and *#IndonesiaTanpaFeminis* alongside proclamations such as “Indonesia doesn’t need feminism!”

Since the first posting on March 17, the account has garnered more than 1,800 followers. However, popular Instagram influencers in Indonesia typically have more than 50,000 followers each.

On one of the posts, an unnamed woman holds up a sign saying she doesn't need feminism because it "demonizes traditional family constructs".

Some of the group's older posts framed feminism as a blasphemous Western idea that is antithetical to Islamic values. The group asserts that the feminist notion of complete authority over one's body is wrong, saying that "My body is not mine, but rather Allah's".

An Instagram user commented on this particular post, saying that even though it is God's body, women should make sure that other people treat it well. "Don't we need to ensure that we live in a world where your/God's body is respected?" the user asked.

On March 27, the Instagram account posted a picture of dozens of women, all of them wearing hijab, with the caption: "In frame: Women who want their generation free from feminism poison."

The online movement has received strong responses from Indonesian millennials who claimed that the group misunderstood feminism.

Frisanty Marisa, a 24-year-old private employee in Jakarta, said she felt uncomfortable with the group's presence on social media.

“They hold a wrongheaded view of feminism. They’re content with the injustices done to women,” she said.

Rizqika Arrum, a 23-year-old volunteer at a nongovernmental organization in Jakarta, shared that opinion, saying the movement would not have existed without feminism in the first place.

“The fact that these self-proclaimed antifeminists are able to congregate and voice their aspirations means they’re enjoying a privilege resulting from decades of progress in feminism,” she told *The Jakarta Post*.

Antifeminist discourse has gained traction in recent months, especially following the controversy surrounding the bill on sexual violence.

The bill, which the House of Representatives has deliberated over since 2016, sparked an uproar when it gained momentum at the end of last year when the case of Baiq Nuril – a sexual harassment victim in West Nusa Tenggara who was convicted for defaming her alleged harasser – came to light.

Those who oppose the bill consider it to be pro-adultery and in support of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people.

An activist and a program director of the Support Group and Resource Center on Sexuality Studies at the University of Indonesia, Nadya Melati, dismissed Indonesia Without Feminists as a fringe movement that had little to no impact on the country’s progress toward female empowerment and gender equality.

"A diversity of thoughts is a symptom of a healthy democracy. As long as we focus on bolstering our feminist discourse and refuse to provide them with a platform, I don't think they'll become much of a problem," Nadya told the Post.

She likened the group to the Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran (Indonesia Without Dating) movement, which she said also used the façade of Islam to enforce its idea of moral absolutism.

"They're using the pretext of religion as a political weapon. In reality, many Muslim women support feminism," she said.

She said she hoped the government would pass the sexual violence bill soon to protect millions of female employees who have been vulnerable to harassment and abuse.

Indonesia has seen several online campaigns starting with the words "Indonesia Without" in past years. Among the first was "Indonesia Without FPI", a campaign attacking the existence of the archconservative Islam Defenders Front. Later, a counter-campaign emerged called "Indonesia Without JIL", which referred to the Liberal Islam Network.

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2019/04/01/my-body-is-not-mine-indonesia-without-feminists-group-starts-online-campaign.html>

EDITORIAL

DEATH OF FREE SPEECH

EDITORIAL

The Jakarta Post

Jakarta / Tue, September 19, 2017 / 08:15 am



A Mobile Brigade truck arrives at the scene of mob attack at the vicinity of the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (YLBHI) office in Central Jakarta on Monday morning, Sept. 18, 2017. (JP/ecn)

A discussion on the 1960s upheaval was broken up on Saturday, with police telling an “anticommunist” mob that no communism-related activity had been taking place, thus the police claim to have maintained public security.

Police blame organizers for failing to inform them that a seminar titled “Conveying the truth on the history of 1965/1966” would be held, citing the 1998 law on conveying opinions in public open space — while the event planned until Sunday took place at the Jakarta Legal Aid Office (LBH Jakarta). A festival on free speech replaced Sunday’s talks.

Leaders of the Foundation of the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (YLBHI) and LBH Jakarta said even under the New Order, security personnel had never gone so far as to disperse an event inside the building. LBH Jakarta director Alghifari Aqsa said police conveyed earlier that they would not take issue with the event, as long as a few officers were present.

We condemn the police for failing to protect our hardwon freedom of speech, with lame excuses that the situation posed a dilemma for them. If the talks had continued, they said, the protesters would have become more restless.

To cries of Allahu Akbar (God is great), even the Indonesian Military (TNI) was seen nearby, greeted by the groups who equate discussing historical events in Indonesia to attempts to “revive” communism and the now defunct Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which was blamed for the September 1965 coup attempt and rebellion in 1948.

Thanks to reforms, the TNI can only help handle security at the request of local police. This means the Jakarta Police had anticipated that they would not be able to handle the few groups protesting the closed event, while witnesses said officers

seemed to have been providing more security to those intimidating participants of the discussion.

The first national symposium on 1965, held last year by the government, was an unprecedented official gesture showing that such a sensitive topic was open for discussion by all sides who experienced directly or indirectly the results of the political struggle that led to decades of authoritarian rule and the death of thousands while in detention.

Their safety ensured that amid Indonesia's freedom, citizens carried on efforts to engage many more sides in exchanging experiences and views on the crack down on alleged communists, which led to many families losing a member to mysterious circumstances, while survivors recall years of torture or self-exile to protect family members from prosecution.

The weekend until the wee hours of Monday, which saw the evacuation of the seminar participants, will go down in history as President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo's failure to firmly protect our freedom of speech. This constitutional right is vital in addressing unresolved human rights violations, among his reiterated pledges.

A recent survey on Asians' views on democracy showed Indonesians were the most optimistic about the state of democracy in their country. Over 75 percent of Indonesian respondents expressed trust in the police.

Thus, the police under Gen. Tito Karnavian should be utterly ashamed of bowing to mob pressure so often.

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2017/09/19/editorial-death-of-free-speech.html>



FAITH (FIELD) NO MORE

Editorial Board

The Jakarta Post

Jakarta / Wed, March 6, 2019 / 09:05 am



A number of native faith followers who file a judicial review against 2013 Civil Administrative Law welcome the ruling that grants acknowledgment for their faiths. (Antara/Hafidz Mubarak)

On the face of it, the decision of the Bandung City Population and Civil Registry Agency in West Java to issue identity cards with a “faith” field rather than a “religion” one, may seem like a progressive move.

The move could also be seen as bold given the fact that it was made by government officials operating in a province deemed one of the most religiously conservative in the country. Kudos should also go to local administrations in Semarang, Tegal, Blora, Jepara and Cilacap all in Central Java, which have decided to allow believers of non-denominational faiths to simply check “faith” in the religion field on their identity card.

As a matter of fact, we should also give praise to the Constitutional Court, which ruled in response to a judicial review of articles 61 and 64 of Law No 23/2013 on population administration that denying to record native faiths in the identity card violated the principle of equality before the law.

But as with many other political decisions, the devil is in the detail. The absence of guidance on how to implement the court decision has not only made the decision to include “faith” on identity cards ineffective; it could in fact spell more trouble for followers of native faiths in the country. We could argue that the court decision and the follow-up policies from some local administrations are not progressive enough simply because it lumps myriad local native faiths into one generic term “faith”.

This decision reduces to a simple administrative category the complexity of personal and social aspects of subscribing to a faith that has been passed down for generations.

Further, the decision to allow “faith” to be listed on identity cards could bring problems for holders of cards that list a native faith. For years now, government workers in bureaucracy have had a keen eye for discrimination based on some arbitrary demographic or political category. Under the New Order regime for instance, the government came up with a special code for those suspected to have an affiliation with the now-defunct Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), and based on this code — which was printed on identity cards — officials could deny them basic administrative services.

Even for those who subscribed to minority faiths recognized by the government, the bureaucracy could find ways to discriminate against these people, especially when they set out to build a place of worship.

How can we be sure that putting “faith” in the religion field would not encourage more discrimination; or in the event of a political crisis, what would be the guarantee that subscribers to these non-denominational faiths would not be targeted by pogroms.

The most progressive step the government can take is simply to do away with the religion field. Just drop it from the identity card, because religion is your personal business.

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2019/03/06/faith-field-no-more.html>

NORTH SUMATRA UNIVERSITY BREAKS UP STUDENT FORUM ON LGBT LITERATURE

Apriadi Gunawan

The Jakarta Post

Jakarta / Wed, March 27, 2019 / 07:02 pm



The chief editor of a student press organization has bemoaned North Sumatra University's ban on the discussion of LGBT literature, saying that it infringed on students' right to free speech.(Shutterstock/File)

Shortly after disbanding its student press, *Suara USU*, for publishing an LGBT-themed short story, North Sumatra University (USU) has barred former members of the now-defunct press organization from holding discussions on LGBT issues.

Officials from the USU rectorate made the decision on Tuesday to break up a forum organized by *Suara USU* to discuss a literary piece titled *Semua Menolak Kehadiran Diriku di Dekatnya (Everyone Refuses My Presence Near Her)*.

The piece, which describes the discrimination faced by homosexuals in the country, was written and posted by Yael Stefany Siaga on the *Suara USU* website.

The forum, which was attended by literature experts and members of the press, was already well under way when members of the rectorate insisted that the discussion be shut down immediately.

The incident faced resistance from students and shows how the university's growing intolerance of the LGBT community is now threatening academic freedom.

USU student welfare division head Efendi Manurung said the student press could no longer organize public discussions on campus since *Suara USU* was disbanded by the university rector last week.

"They're not allowed to organize discussions anymore. If they still want to hold such events, then they should do so outside the campus," Efendi said, while dispersing discussion participants at the *Suara Usu* secretariat.

Suara USU chief editor Widya Hastuti said the student press had indeed been disbanded by the rector due to its publication of the short story. She bemoaned the

university's ban on the discussion, saying that it infringed on students' right to free speech.

"We, as students, have the right to freely hold discussions. The reason why we held the discussion in the first place was because we wanted to gauge responses from literature experts about the short story controversy," Widyia said.

The latest incident between students and the rectorate at USU followed the rector's firing last week of 18 administrators who were in charge of the *Suara USU* online portal.

The rector, Runtung Sitepu, also threatened to revoke the publishing permit of the *Suara USU* website on which the LGBT-themed short story was published.

Runtung said USU strongly opposed pro-LGBT movements on campus.

USU head of public relations Elvi Sumanti said the decision was appropriate since the published short story was not in line with the university's code of ethics and morals.

"The *Suara USU* student press was disbanded because they did not concede to the fact that they published a morally questionable short story. They didn't even intend to compromise by pulling the story off the website," she said.

The author of the short story said she wrote it to fight against discrimination targeted at minority groups. The lesbian characters in the story were only examples of such groups, she said.

The country has seen an increasing trend of intolerance of anything related to the LGBT community in recent years. The latest incident of intolerance involved Instagram account *@alpantuni*, which regularly posted comic strips about a gay Muslim. The account stirred controversy among Indonesian netizens in February, prompting the Communications and Information Ministry to demand that Instagram shut down the account on the pretext that it contained pornography.

Activists have said that anti-LGBT sentiment is on the rise ahead of the general election and claim that many politicians are exploiting homophobia to secure votes. (rfa)

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2019/03/27/north-sumatra-university-breaks-up-student-forum-on-lgbt-literature.html>

RADICAL IDEOLOGIES THRIVE ON CAMPUSES

Marguerite Afra Sapiie and Safrin La Batu

The Jakarta Post

Jakarta / Fri, May 5, 2017 / 08:30 am



Security talks -- Coordinating Political, Legal and Security Affairs Minister Wiranto (right) talks with National Intelligence Agency (BIN) head Budi Gunawan (left) before a limited Cabinet meeting at the Presidential Office in Jakarta on Dec. 29. (Antara/Widodo S. Jusuf)

The growing support for radical ideologies, including those calling for the establishment of a transnational Muslim caliphate, at Indonesian universities has raised alarm over the future of the country's unity and pluralism.

Such concern was evident on Thursday when Coordinating Political, Legal and Security Affairs Minister Wiranto gathered dozens of vice rectors of student affairs from state and private universities in Greater Jakarta.

During the gathering, the minister told the members of academia that Indonesia was facing a new nonconventional threat to national security: the rise of radical ideologies that threaten the state ideology of Pancasila.

These ideologies, he said, were also thriving on campuses.

“Pancasila is our nation’s way of life, and when people begin comparing it to other philosophies, this already serves as a warning. There’s already an early attempt to obstruct our state ideology,” Wiranto said. “Any ideology that opposes Pancasila, may it be called right-wing, left-wing, or an extremist ideology, cannot be disseminated on university campuses.”

The gathering came amid the growing perception that Islamic radicalism is gaining ground across the country, with religious groups once considered as fringe now becoming more assertive and even playing a prominent role in the recent Jakarta election.

State Islamic University (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta vice rector of student affairs Yusron Razak acknowledged there were groups of students at the university that showed interest in the idea of a caliphate or Muslim rule.

He said this phenomenon did not only occur at Islamic universities, but also at other state and private universities.

“It happens at many universities. Lately we have even seen the declaration of a caliphate in IPB [Bogor Agriculture Institute],” Yusron said.

Recently, a video showing thousands of students at IPB Darmaga Campus pledging allegiance to the establishment of an Islamic state in Indonesia went viral.

The video is said to be part of the National Symposium of Campus Propagation Institute (LDK) held by LDK Coordination Agency (BLDK) in 2016.

IPB officials said they had not attended the event.

The phenomena has put university administrations in a difficult position as they cannot ban students for simply showing interest in or discussing certain ideologies.

Yusron stressed that even though some students expressed interest in creating a caliphate it did not mean they would engage in violence against Pancasila.

He explained that in the name of intellectual freedom, discourses and discussions on any ideology should be allowed.

“I cannot ban the discussion. Only the authorities can do it. However, we should also guard our dignity as a higher education institution, because academically we should uphold objectivity and critical thinking,” he said.

What worried Yusron was the possibility of horizontal conflicts that might occur if the student groups supporting the implementation of sharia were confronted by other student groups who felt more strongly about Pancasila.

“I think there should be a mechanism created by the government to prevent the spread of radical ideology, but in a wise way that is within the corridor of the law,” he said, adding that it was important to prevent conflicts.

Similarly, Jakarta State University (UNJ) vice rector of student affairs Achmad Sofyan Hanif said the academics in universities could not ban their students for showing interest in caliphate ideology as long as they did not commit violence.

“We only want to remind students who want to voice their opinions [about a caliphate] not to bring the name or wear attributes of the university,” Achmad said.

Wiranto, however, raised the possibility of taking drastic measures to stem the tide of radical ideologies on campuses, but said they would have to be discussed with university leaders first.

“In the meantime, we agreed at the meeting to intensify civic education at universities [...] there should be a program to strengthen the youth’s sense of belonging to the country,” the chief security minister said.

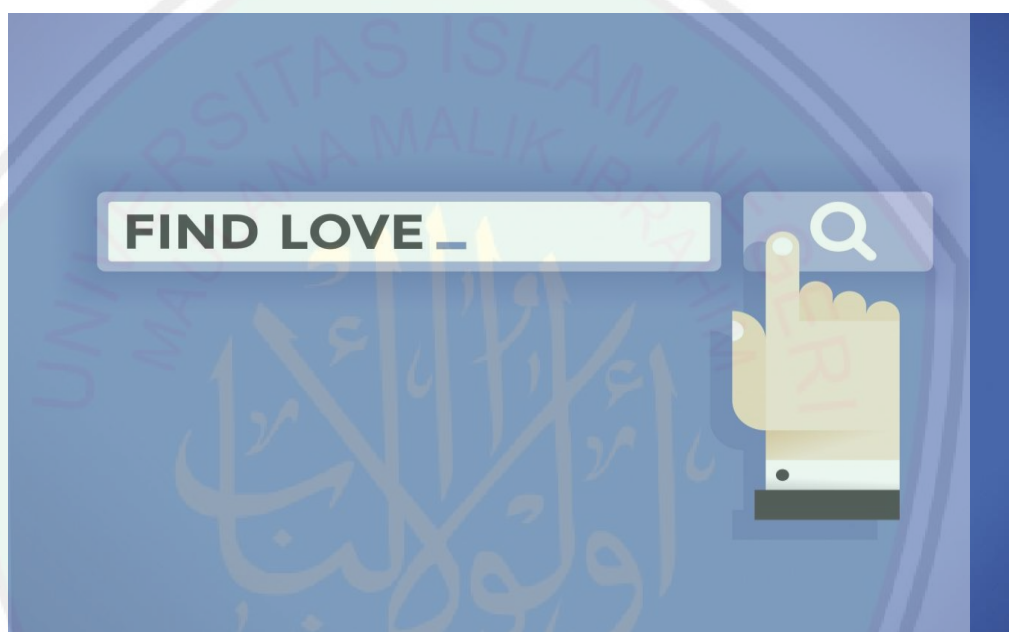
As the government and universities seek ways to address the growing support for Islamism among students, calls are again mounting for the state to disband intolerant mass organizations that are considered to promote anti-Pancasila values.

FACEBOOK PAGE FOR GAY STUDENTS STIRS CONTROVERSY IN GARUT

Rizki Fachriansyah

The Jakarta Post

Jakarta / Wed, October 10, 2018 / 06:57 pm



The Facebook page, “Kumpulan Barudak Gay SMP/SMA Garut” (A Community of Garut Gay Middle School/High School Students), which has amassed around 2,600 members, is currently under investigation. (Shutterstock/Anikei)

A Facebook group page that claims to be an online hangout place for young gay people from Garut, West Java, has sent the religiously conservative regency into a moral panic.

Hundreds of school principals in Garut gathered on Wednesday to publicly denounce the presence of the LGBT community in school, as reported by *kompas.com*.

The Garut Education Agency's head of the middle school division, Totong, said the public denouncement represented the collective resistance of school principals against the LGBT community. However, he said he had yet to identify which students were a part of the Facebook community.

As part of an effort to eradicate homosexuality in schools, he said the education agency would instruct school principals to engage students in religious programs.

In addition, teachers will also be encouraged to arrive at their respective schools earlier in the morning to check on their students.

“Since earlier this year, we’ve prohibited cellphones in schools. We’ve also confiscated cellphones of students who violated the rule,” Totong said, adding that involvement in gay communities would result in expulsion.

The Facebook page, “*Kumpulan Barudak Gay SMP/SMA Garut*” (A Community of Garut Gay Middle School/High School Students), which has amassed around 2,600 members, is currently under investigation.

Garut National and Political Unity Office (Kesbangpol) head Wahyudijaya of the said the office had coordinated with the Indonesian Child Protection Commission (KPAI) to identify Facebook accounts associated with the page.

In addition, he said the agency had also cooperated with the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) to discuss further action regarding the case.

Meanwhile, KPAI commissioner for education Retno Listyarti urged the government to implement a strict system that prevents children from being involved in LGBT campaigns.

“Children do not yet have a sexual orientation. Things such as the gay Facebook page could potentially distort the way children view themselves,” she said in a statement.

Communications and Information Ministry spokesman Ferdinandus Setu said in a statement that the ministry’s internet content division would restrict access to the Facebook page if it contained pornographic material.

Furthermore, he said the ministry would coordinate with the Garut Police for further investigation into the case.

Indonesia does not legally ban homosexuality, but the country has seen a rise in anti-LGBT sentiments in recent years.