

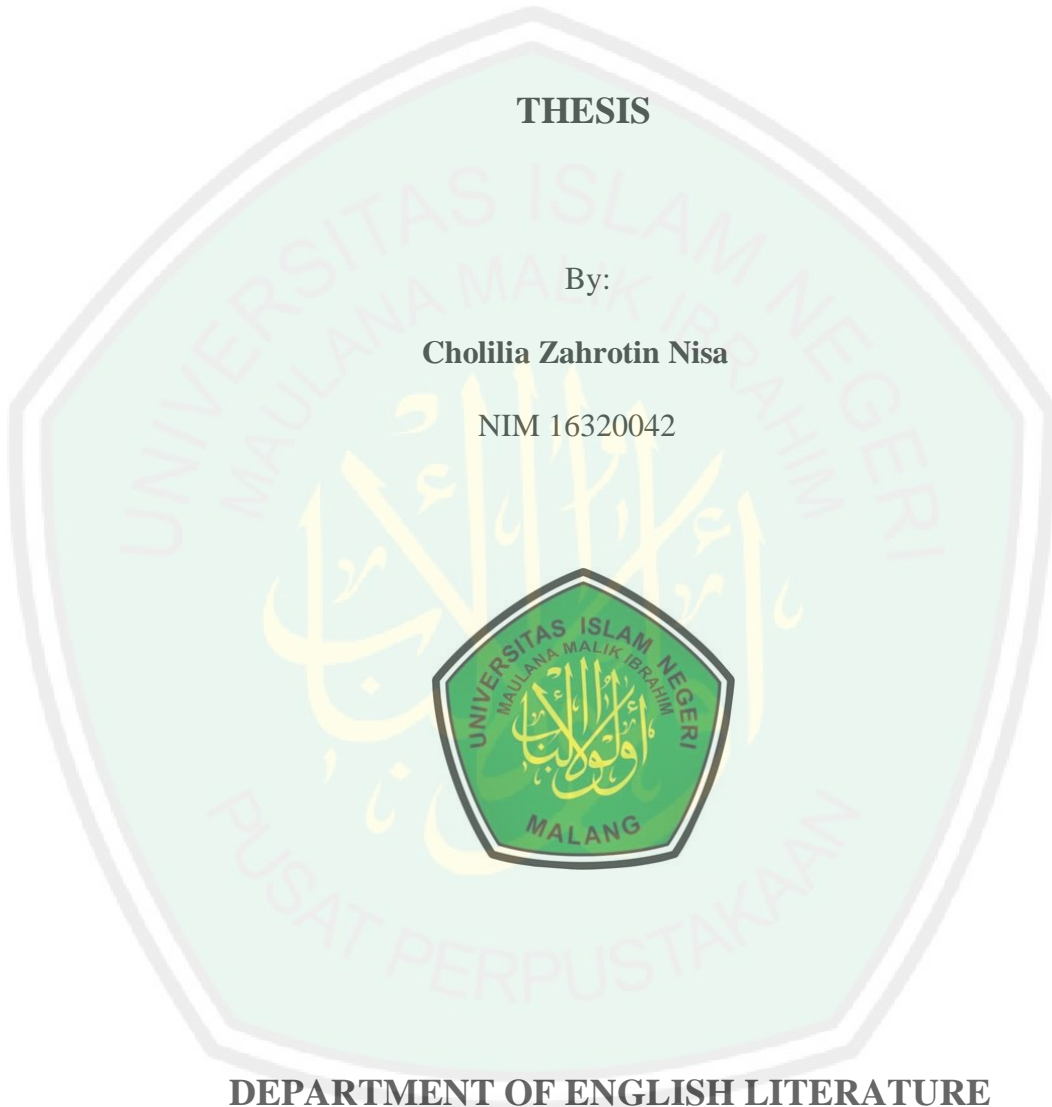
**EXCLUSION AND INCLUSION STRATEGIES IN *RKUHP* DEMONSTRATION  
ISSUES IN THE JAKARTA POST ONLINE NEWS**

**THESIS**

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**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE**

**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES**

**UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM**

**MALANG**

**2020**

**EXCLUSION AND INCLUSION STRATEGIES IN *RKUHP* DEMONSTRATION  
ISSUES IN THE JAKARTA POST ONLINE NEWS**

**THESIS**

Presented to

Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang

In Partial Fulfillment of The Requirements for the Degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S.)

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**2020**

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I state that the thesis entitled “**Exclusion and Inclusion Strategies in *RKUHP* Demonstration Issues in The Jakarta Post Online News**” is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those ones that are cited as references and written in the references. Hereby, if there is an objection or claim, I am the only person who is responsible for that.

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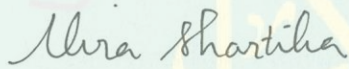
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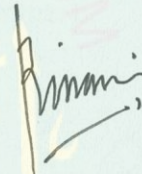
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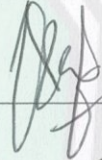
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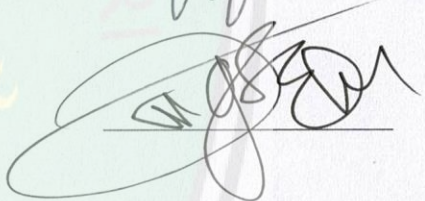
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## MOTTO

إِنَّ مَعَ الْعُسْرِ يُسْرًا

“Indeed, with hardship (will be) ease.” (Al-Insyirah: 6)



## DEDICATION

This thesis is specially dedicated to;

My beloved parents; my father Mr. Mahfud and my mother Mrs. Nikmah, as my best motivators who always accompany me with their unconditional love, affection and endless prayer.

My lovely younger brother Hanif Nashrul Aziz who always supports me in his unique way.



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This thesis, which is intended to fulfill the requirements of graduate (*Sarjana Sastra*) in the Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, would not have been completed without some contributions, supports, and prayers from many people.

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Malang, May 31, 2020

Author,

Cholilia Zahrotin Nisa

## ABSTRACT

Nisa, Cholilia Zahrotin. 2020. **Exclusion and Inclusion Strategies in *RKUHP* Demonstration Issues in the Jakarta Post Online News**. Minor Thesis (Skripsi) Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang

Advisor : Mira Shartika, M. A.

**Keywords** : Critical Discourse Analysis, The Strategy of Exclusion, The Strategy of Inclusion, The Jakarta Post, The *RKUHP* Demonstration, social actor.

This research aimed to investigate the use of exclusion and inclusion in online news. Exclusion and Inclusion are some strategies to influence the representation of social actors by excluding or including social actors of the discourse. Exclusion means omitting or deleting the social actors, while inclusion means appearing or presenting the social actors. This study examined the use of exclusion and inclusion strategies represented in the Jakarta Post online news about the *RKUHP* demonstration. There were two objectives of the study generated in this research; (1) to examine some types of exclusion and inclusion strategies represented in the Jakarta Post, and (2) to unveil some messages behind the use of both strategies.

Descriptive qualitative as well as Critical Discourse Analysis approach were applied as the research design of the study. The data were ten online news articles from the Jakarta Post about the *RKUHP* demonstration issues, which were published on September 2019 until January 2020. The collected data were analyzed based on van Leeuwen's (2008) theory to answer the research questions.

The findings revealed that the author of the Jakarta Post adopted some types of exclusion and inclusion strategies in reporting the news. There was only one type of exclusion strategy found in this study, namely suppression. On the other hand, there were twelve types of inclusion strategies found in this research, consisting of activation, passivation, specification, assimilation, association, indetermination, differentiation, nomination, categorization, identification, personalization, and overdetermination. Meanwhile, another exclusion strategy called backgrounding, and other inclusion strategies such as genericization, individualization, dissociation, functionalization, and impersonalization could not be found. The results of this study exposed that the use of exclusion and inclusion strategies was practised by the media to defend the superior group and discriminate the subordinate group.

For further research, it is recommended to discuss exclusion and inclusion strategies more comprehensively not only in online news articles, but also in videos, speeches or live conversations. In addition, it is suggested to study Critical Discourse Analysis by adopting the theories from Van Dijk, Fairclough, Wodak or Fowler. Finally, the next researchers are also expected to combine CDA with another topics like sociolinguistics, deconstruction, or corpus linguistics.

## ABSTRAK

**Nisa, Cholilia Zahrotin.** 2020. *Strategi Eksklusi dan Inklusi di Isu-Isu tentang Demonstrasi RKUHP di dalam Berita Online The Jakarta Post*. Skripsi. Jurusan Sastra Inggris. Fakultas Humaniora. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang

**Advisor** : Mira Shartika, M. A.

**Keywords** : Analisis Wacana Kritis, strategi-strategi eksklusi, strategi-strategi inklusi, The Jakarta Post, Demonstrasi *RKUHP*, aktor sosial.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisa penggunaan strategi eksklusi dan inklusi pada portal berita online. Strategi eksklusi dan inklusi adalah beberapa strategi yang digunakan untuk mempengaruhi representasi dari aktor-aktor sosial dengan cara mengeluarkan atau memasukkan aktor-aktor sosial dari teks wacana. Eksklusi berarti menghilangkan atau menghapus aktor-aktor sosial, sedangkan inklusi berarti menunculkan atau menghadirkan aktor-aktor sosial. Penelitian ini menjelaskan penggunaan dari strategi eksklusi dan inklusi yang direpresentasikan di dalam berita online *the Jakarta Post* tentang isu-isu demonstrasi RKUHP (Rancangan Kitab Undang-Undang dan Hukum Pidana). Ada dua tujuan penelitian yang dihasilkan dari penelitian ini; yaitu (1) untuk menemukan beberapa jenis strategi eksklusi dan inklusi yang terdapat di Jakarta Post, dan (2) untuk mengungkap beberapa pesan di balik penggunaan kedua strategi tersebut.

Pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif serta Analisis Wacana Kritis diterapkan sebagai desain penelitian dari penelitian ini. Data yang diteliti adalah sepuluh artikel berita online dari *the Jakarta Post* tentang masalah-masalah atau isu-isu demonstrasi RKUHP, yang diterbitkan pada September 2019 hingga Januari 2020. Data yang dikumpulkan dianalisis berdasarkan teori van Leeuwen (2008) untuk menjawab kedua rumusan masalah dari penelitian ini.

Temuan mengungkapkan bahwa penulis dari *the Jakarta Post* menggunakan beberapa jenis strategi eksklusi dan inklusi dalam melaporkan berita. Hanya ada satu jenis strategi eksklusi yang ditemukan dalam penelitian ini, yaitu *suppression*. Di sisi lain, terdapat dua belas jenis strategi inklusi yang ditemukan dalam penelitian ini, yang terdiri dari *activation, passivation, specification, assimilation, association, indetermination, differentiation, nomination, categorization, identification, personalization, dan overdetermination*. Sementara itu, strategi eksklusi lainnya yang disebut *backgrounding*, dan strategi inklusi lainnya seperti *genericization, individualization, dissociation, functionalization, dan impersonalization* tidak ditemukan. Hasil dari penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa penggunaan strategi eksklusi dan inklusi dipraktikkan oleh media untuk membela kelompok superior dan mendiskriminasi kelompok yang lebih rendah.

Untuk penelitian selanjutnya, disarankan untuk membahas penelitian tentang strategi eksklusi dan inklusi yang lebih komprehensif tidak hanya dalam artikel berita online, tetapi juga dalam video, pidato atau percakapan langsung. Selain itu, disarankan juga untuk meneliti Analisis Wacana Kritis dengan mengadopsi teori-teori dari van Dijk, Fairclough, Wodak atau Fowler. Selanjutnya, peneliti selanjutnya juga diharapkan untuk menggabungkan penelitian dengan topik lain seperti sosiolinguistik, dekonstruksi, atau *corpus linguistics*.

## مستخلص البحث

النساء، خليليا زهرة. 2018. تعتبر استراتيجيات الاستبعاد والاندماج في القضايا التوضيحية مشروع القنون و الجنائ في جاكرتا بوست. البحث الجامعي. قسم الأدب الإنجليزي. كلية الإنسانية. جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم مالانج.

المُرشد : ميرا سارتيكا الماجستير

الكلمات الدالة : تحليل الخطاب النقدي، استراتيجية الاستبعاد، استراتيجية الاندماج، عرض مشاريع القوانين و القانون الجنائي، ممثل اجتماعي .

تعتبر استراتيجيات الاستبعاد والاندماج التي اقترحها فان ليوين (٢٠٠٨) بعض الاستراتيجيات المستخدمة للتأثير على تمثيل الفاعلين الاجتماعيين من خلال استبعاد أو تضمين الفاعلين الاجتماعيين من الخطاب. الاستبعاد يعني القضاء على أو إزالة الفاعلين الاجتماعيين ، بينما يعني الاندماج تربية أو تقديم الفاعلين الاجتماعيين. تشرح هذه الدراسة استخدام استراتيجيات الاستبعاد والشمول المثلة في أخبار جاكرتا بوست على الإنترنت حول قضايا مظاهرة مشروع القنون و الجنائ . هناك هدفان بحثيان ناتجان عن هذه الدراسة: (١) للعثور على عدة أنواع من استراتيجيات الاستبعاد وإدراج الأموال الموجودة في جاكرتا بوست ، و (٢) للكشف عن بعض الرسائل وراء استخدام الاستراتيجيتين.

تم تطبيق المنهج الوصفي النوعي وتحليل الخطاب النقدي كتصميم البحث لهذه الدراسة. البيانات هي عشر مقالات إخبارية عبر الإنترنت من جاكرتا بوست حول قضايا أو قضايا عرض مشروع القنون و الجنائ ، التي تم نشرها في سبتمبر ٢٠١٩ إلى يناير ٢٠٢٠. تم تحليل البيانات التي تم جمعها بناءً على نظرية فان ليوين (٢٠٠٨) للإجابة على أسئلة هذه الدراسة.

تكشف النتائج أن المؤلفين من جاكرتا بوست استخدموا عدة أنواع من استراتيجيات الاستبعاد والشمول في الإبلاغ عن الأخبار. تم العثور على نوع واحد فقط من استراتيجية الاستبعاد في هذه الدراسة ، وهي القمع. من ناحية أخرى ، هناك اثني عشر نوعًا من استراتيجيات الإدماج الموجودة في هذه الدراسة ، وهي تتكون من التنشيط ، التخميل ، المواصفات ، الاستيعاب ، الارتباط ، عدم التحديد ، التمايز ، الترشيح ، التصنيف ، التعريف ، التخصيص ، والإفراط في التحديد. وبالتالي ، لم يتم العثور على استراتيجيات استبعاد أخرى تسمى الخلفية ، واستراتيجيات الإدماج الأخرى مثل التعميم ، والفردية ، والتفكك ، والوظيفية ، وانتحال الهوية. ونتيجة لذلك ، تمارس وسائل الإعلام استراتيجيات الاستبعاد والإدماج للدفاع عن الجماعات المتفوقة والتمييز ضد الفئات الدنيا.

بالنسبة للباحثين المستقبليين ، يوصى بمناقشة بحث أكثر شمولاً حول استراتيجيات الاستبعاد والدمج ليس فقط في المقالات الإخبارية عبر الإنترنت ، ولكن أيضًا في مقاطع الفيديو أو الخطب أو المحادثات المباشرة. بالإضافة

إلى ذلك ، من المستحسن أيضًا إجراء بحث متعلق بمنهج تحليل الخطاب النقدي من خلال تبني نظريات من العديد من المنظرين مثل فان ديك، فيركلوغ، وودك، فولير. علاوة على ذلك ، يُتوقع من الباحثين المستقبليين أيضًا الجمع بين البحث ونظريات أخرى مثل اللغويات الاجتماعية، التفكيك، أو المناهج الأخرى مثل علم اللغات وغيره.



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## TRANSLITERATION

Huruf Arab	Nama	Huruf latin	Nama
ا	Alif	Tidak dilambangkan	Tidak dilambangkan
ب	Ba	B	Be
ت	Ta	T	Te
ث	Sa	S	Es (dengan titik diatas)
ج	Jim	J	Je
ح	Ha	H	Ha (dengan titik diatas)
خ	Kha	Kh	Ka dan ha
د	Dal	D	De
ذ	Zal	Z	Zet (dengan titik diatas)
ر	Ra	R	Er
ز	Zai	Z	Zet
س	Sin	S	Es
ش	Syin	Sy	Es dan Ye
ص	Sad	S	Es (dengan titik dibawah)

ض	Dad	D	De (dengan titik dibawah)
ط	Ta	T	Te (dengan titik dibawah)
ظ	Za	Z	Zet (dengan titik dibawah)
ع	'ain	'	Apostrof terbalik
غ	Gain	G	Ge
ف	Fa	F	Ef
ق	Qaf	Q	Qi
ك	Kaf	K	Ka
ل	Lam	L	El
م	Min	M	Em
ن	Nun	N	En
و	Wau	W	We
ه	Ha	H	Ha
ء	Hamzah	'	Apostrof
ي	Ya	Y	Ye

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers the elaboration of background of the study, research questions, objectives of the study, significance of the study, scope and limitation, definitions of key terms, previous studies, and research method.

#### A. Background of the Study

This research aimed to investigate the use of exclusion and inclusion, commonly found in some online news. As a subject of the study, this study only concerned on some news about *RKUHP* Demonstration issues which were published by The Jakarta Post. Besides, a theory applied in this research was the theory proposed by van Leeuwen (2008) about exclusion and inclusion.

In this digital era, where everything can be accessed by online, online news becomes one of the easiest media to seek news about anything in this universe. According to Carmichael & Withley (2018), media is public consumption, which can also influence social attitudes and beliefs about various social issues. Then, every message and information that is delivered through the news depends on how the authors or the writers choose particular words for their particular reasons. Therefore,

the language used by the writers will determine how the readers understand the message or the information from that news.

Due to the phenomenon that the news which is written by the writers may have implied meaning or meaning behind the text, people should be aware of and criticize every news provided by the media. There is a way to criticize news by analyzing the language used. Linguists called it a Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA). According to van Leeuwen (2015), CDA is studying the role of the text or speech in creating, maintaining, and also legitimating inequality, injustice, and oppression in society. CDA is not only focusing on a range of discourse-analytical paradigm, but it also on critical social theory.

In this present study, the researcher discussed exclusion and inclusion strategies on several online news which were published in The Jakarta Post. Van Leeuwen (2008) states that exclusion could be defined as deleting actors of social action by some linguistic mechanisms. On the other hand, inclusion means appearing the actors in the center of attention and being presented clearly in the text. Both strategies, either omitting or putting the actor in the text, aim at marginalizing other groups which are considered as an inferior group, so that the superior group will be seen as a good one.

Therefore, the researcher was interested in studying this topic, because being aware of and criticize the media is very important. It is not enough for readers to only read the information provided by the media without doing any criticism. By being more critical, readers will know more about the hidden message.

The data from The Jakarta Post online news were chosen because nowadays millennial generation lives in the era when information or news are spread online and can be accessed everywhere using gadgets, which is more practical than printed newspaper. Besides, Mansur (2014) argues that the data from the online news are easier to be accessed and gained so that the researcher can collect as much data as the researcher needs. Another reason is that every diction, sentence, and paragraph of news are proper to analyze. This is supported by Mansur (2014) who contends that the discourse of news is a manifestation or domination of power.

Moreover, The Jakarta Post was chosen because it is the most famous English newspaper in Indonesia which provides news about everything, either about Indonesian or international issues. The news published in The Jakarta Post can also be related to the exclusion and inclusion strategies proposed by van Leeuwen. Besides, van Leeuwen's theory was adopted because the researcher attempted to investigate how a particular group could be marginalized or discriminated, through the process of excluding or including an actor or an event.

This research focused on demonstration issues. The data were attained by seeking and selecting articles about demonstration issues published by The Jakarta Post about the *RKUHP* demonstration. Since a demonstration or protest event is a social practice that commonly becomes controversial issue amongst governments, police, students, society, and many others. There will be a group that will be discriminated and marginalized because of the power of a particular group. Then, the media has a role to spread the news or information to influence public opinion about

that kind of situation. As Jost et al. (2018) stated, the media provides an efficient vehicle for the quick transmission of information around the world.

There were ten previous studies related to this research. From all those previous studies, the researcher found six studies using van Leeuwen's concept of CDA to investigate how media used the strategies of exclusion and inclusion to marginalize an individual or a particular group. The relevant studies were Sofyan & Zifana (2019), Calista & Nafiah (2018), Dashti & Mehrpour (2017), Fitri & Rahmat (2017), Qanitat (2015), and Bustam & Juanda (2014). Besides, the researcher found four previous studies that chose The Jakarta Post as the subject of the study. Those studies were conducted by Setyowati (2018), Anastasia (2017), Bustam & Juanda (2014), and Mansur (2014). Moreover, there were two previous studies discussing CDA but using other theories. They were Broines's (2017) research which adopted the theory of Fairclough and Mansur's (2014) which applied the theory of van Dijk.

This present study employed Van Leeuwen's (2008) concept of CDA to analyze the collected data and focused on what and how the use of exclusion and inclusion strategies could deliver certain messages or ideologies through the news. Furthermore, even though this research applied the same theory like previous studies, it had a different focus and subject, namely The Jakarta Post. The most similar previous studies were the ones conducted by Calista & Nafiah (2018) and Qanitat (2015) in terms of theory and aim of the study. However, the object of this present study was different from the previous studies. Calista & Nafiah merely focused on investigating one article from CNN Indonesia Online News. Moreover, Qanitat chose

to analyze the news published by The New York Times and The Guardian. Meanwhile, this present study investigated some news of The Jakarta Post about the *RKUHP* demonstration issues.

In addition, the purposes of this research were not completely the same as both previous studies. Since the previous researchers assumed that there was practice of marginalization or domination toward a particular group, this present study also aimed at showing the message behind the use of exclusion and inclusion strategy which had not been discussed yet in both previous studies. Hence, this research had a gap with the previous studies and was worth doing.

### **B. Research Questions**

Based on the research background, the problems of the study can be formulated as follows.

1. What are the strategies of exclusion and inclusion used in The Jakarta Post?
2. How are the messages behind the usage of exclusion and inclusion in The Jakarta Post interpreted?

### **C. Objectives of the Study**

This research provides a descriptive explanation to answer research questions about exclusion and inclusion strategies. Hence, the objectives of the study are stated in the followings.

1. To examine the strategies of exclusion and inclusion used in The Jakarta Post.

2. To examine the interpretation of the messages behind the usage of exclusion and inclusion in The Jakarta Post.

#### **D. Significances of the Study**

There were two kinds of significances in this study. The first one is theoretical significance. Theoretically, this paper is expected to contribute to the additional knowledge, or be a reference of the development of science, especially in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis study focusing on van Leeuwen's concept about exclusion and inclusion.

Furthermore, this study is expected to give a practical significance. For the ones who have great attention on the political language, especially hegemonic phenomena, the researcher hopes that the result of this study can give deeper understanding on and add insight about Critical Discourse Analysis. Moreover, this research provides the institutional significance, to everyone who studies English, Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis, and etcetera. This research is expected to increase and broaden their comprehension of Critical Discourse Analysis especially based on van Leeuwen's theory. Besides, the researcher hopes that this research is useful for the next researchers who are interested in studying a similar topic.



### **E. Scope and Limitations**

The scope of this research was categorized as a semantic approach since this research belongs to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which focused on analyzing the types of exclusion and inclusion strategies. Besides, the researcher interpreted the messages behind the usage of exclusion and inclusion appeared in online news to uncover the practice of power distributed by the media. In addition, the researcher employed the theory proposed by van Leeuwen (2008) about CDA to discover several types of exclusion and inclusion strategies and to construe some hidden messages behind the use of both strategies.

As the limitations of this study, the researcher constructed a number of boundaries in terms of the data of the study. The data of this research were taken from The Jakarta Post online news articles. For gaining the data, the researcher chose and selected any reports related to the *RKUHP* demonstration issues for getting reliable and actual data. Since the *RKUHP* demonstration in Indonesia happened on 19 September 2019, the researcher decided to gain the data about the *RKUHP* demonstration from 19 September 2019 to 30 January 2020. During those five months, there were ten articles found which were regarded as the data of the study.

### **F. Definitions of Key Terms**

Here, the researcher would like to define several key terms to avoid any kinds of misunderstanding.

1. **Critical Discourse Analysis:** belongs to discourse analytical research which is related to social power abuse, domination, inequality, and injustice. It can also be defined as the process of critically analyzing linguistic elements to reveal connections between language, power, and ideology that are hidden in the texts.
2. **Exclusion strategy:** the strategy used by the media to delete or to remove actors from the news because of particular reasons.
3. **Inclusion strategy:** the strategy used by the media to include or to display someone or group in the text as a social actor for certain excuses.
4. **The Jakarta Post:** a daily English language newspaper published in Indonesia that can be accessed easily by everyone through its website.
5. **The RKUHP demonstration:** the demonstration done by the society, especially by students from various universities in Indonesia with the aim of demanding the DPR to revise the RKUHP. RKUHP is a term in Indonesian language, which stands for *Rancangan Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana* (beri terjemahan bahasa Inggrisnya, bisa googling).

**Social actor:** any person who undertakes or engages in social action which is shaped by internalized expectations about how others will interpret the action.

## G. Previous Studies

Several previous studies related to this research were elucidated in this sub-chapter. The aim of collecting other related studies was to make the researcher easier

to conduct this research and analyze the data to answer the research questions. The researcher elaborated and classified those previous studies based on three categories, including subject of the study, the theory used, and approach of the study.

There were four previous studies that chose online news as the subject of the studies, namely The Jakarta Post. Those studies were conducted by Setyowati (2018), Anastasia (2017), Bustam & Juanda (2014), and Mansur (2014). Setyowati's (2018) focussed on determining the power struggle of the speech which was delivered by the state counsellor of Myanmar, Aung San Suu Kyi, about the problems of Muslim Rohingya society. The data were collected from The Jakarta Post and YouTube channel. By employing Fairclough's theory, the findings showed that Aung San Suu Kyi realized the power struggle by using the formality, euphemism, modality, and pronoun in her speech.

Meanwhile, Anastasia (2017) investigated the aspect of language, the discursive processes, the text, the situations of social, political, and cultural that backed up the language used in reporting Ahok as the public figure. Some online news about Ahok and his gubernatorial election from The Jakarta Post were chosen as the subject of the study. The results revealed that the aspects of language played a significant role in shaping the discursive strategy by using pronouns and direct speech. Additionally, the social, political, and cultural situations also affected the news reporting by mentioning the name of a public figure.

Then, Bustam & Juanda's (2014) conducted a study that aimed to uncover the use of nominalization strategies of exclusion to present social actors in The Jakarta

Post headlines news. Specifically, the topic was about the feud of *KPK* (Corruption Eradication Commission) and *POLRI* (Indonesian National Police). Their research employed van Leeuwen's theory. The findings revealed that exclusion strategies were mostly used in *POLRI* headlines, aiming at bringing the readers' attention on actors who became the victim of the accident mentioned in the headlines, so that the readers' sympathy would go to the victim. Additionally, Mansur (2014) examined the derogation and euphemization strategies used in *The Jakarta Post* by following van Dijk's models of CDA. At the end of the study, the findings revealed that there were some discursive strategies of derogation and euphemization used by the news' author for showing the domination of a certain group, while the other group would be seen as the inferior one.

The study about CDA using van Leeuwen's theory about exclusion and inclusion had been widely investigated by a number of researchers, including Sofyan & Zifana (2019), Calista & Nafiah (2018), Dashti & Mehrpour (2017), Fitri & Rahmat (2017), Qanitat (2015), and Bustam & Juanda (2014). Firstly, by employing van Leeuwen's theory about exclusion and inclusion, Sofyan & Zifana (2019) investigated two media, *Republika* and *Kompas* online news, about the types of social action, grammatical, and rhetorical realization. The findings concluded that both media had non-neutral tendencies because both media tried to build the ideological tendency to defend or to offend the subject.

Secondly, Calista & Nafiah (2018) used strategies of exclusion and inclusion by van Leeuwen to investigate how authors of *CNN Indonesia* marginalized a person

or a group in one article about aggression on Ahmadiyah issue. The results revealed that the strategies applied in the discourse were passivation and nominalization, objectification, identification, and indeterminacy.

Thirdly, Dashti & Mehrpour (2017) analyzed the representation of social actors in the lectures of two renowned philosophers, namely J. Krishnamurti and Alan Watts. While adopting van Leeuwen's theory, the result revealed that the social actors were represented differently in some discursive features.

Fourthly, Fitri & Rahmat (2017) analyzed the inclusion strategy of the murder news in Posmetro Padang daily newspaper. By proposing van Leeuwen's theory, the results showed that most of the journalists in Posmetro Padang newspaper attempted to impartially represent the actors. At the same time, a victim was marginalized in the news.

Next, Qanitat (2015) analyzed the kinds of strategies to represent the social actors and the way they were represented in The New York Times and The Guardian newspapers. The results showed that the exclusion strategies mostly used in both online media were suppression and backgrounding. Meanwhile, the inclusion strategies used consisting of activation, genericization, specification, assimilation, differentiation, categorization, nomination, and overdetermination. Furthermore, the social actors who were represented as the exact doer of the action involving Muslim and western countries community, and Islamic and western countries government.

Finally, the last previous study which adopted van Leeuwen's theory was Bustam & Juanda's (2014). They analyzed the use of nominalization strategies

represented in The Jakarta Post. The findings revealed that nominalization exclusion strategies were mostly used in *POLRI* headlines who became the victim of the accident mentioned in the headlines, so that the readers' sympathy would go to the victim.

Other previous studies that also discussed CDA, but chose different theories and subjects were studies conducted by Briones (2017) and Mansur (2014). In his research, Briones (2017) applied Norman Fairclough's CDA framework by proposing internal and external level of analysis on two online news articles that reported on the Moro Islamic Liberation Front's (MILF) submission. As a result, the way the texts were written seemed to portray power relations that existed between the Philippines' government and the MILF in both levels of internal and external.

Meanwhile, Mansur (2014) identified the derogation and euphemization strategies used in The Jakarta Post. The findings showed that there were some discursive strategies of derogations and euphemizations used for showing the domination of a certain group, while the other groups were showed as the inferior ones.

Those aforementioned studies discussed the topic about the use of CDA as an approach to analyze the discourse. Their differences were on the aim of the study, the research subject, and the theory used. Therefore, the researcher in this present study were interested in conducting a similar study to enrich the findings of the previous studies. Even though the researcher applied the same theory proposed by van Leeuwen about exclusion and inclusion, and also chose the same subject, namely The

Jakarta Post online news, this present study aimed at investigating different topic and objectives of the study. The topic to be studied was the *RKUHP* demonstration issues which were collected from several articles published by The Jakarta Post. In addition, the present study investigated the implied messages of the discourse, which was different from the previous studies. Thus, this present study was significant to conduct because it would bring new insight on CDA studies.

## **H. Research Method**

This sub-chapter covers the explanation of the research method which consists of the elucidation of research design, research instrument, data and data source, data collection, data analysis, and data triangulation.

### **1. Research Design**

This research employed a qualitative method since it used the data in words about the text of the *RKUHP* demonstration articles which were obtained from The Jakarta Post online news. Moreover, in this present study, the researcher attempted to interpret the meaning of using exclusion and inclusion strategies in the online news. It is in line with the definition of qualitative research according to Creswell (2009), in which qualitative research is defined as a study that elaborates the meaning of something which comes from social or human problem and the researcher makes interpretations of the collected data.

The researcher was the main instrument of this study because she was the one who collected every data and then analyzed them by herself. The natural setting of this study occurred in an online news website presenting English daily news in Indonesia, namely The Jakarta Post. Furthermore, the philosophical worldview used by the researcher was an advocacy/participatory worldview, because the researcher assumed that this study attempted to focus on the need of groups or individuals in the society that may be marginalized or disenfranchised. Moreover, it began with an issue about problems occurred in the society, such as the need for empowerment, as Creswell (2008) argued. The study emphasized the specific case of discursive strategies based on Van Leeuwen's theory of exclusion and inclusion. Therefore, the approach of this study was categorized as a semantic approach.

## **2. Research Instrument**

For supporting the process of data collection, a human research instrument was used in this research. The primer instrument in this research was the researcher herself. As the key instrument, the researcher collected the data by selecting the online news from The Jakarta Post related to the *RKUHP* demonstration issues and read them several times until having a deep understanding on the news content. Then, as the main instrument, the researcher also analyzed all the collected data and concluded them at the end of the research.



### 3. Data and Data Source

The data source of this research was taken from online news of The Jakarta Post, especially in demonstration issues by selecting some reports about the *RKUHP* demonstration which just happened a few months ago. By using online news as the data source, the data were more credible, up to date, and easier to collect.

The data about the *RKUHP* demonstration news uploaded in The Jakarta Post were selected from 19 September 2019 to 30 January 2020. Finally, during those period of time, the researcher found ten articles reported the *RKUHP* demonstration issues. All of those articles were analyzed because the researcher considered that the data from ten articles were enough to obtain the findings of the research. The *RKUHP* demonstration issues were selected as the data source of this research because, linguistically, demonstration issues often became controversial issues contain the exercise of exclusion and inclusion strategies through the power of media. The researcher took the news as the data from The Jakarta Post's website, including words, sentences, and utterances that were related to the *RKUHP* demonstration issues.

### 4. Data Collection

The data in the present research were in the form of text or document. To collect the data, the researcher did several stages. Firstly, the researcher opened the website of The Jakarta Post. Then, the researcher collected the data from The Jakarta Post online news by selecting the *RKUHP*

demonstration news topic from 19 September 2019 to 30 January 2020. Secondly, the researcher read and identified the words and utterances that contained exclusion and inclusion strategy from the selected news.

## **5. Data Analysis**

In the process of analyzing the data to answer the research questions, the researcher did several stages. Firstly, the researcher read the collected data several times to have a deep understanding about exclusion and inclusion strategies used in The Jakarta Post online news. Then, the researcher classified word by word, sentences, and utterances as the discursive strategies based on the theory proposed by Van Leeuwen (2008) about exclusion and inclusion strategies. Finally, the researcher interpreted and discussed the findings critically to uncover the message behind the collected texts, including the practice of hegemony, domination, discrimination, inequality, injustice, and so on.

## **6. Data Triangulation**

Triangulation can be defined as applying more than one particular ways to get broader and more productive data to help the researcher confirms the results of the study, as revealed by Wilson (2014). By doing the process of triangulation, the researcher could cross-validated the findings of the research by doing further exploration on results. Denzin (2015) argued that there were

four basic types of triangulation, namely: data triangulation, investor triangulation, theory triangulation, and methodological triangulation.

According to Denzin, data triangulation involves time, space, and persons. In this study, the researcher chose a person as a validator to confirm the validity of the data analysis. The selected validator was a lecturer in *Universitas Islam Negeri Malang*, who was considered as an expert because he has taught linguistics subject for several years, one of which was Critical Discourse Analysis. The researcher asked him to check the findings of the study after finishing the data analysis.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This second chapter provides some related theories to this study. The section involves the explanation of Critical Discourse Analysis, approaches in CDA, the strategies of exclusion and inclusion, and the role of media in spreading the power in society.

#### A. Critical Discourse Analysis

Before demonstrating the term Critical Discourse Analysis as the starting point in this study, the researcher would like to present the definition of Discourse. Discourse is the group of sentences that is related to each other, or it also can be defined as the unit of language that is larger than sentences. The definitions of discourse have been given by many linguists since the word 'discourse' becomes a fashionable term recently.

According to Brown and Yule (1983), they defined discourse as the analysis of language in use. It means that discourse is the study of language that not merely discuss the language but also the context when the language is practiced. Then, G. Cook in Bagiyan (2014) also mentioned that discourse is the unity and relation between text and context. According to Bagiyan (2014), the discourse is understood as a coherent text in conjunction with the

extralinguistic factors such as pragmatic, sociolinguistics, sociocultural, psychological, and etcetera.

Besides, based on the Cambridge Dictionary, the definition of analysis is the process of studying or examining something in detail and in organized to learn more about a particular study of something. Therefore, the term Discourse Analysis could be explained by Jones (2013) as the research that is not considered as a purpose in itself, but rather as part of a process leading or influencing to some kind of action that will be beneficial for stakeholders.

Discourse Analysis is one of the ways to analyze language through one of the approaches, namely Systemic Functional Linguistics. One of the branches of Discourse Analysis is Critical Discourse Analysis. However, both of them are not the same since CDA is not classified as SFL like DA. Nevertheless, Young and Harrison (2004) mentioned that there are three similarities between CDA and SFL. First, they consider that language is socially constructed. It means that society has the right to fashion their language, depending on their agreement. The second commonality is they shared a dialectical view of language in which particular discursive events influence the contexts.

The last is both SFL and CDA emphasize the cultural and historical aspects of meaning. Even though there are several commonalities, Critical Discourse Analysis and SFL are different. CDA does not only analyze the use of language. It also has the potential to reveal the way power is diffused and

distributed through the prevalence of various discourses, throughout an education system, at both the micro-level of individual classrooms and the macro-level of large-scale reform. To sum up, CDA could be seen as a political intervention with its own socially transformative agenda when the superior and the inferior group put into the community (Young and Harrison, 2004; Mansur, 2014).

There are several approaches to CDA. Based on Wodak (as cited in Wodak (2002), he declared that the plurality of the delimitation of theory and the methodology could be highlighted as a sign that CDA had a specific strength and quality so that the research discipline provided non-static research. Therefore, Mansur (2014) examined that the methodology of CDA might be applied with a particular approach that is related to any specific theoretical backgrounds of the study.

According to (Amouso and Allag, 2018; Mansur, 2014; Eriyanto, 2001) five outstanding approaches in CDA proposed by a range of prominent scholars may be classified to (1) Fairclough's Socio-Cultural Approach, (2) Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Approach, (3) Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach, (4) Fowler's Critical Linguistics, and (5) Van Leeuwen's Representation of Social Actors. However, since the most relevant approach which related to this research is only one, the researcher only demonstrates an approach to CDA proposed by an expert, namely Van Leeuwen's theory.

## **B. Van Leeuwen's Representation of Social Actors**

Van Leeuwen's models of CDA tried to examine how social actors or participants of social practices can be represented in the discourse (Van Leeuwen: 2008). The function of the representation of social actors in the text is to legitimate or marginalize a group when another group is seen as a good one. As Anwar (2018) stated in her research, that the representation of social actors either by excluding or including them is to portray writers' particular purpose and interest to the reader. By generating the strategies of exclusion and inclusion, the authors of the discourse may practise inequality or injustice with the power they have. To fulfill this aim, Van Leeuwen conducted two outstanding strategies which were recognized as the strategies of exclusion and inclusion.

### **1. Exclusion**

Exclusion refers to the process of removing a group or an actor from the text which may change society's perspective and understanding towards a particular issue (Eriyanto, 2001). There are a number of strategies on how the writers can exclude social actors from the discourse based on Van Leeuwen's (2008) theory.

### a) **Suppression**

Based on Van Leeuwen's (2008) statement in his own book which written by himself, suppression means deleting both social actors and also social activities until there are no traces in the representation. The kinds of suppression can be generated in several types:

#### 1) *Non-finite Clauses*

Van Leeuwen argued that suppression can be attained by presenting non-finite clauses which had function as a grammatical participant. For instance, there is a sentence "to maintain this policy hard." Here, the infinitival clause "to maintain this policy" has a role as an attributive clause which makes the social actor responsible for the "maintenance" of the policy to be disappeared.

#### 2) *Passive Actor Deletion*

Passive agent deletion refers to the realization of deleting social actors from the text by using passive sentences in representing the text. For example, "A student was shot during a demonstration." By generating the passive form and omitting the social actor, the focus of the reader will be on 'a student' only, someone who is regarded as a victim. On the other hand, the actor who practices social action is not affected at all because not being represented in the text.



### 3) *Nominalizations and Process Nouns or Process Adjectives*

Nominalization by generating the sentence with nouns or adjectives rather than verbs similarly distributes the exclusion strategy of social actors. By postmodifying phrases with *by*, *of*, *form*, and etcetera, the nominalization strategy can be included in the text. According to Eriyanto (2001), nominalization doesn't need any subject or participant since basically it changes verbal sentence which contains social action and social actor to a nominal sentence which contain an information about a particular event. For example "There is a dead employee because of mistreatment." Therefore, the model of this sentence will automatically remove the actor of the discourse.

#### **b) Backgrounding**

Van Leeuwen argued that backgrounding was defined as a kind of exclusion which was not totally deleting the social actors from the text, it was still included social actors but elsewhere in the text. Anwar (2018) states that social actors may not be presented directly to the actions in the same clause, but it may be asserted in the next or other clauses. Van Leeuwen (2008) mentioned that there are three simple ellipses in which have a role to decrease the amount of times specific actors are explicitly pointed to.

#### 1) *Non-Finite Clause with –ing and –ed Participles*

By applying non-finite clause with –ing or –ed participle in the text, the writer has intention to postpone the presence of the social actor (Anwar,

2018). Since non-finite clause contains a verb that does not show any tenses, it can appear whether in the end or in the beginning part of the sentence without representing the social actor first. Hence, the social actor may be mentioned after.

2) *Infinitival clause with to-*

The function of utilizing infinitival clause with to- is similar to utilizing non-finite clause with -ing. It can appear first even though there is no one who is mentioned it in the text as a social actor before.

3) *Paratactic Clauses*

According to the explanation from literacydevice.net (2020), paratactic clause may be understood as a rhetorical term and complex clause in which clauses and phrases are placed one after another without coordinating or subordinating independently. Van Leeuwen (2008) added that the aim of using paratactic clause is in order to permit omitting the social actor from the text. However, this case is not permanently, the social actor is mentioned elsewhere in the text.

Meanwhile, Eriyanto (2001) also argued a similar idea as Van Leeuwen's theory about paratactic clause. However, he generated a different term, he called it as sentence substitution. Sentence substitution may be realized by using clause which is functioned as a social actor substitute so that

the actor will be removed from the text. For example, “To control student demonstrations, shots were fired. As a result, a student died.” On the other hand, a complete sentence which is not constructed with any clause will be like “A police shot a student demonstration until he died.” The diversity is very clear, when the first example tries to hide the social actors by using sentence substitution process, the second example clearly shows the social actors in the text.

## **2. Inclusion**

The second term conveyed by Theo Van Leeuwen’s Socio-Semantic Approach for Analysing The Representation of Social actors is recognized as an inclusion strategy. Eriyanto (2001) delivered that inclusion was the strategy to include or show or appear the social actors of social actions within the discourse based on certain reasons. Inclusion can be categorized into amounts of following mechanisms:

### **a) Activation and Passivation**

As conveyed by Van Leeuwen (2008), he examined that activation was endeavored by representing the social actor clearly to be shown in the active form. On the other hand, passivation is endeavored by representing social actor as undergoing the social actions or somebody who is concealed in the passive form.

There are several ways to construct the activation. Here, the following elaboration:

1) *Participation*

Participation means a sentence consists of an active role of the social actor. The social actor is clearly foregrounded in question.

2) *Circumstantialization*

It can be realized by prepositional circumstantials with *by* or *from* (e.g. “People of Asian descent suddenly received a cold-shoulder from neighbors and co-workers”)

3) *Premodification and Postmodification of Nominalizations*

To exemplify them, Van Leeuwen (2008) made examples based on the previous example (e.g. “public” in “public support”) and then (e.g. “of Asians” in “People of Asians”)

4) *Possessivation*

By using possessive pronoun, it may be exemplified as (e.g. “my teacher, our family”).

Besides, there are some ways to passivate sentence which are different from activation:

1) *Subjected*

Subjected social actors are treated them as objects in the representations. For realizing the process of the subjected social actor, it may

be formed by “participation.” Appropriate with Haliday (1985) as cited in Van Leeuwen (2008) that participation is treated the passivated social actor as a carrier in a mental process. Besides participation, the process of subjected the social actor may be realized by “circumstantialization” through a prepositional phrase with, for example, the word *against*.

Furthermore, it can be formed by “possessivation” which commonly in the form of a prepositional phrase. For instance, it may reach out by using *of* postmodifying a nominalization, such a phrase “of some 5,400 skilled immigrants.” The last pattern to subject social actors is “adjectival premodification,” as with the adjective “racial” in the adjectival phrase “racial tolerance” (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

## 2) *Beneficialized*

Based on Van Leeuwen (2008), realizing beneficialized social actors means that the writers or the authors of the discourse make an effort to generate text which positively or negatively will benefit from the actions. Nuha (2010) added by providing an example “Although the head of the city gives some of their money to the black, they still attacked”, clause “they still attacked” is beneficiary.

## b) **Genericization and Specification**

Based on Van Leeuwen’s (2008) opinion as cited in Bernard (2018) about representing the social actors, he defined genericization as the process

of mentioning the actors of the discourse as part of classes or groups of people (generalized). While, specification represents specifically the social actors as part of identifiable individuals (specified).

Genericization may be arranged by the plural form without article, as an example in the phrase “Non-European immigrants”. Then, it also can be arranged by the singular form with both definite and indefinite articles, as with “the child” and “a child.” While, specification may be realized by the absence of habitual or present tense, for instance, “Staff in both playgroups and nurseries expressed willingness to supply information if asked and regretted that their opinions were not valued more.” Moreover, specification also can be realized by presenting a numerative pattern.

### c) **Assimilation and Individualization**

There is a massive and clear diversity between these two terms. According to Van Leeuwen (2008), assimilation can be referred to as groups that talk about plurality, while individualization is referred to as individuals that talk about the singularity. Van Leeuwen already divided the assimilation strategy into two different kinds: aggregation and collectivization. Bernard (2018) defined aggregation as quantifying groups of people by utilizing the statistical method. Then, he defined collectivization as quantifying groups of people without presenting any statistics.

Alternatively, aggregation is reached out by showing either definite (as with “forty percent of Australians”) or indefinite (as with “A number of critics”) quantifiers as the numerative or as the head of a nominal group. On the other hand, collectivization may be realized by the presence of collective groups without providing any statistical data. For example, they are the words “We”, “this nation”, the community”, and others.

While, the individualization can be realized by mentioning the social actors as an individual, or a specific one. For instance, it may through directly mentioning the name as “Bruce Roxton” or a word such as a specific person “the government”.

#### **d) Association and Dissociation**

Association is another way to represent social actors as groups of people who are never labeled in the next as stable and institutionalized although the actors or the groups are the ones who build up the association. To exemplify, the example may be like “They believed that the immigration program existed for the benefit of politicians, bureaucrats, and the ethnic minorities, not for Australians as a whole” (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

On the contrary, Van Leeuwen (2008) stated that dissociation was referred to unformed association which meant that it was unformed as the text proceeds. Dissociation can be understood as the text that associates the actors

at the first, and then dissociates or disbands as they are separately not the ones in the same group.

**e) Indetermination and Differentiation**

Indetermination may be defined as the representation of social actors as unspecified or anonymous actors. While, differentiation or determination is typically defined as the presence of social actors with specific identity that makes them different from others.

Indetermination is commonly realized with indefinite pronoun such as “somebody,” “someone,” “some people,” or etcetera. It also can be formed by applying generalized exophoric reference as “they” and can be aggregated by applying some phrases as in “many believe...,” “some say...,” and others. While, determination or differentiation explicitly distinguishes the individual or groups in order to unseen as similar actors or groups. It is realizing the diversity between “self” and “the other”, or between “us” and “them.” Here, one of the examples provided by (Van Leeuwen 2008: 40), “And though many of the new migrants are educated high-achievers from places like Singapore and Hong Kong—“uptown” people in American terminology, others are “downtown” people from places like Vietnam, the Philippines, and Lebanon.”



#### f) Nomination and Categorization

Nomination means being nominated, or it can be elaborated as appearing the social actors within their own uniqueness in order to be identifiable. In the opposite way, categorization is referred to being share either identities or functions with others or to emphasize that they are in a similar line or category (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

Occasionally, nomination is formed by *proper nouns*. There are *formal* (surnames with or without honorics), *semiformal* (given name and surname), and *informal* (given name only). In addition, it may be realized by adding kinship relation terms as with “Uncle Sam.” While, in the process of categorization, the writers do not need to generate any special and specific description to the social actors, because they share their identity and specialty in one case.

#### g) Functionalization and Identification

According to the argument proposed by Van Leeuwen (2008) as cited by Bernard (2018), functionalization happens when the social actors are characterized as their actions. This strategy typically may be formed in these following patterns:

- *by a noun which is formed from a verb* (with suffixes as in “interviewer” and “guardian”)

- *by a noun which denotes a place or tool* (with suffixes as in “pianist” and mountaineer”)
- *by the compounding of nouns denoting places or tools* (as in “cameraman” and “chairperson”)

Not in terms what is their action, identification occurs when the social actors are seen in terms of what they more or less permanently. Van Leeuwen (2008) divided three kinds of identification: *Classification*, is treated social actors in terms of major classification systems including age, gender, wealth, ethnicity, religion, and so on; *Relational Identification*, is treated social actors by representing their personal, kinship, or work relations to each other which is typically realized by a closed set of nouns as with “friend” or “mother”; *Physical Identification*, is treated social actors by presenting their unique physical characters, such as some adjectives “blonde” or “tall” and others.

Additionally, there is another term proposed by Van Leeuwen, namely *Appraisalment*. It occurs when social actors are appraised when they are connected into terms that evaluate them as good or bad. It is included in the discussion of identification.

#### **h) Personalization and Impersonalization**

The meaning of personalization which has been proposed by Van Leeuwen (2008) as cited by Bernard (2018) is including the social actors in the text as human beings through their personal pronouns, proper names, or other elements which define the semantic feature of “human.” Then,

impersonalized is referred to represent the social actors by utilizing other means such as abstract and concrete nouns, that meanings do not belong to any semantic future of “human.”

There are two kinds of impersonalization: the first is *abstraction*, it is occurred by representing the social actor based on their quality assigned to them in the discourse (“black”, “white”, “Muslims” and etcetera); the second is *objectivation*, it may be occurred by representing the social actors based on places or things which is typically associated with their person or their actions in which they are engaged. Four categories of objectivation are being identified in these following discussion:

- *Spatialization* : is a kind of objectivation in which social actors are linked to a place where they are closely associated. (e.g. “Indonesians” are substituted by “Indonesia”)
- *Utterance autonomization* : is a kind of objectivation in which social actors are linked to their utterances, whether it is the utterances of high or low status, official or unofficial spokesman. (e.g. “the report-surveys”, and “games-playing”)
- *Instrumentalization* : is a kind of objectivation in which social actors are linked to the instrument with which they carry out the action. (e.g. “the knife” and “the gun”)

- *Somatization* : is a kind of objectivation in which social actors are linked to a part of their body. (e.g. “Mary Kate’s shoulder”)

**i) Overdetermination**

Overdetermination defined by Van Leeuwen (2008) as a strategy to represent the social actors as participants in more than one social action, at the same time. It is distinguished into four major categories: First, *inversion*, it occurs when the social actors are related to two practices which are in a sense is opposite between each other. Second, *symbolization*, it occurs when a “fictional” social actors are portrayed as/by social actors in nonfictional practices (Anwar, 2018). Third, *Connotation*, it occurs when a unique nomination or physical identification portrayed as a classification or functionalization. Fourth, *Distillation*, it occurs by realizing through a combination of generalization and abstraction.

To trigger gaining deeper comprehension about the elaboration of Exclusion and Inclusion strategies proposed by Van Leeuwen, the researcher provides a diagram as the Social Actor Network conducted by Van Leeuwen (2008):

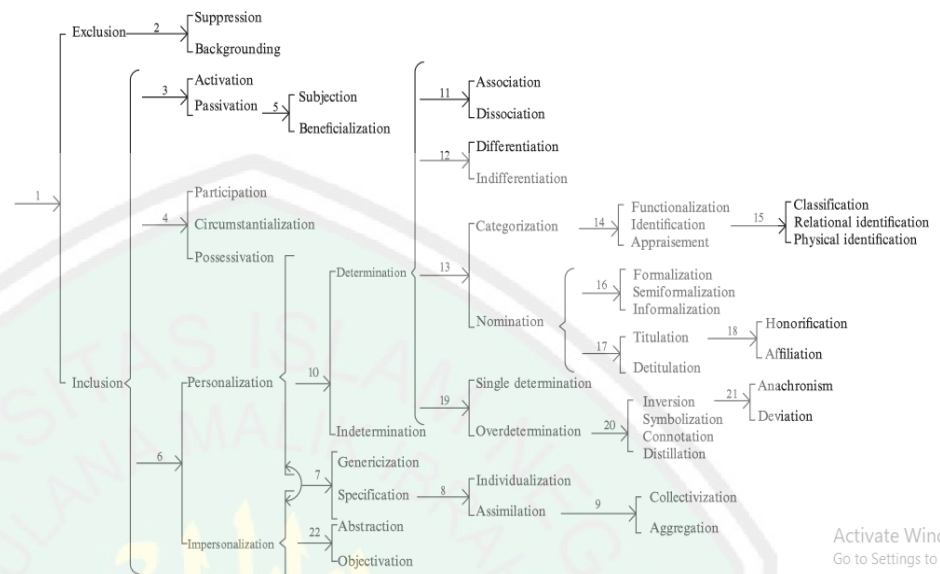


Figure 1 diagram of the Social Actor Network conducted by Van Leeuwen (2008)

### C. The Role of the Media

Increasingly, media has become one of the things which is very influential to society. People utilized media is not only for economic or political necessary because media can share and broaden any information and knowledge with the ability they have. Frequently, the word “media” is linked to the discourse. Every time we talk about the media, automatically we talk about the discourse. Machin and Van Leeuwen (2007) stated that discourse typically represented and transformed social practice. Besides, it also legitimates or delegitimizes the practice of the ones who generate social

practices that media recontextualise. This statement is supported by Mansur's (2014) study that the media has a prior significance towards to discourse analysis (from linguistics to society) to realize any bias or ideology in language.

According to Eriyanto (2001), media carries their role out by representing a particular group through the complex process. There are some critical views that consider media as a tool of dominant groups to dominate another group which is seen as a non-dominant. Then, Mansur's (2014) study conveyed that media has become a symbolic hypermarket. It means that everyone can understand and interpret any text or discourse based on their own perspective. Therefore, as readers or listeners, we should be critical and not taken for granted every information delivered by the media.

By studying the role of the media, the researcher would like to concern on how media practices their power for favoring a particular group which is seen as a superior group such as middle-class-group, or governments, by humiliating another group which is considered as an inferior such as working-class-group, or students, or employee and others.

The Jakarta Post is one of the English online media that created and generated hidden information or knowledge as other media. Furthermore, Critical Discourse Analysis is an approach that deals with investigating any bias or ideology produced in the discourse, including media. In this present

study, the researcher tries to analyze the practice of inequality or injustice built by the media by realizing the strategies of exclusion and inclusion conducted by Van Leeuwen.



### CHAPTER III

#### FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter covers the elaboration of findings and discussion to answer the research questions, based on the review of related literature in the previous chapter. In the findings section, the researcher analyzed the data from The Jakarta Post online news about *RKUHP* Demonstration issues to find several types of exclusion and inclusion strategies. Then, the analyzed data were interpreted to investigate the messages behind the usage of exclusion and inclusion strategies. Furthermore, the results of the analysis were discussed and exposed in the discussion section.

##### A. Findings

There were ten news articles about *RKUHP* Demonstration issues collected from The Jakarta Post from 19 September 2019 to 30 January 2020. All of those ten articles were chosen as the data because they were considered as the representation of social actor in reporting their news related to the use of exclusion and inclusion strategies about the *RKUHP* demonstration issues.

Objectively, the data were analyzed based on van Leeuwen's (2008) theory about the types of exclusion and inclusion strategies. He argued that there are two kinds of exclusion, namely suppression and backgrounding. Besides, the inclusion



strategy consists of seventeen kinds, including activation and passivation, genericization and specification, assimilation and individualization, association and dissociation, indetermination and differentiation, nomination and categorization, functionalization and identification, personalization and impersonalization, and overdetermination. Moreover, the analyzed data were interpreted critically to elaborate the implied message through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) proposed by van Leeuwen (2008).

### **1. Types of Exclusion and Inclusion Strategies in Online News about *RKUHP* Demonstration Issues**

In this section, the collected data were examined to answer the first research question about the types of exclusion and inclusion strategies. To provide effective and easier comprehension, the following data were arranged based on the sequence of online news publication date.

#### **Online News 1: “House Closer to Passing Controversial *KUHP*”**

The data presented below were taken from The Jakarta Post, which were published on Wednesday, September 18, 2019. This news discussed the information of opinions from some people who were involved in arranging the *RKUHP*. Besides, this news also mentioned the situation of demonstration event and the action of demonstrators.

### **Datum 1**

The datum below was collected from the fifteenth paragraph of the news. This datum informed the perspective or the opinion of the Institute for Criminal Justice and Reform (ICJR) executive director about the bill meetings held by the House of Representatives.

**Institute for Criminal Justice and Reform (ICJR) executive director Anggara** also condemned the closed meetings about the bill over the weekend, saying that *they* damaged the people's sense of trust in the government and the House. (The Jakarta Post, "House Closer to Passing Controversial *KUHP*", 18/09/2019).

In datum 1, the author presented the social actor by using noun phrase and surname which could be observed through the bold printed words above. The noun phrase "Institute for Criminal Justice and Reform (ICJR) executive director" which appeared before the surname "Anggara" was the additional information to convey and explain who Anggara was. Since the action done by the social actor was written "condemned," it meant that the author helped him to criticize a particular individual or group which was seen as incompetent or terrible sides. According to van Leeuwen (2008), the social actor was shown by adding the specification to make the doer became identifiable, which could be categorized as one of the inclusion strategy called **specification strategy**. By providing the specific information about the social actor, it emphasized that the author's report was under a credible source. Therefore, it might influence the readers to believe more on the credibility of the news.

Besides, there was another strategy which employed **association strategy** of inclusion that was signed with the italic printed word. In this datum, the author represented the social actor by using the word “they” which meant a group of people. Then, the author used the words “the government and the House” in the end of the sentence, as an explanation in which the word “they” should refer to. For that reason, the second strategy was categorized as the association strategy (van Leeuwen, 2008). The way the author generated this strategy aimed to make the readers focus on government and the House, who actually ruined people’s trust.

Both strategies, specification and association were related with each other. Even though both strategies were quite different from one another, they were in the same sentence, and they were used to disfigure one group, namely the government and the House.

**Online News 2: “Jokowi Bows to Public Pressure, Calls for Delay in Passing Criminal Code Bill into Law”**

The data presented below were collected from the news article of The Jakarta Post, which was published on Tuesday, 20 September 2019. The news reported that many students from various universities in Indonesia did a protest in front of the House of Representatives to criticize and refuse the new Criminal Code Law draft (RKUHP). Then, Jokowi, as the Indonesian president, commanded the House to postpone the legalization of the law.

## Datum 2

The datum presented below was taken from the first paragraph of the article. This paragraph reported about the movement of a large number of students to do protest in front of the House of Representatives about refusing the *RKUHP*.

**Hundreds of university students** protest in front of the House of Representatives complex in Central Jakarta on Thursday, criticizing the amendment of the Corruption Eradication Commission (*KPK*) Law, the Criminal Code Law draft (*RKUHP*) and the sexual violence bill (*RUU KUHP*). (The Jakarta Post, “Jokowi Bows to Public Pressure, Calls for Delay in Passing Criminal Code Bill into Law”, 20/09/2019).

In datum 2, the author of the article presented the social actors by generating the noun phrase “Hundreds of university students.” In the sentence above, the social actors signed by the bold printed words were not clearly described. By presenting the word “hundreds” rather than the exact number, it denoted that the author did not know exactly how many students actually participated in that demonstration. In addition, the word “hundreds” seemed like exaggerating so that the students would be seen as the bad sides because many of them participated in the demonstration. The particular number of demonstrators should be mentioned to make the information clearer and more specific.

Based on van Leeuwen (2008), the way the author included the social actors was presented in such a way called **assimilation strategy**. Since the author used the word “hundreds” which denoted statistical term, the linguistic realization of this assimilation strategy is called *aggregation*. By employing this strategy, the author

could represent the social actor of the text but still hide the specification of doers. The use of this strategy might influence the readers' perspective because it could reveal general opinion that the majority of university students or hundreds of university students did something bad such as taking part in demonstration. To avoid any negative perspectives, the author should be able to report the approximate number of social actors, for example "around three hundreds" or "around four hundreds."

**Online News 3: "We Refuse to Return to New Order': Students Protest Against Controversial Bills"**

This online news was issued on Monday, 23 September, 2019. It discussed the movements done by university students in various districts to express their disagreements toward the legalization of *RKUHP* which were realized in the form of demonstration. Besides, this article contained the response of the chief of the House that agreed to review the bill.

**Datum 3**

This datum informed the number of university students who participated in the demonstration to urge the House of Representatives for the revision of *RKHUP*.

It was written in the first paragraph as the starting point of this news.

**Thousands of university student** gather in front of the House of Representatives complex in Central Jakarta on Monday, to protest against what they claim are attempts to roll back the country's political reforms. (The

Jakarta Post, “We Refuse to Return to New Order’: Students Protest Against Controversial Bills”, 23/09/2019).

In datum 3, the existence of the social actor was shown by the noun phrase which could be observed by the bold printed words. By utilizing the words “Thousands of university students” as the doer of the action, the author tried to expose the number of students who attended the protest, but not in a specific way. In fact, the author presented the social actors in general and exaggerated way, so that it might affect the readers to create negative perspective. Moreover, by knowing how many students participated in the demonstration, it did not rule out the possibility for readers to consider that all university students were extreme or bad.

Since the author represented the social actor in general way, this strategy was categorized as **assimilation strategy** (van Leeuwen, 2008). Furthermore, since the assimilation strategy was realized with the statistical pattern “thousands,” it was classified as *aggregation*. To avoid any negative perspective from the readers, the author should be able to present the social actors as specific as possible. Even though in the form of number, it was still less specific if the writer only wrote numbers like “thousands,” or “hundreds,” and so on

#### **Datum 4**

This datum was taken from the same article of the previous datum, but from different paragraph, namely the second paragraph. Datum 4 discussed the demonstration event which occurred in some cities in Indonesia. Some university

students who carried out this demonstration attempted to do a protest act to the House of Representatives, which arranged the new bill.

**Thousands of students in at least nine cities across Indonesia** took to the streets on Monday demanding an end to what they claimed were ongoing attempts to roll back two decades of political reform in the country. (The Jakarta Post, “We Refuse to Return to New Order’: Students Protest Against Controversial Bills”, 23/09/2019).

In datum 4, the author represented the existence of social actors by the word “Thousands of students in at least nine cities across Indonesia” which was printed in bold. By combining the noun phrase “thousands of students” and the prepositional phrase “in at least nine cities across Indonesia”, the author attempted to give additional information about the social actor. However, since the words “nine cities” were anonymous, the author did not give clear report about those nine cities. Thus, the additional information about the social actors is not specific.

Based on van Leeuwen (2008), the use of such strategy was called **indetermination strategy**, since the author did not properly mention who the social actors were. As a consequence, the readers might interpret those nine cities in different way. In fact, it will bring a negative effect for other university students across Indonesia, because by generating anonymous social actors, the ones who actually did not participate in that demonstration may be included.

### Datum 5

As the previous datum, this datum was also taken from the same article but from different paragraph. It was acquired from the fourth paragraph. It was continuance of the previous datum which described another demonstration happened in the capital city.

**In the capital, thousands of activists and students from various universities** thronged in front of the House's compound on Jl. Gatot Subroto in Central Jakarta, blocking road access to Slipi, West Jakarta, as they called for lawmakers to listen to the voice of the people who have rejected controversial articles in the bills. (The Jakarta Post, "We Refuse to Return to New Order': Students Protest Against Controversial Bills", 23/09/2019).

In datum 5, the writer tried to describe the social actors specifically by including further description "in the capital." It indicated that the writer adopted **identification strategy** (van Leeuwen, 2008). By adopting the identification strategy through *classification* system with the addition of the region "The Capital," the author intended to perform the social actors clearly to make them identifiable, so that the readers notice them. Besides, by presenting identifiable and specific group, it would influence the readers to believe in the credibility of the news. Through that sentence, the writer intended to inform that thousands of activists and students from various universities were the ones who came from the Capital. Here, the capital of the country means Jakarta city, not any other cities in Indonesia.



### **Datum 6**

This datum was also collected from the same article as the previous datum. It was taken from the fifth paragraph which discussed the action of demonstrators during the demonstration event.

*The protesters* **chanted** and **held up** banners with slogans ranging from “Reformasi Dikorupsi” (Reform Era is being corrupted) to “Mosi Tidak Percaya” (motion of no confidence), which reflected their dwindling faith in lawmakers and the government. (The Jakarta Post, “We Refuse to Return to New Order’: Students Protest Against Controversial Bills”, 23/09/2019).

In datum 6, the author tried to represent the social actors in the form of active voice which was printed in italic words. It could be observed with the presence of the noun phrase “the protesters,” as the realization of participation of activation strategy. Besides, to emphasize and to affect the readers’ attention, the author performed two social actions as the predicate of the subjects. It could be observed with the bold printed words “chanted” and “held up.” Since the interpretation of combining those two social actions was negative, the author attempted to marginalize and showed the bad sides of the protesters.

As a conclusion, there were two strategies utilized in this datum, namely **activation and overdetermination strategies**. As van Leeuwen (2008) stated that activation means representing the social actors in the active form. Furthermore, overdetermination can be understood as performing more than one social actions at the same time.

### **Datum 7**

This datum was taken from the same article of the previous datum informed the demonstration occurred in two different regions. The protesters demanded the president to make a regulation in lieu of law (*Perppu*) to replace the revised *KPK* law. It could be found in the fourteenth paragraph.

**Hundreds of students in Balikpapan, East Kalimantan**, held a march from Balikpapan Plaza Square to the Balikpapan City Council building demanding President Jokowi issue a regulation in lieu of law (*Perppu*) to replace the revised *KPK* Law. (The Jakarta Post, “We Refuse to Return to New Order’: Students Protest Against Controversial Bills”, 23/09/2019).

In datum 7, the writer clearly used the inclusion strategy to represent the social actors which could be seen in the bold printed words “Hundreds of students.” The existence of the doers with the additional information about the place where they lived such as “Balikpapan and East Kalimantan” indicated that the author wanted to make them more specific and distinguishable. For this reason, the use of such strategy may be named as **specification strategy** (van Leeuwen, 2008). By including the social actors in the specific way, it would convince the readers that the news was valid and trusted. Therefore, hundreds of students would be judged as bad groups because no matter where they lived, either in Balikpapan or East Kalimantan, they preferred to run a riot such as held a march or protest act.

#### **Online News 4: “Students Throng in Front of House, More Flood into Jakarta as Protests Continue”**

Data 4 were obtained from The Jakarta Post article which was published on Tuesday, September 24, 2019. It reported the demonstration occurred in Indonesia conducted by university students from across Indonesia. This demonstration was done as the act against the revision of the Criminal Code (*KUHP*) and administered in front of the House of Representatives.

#### **Datum 8**

This datum was taken from the second and third paragraphs of the article. It informed the number of university students who participated in the demonstration. The students marched to the streets as the continuation of their protests to roll back democracy. Then, it also reported the action of students from the capital city in front of the House of Representatives.

**Thousands of university students from across Indonesia** have once again taken to the streets in a continuation of a series of protests against what they perceive to be attempts by the government and the legislature to roll back democracy. *In the capital, students from various universities*, both from within and outside the capital, gathered in front of the House of Representatives compound in Central Jakarta at 1 p.m. on Tuesday to voice demands for lawmakers to halt the passage of a number of controversial bills, including a revision of the Criminal Code (*KUHP*). (The Jakarta Post, “Students Throng in Front of House, More Flood into Jakarta as Protests Continue”, 24/09/2019).

In datum 8, the inclusion strategy of social actors was shown in the noun phrase “Thousands of university students from across Indonesia” which could be seen in the bold printed words. That strategy was named **assimilation strategy**, since the way the author presented the social actors was in general way without providing any specific description. Then, the assimilation strategy used by the author was categorized as *aggregation*, because the author displayed the assimilation strategy with the statistical pattern (van Leeuwen, 2008). Even though there was statistical or numerative pattern, the existence of the social actors was not really specific. Moreover, by adding the prepositional phrase “from across Indonesia”, it seemed that almost all university students across Indonesia were bad because they were involved in the demonstration event. In fact, not all students from Indonesia participated in the demonstration.

Meanwhile, in the second sentence the author tried to perform the social actors by distinguishing the social actors from others. It could be observed by the presence of prepositional phrase as the additional description of the social actors presented in the form of bold and italic printed words. The the author added the words “in the Capital” to distinguish university students in the Capital, and university students from across Indonesia as in the previous sentence. The students from the Capital gathered in front of the House of Representatives to speak up their demands including a revision of the Criminal Code. Meanwhile, the students from across Indonesia marched to the streets as the continuation of the protests series.

From the two different social actions and actors, according to van Leeuwen (2008), the strategy used by the author could be classified as **differentiation strategy**.

### Datum 9

This datum was also collected from the same article as the previous datum. The datum that was taken from the fifth paragraph discussed the demonstration which was done by the university students who gathered in front of the parliamentary's complex to demand the gate opening.

**Students from various universities** are now gathering in front of the parliamentary complexes on Tuesday, demanding the gate to be opened. (The Jakarta Post, "Students Throng in Front of House, More Flood into Jakarta as Protests Continue", 24/09/2019).

In datum 9, the inclusion strategy presented by the author could be seen in the beginning sentence in the form of bold printed words. The author chose the words "students from various university" to give general description towards the social actors. By the absence of unique identity or specific information, the author attempted to make the social actors sharing their identity. As a consequence, the students who involved in the protest were considered as the students from many universities in Indonesia or even from all universities in Indonesia. This phenomena would be detrimental for the students who were not participated in that protest. According to van Leeuwen (2008), the use of such strategy was named as **categorization strategy**.

**Online News 5: “Indonesia’s Controversial Criminal Code Bill Could Soon be Law. Here Are The New Crimes”**

The fifth data were collected from the article published by The Jakarta Post on Tuesday, September 24, 2019. It discussed some substances of the bills which required some reviews. The aforementioned bills included managed morality, limitations on freedom of speech, and contraception and abortion.

**Datum 10**

This datum was taken from the second paragraph of the same article. Nevertheless, it did not concern on the content of the bill as the core of the whole article. It only reported how many university students participated in the demonstration event.

**Tens of thousands of university students** *across the country* took to the streets on Monday to demand the House of Representatives cancel controversial bills which, if passed, will threaten civil liberties, among other things. (The Jakarta Post, “Indonesia’s Controversial Criminal Code Bill Could Soon be Law. Here Are The New Crimes”, 24/09/2019).

In datum 10, the inclusion strategy was found in the beginning of the sentence which was printed in bold words. By utilizing the statistic term as the noun phrase “Tens of thousands of university students” to present the social actors, the author intended to emphasize the validity of the report. To convince the readers, the author tried to provide additional information by choosing the numerative pattern, since the

statistical data was aimed to increase the readers' belief that the news was reliable. The way the author used such strategy was called **assimilation strategy**, specifically *aggregation* (van Leeuwen, 2008). It means that the author perceived the social actors as the ones who were in same group or class, and provided the statistical data to convince the readers.

The second inclusion strategy used by the author was printed in italic form. Here, the adverbial phrase was utilized as the additional information to describe the social actors. In the words “university students across the country,” the authors attempted to locate the social actors in the same line or category. It seemed that all university students from the whole country participated in that protest. In fact, not all university students from across the country did that. Based on this fact, the way the writer generated this strategy was named as **categorization strategy** (van Leeuwen, 2008). By doing both strategies, including assimilation and categorization, the author tried to marginalize the university students across the country. By the absence of specific explanation about the social actors, someone or people who were not actually involved in that protest will be regarded as the ones who joined that act.

**Online News 6: “House Agrees to Postpone Four Problematic Bills, Including Revised *KUHP*”**

Here, the data were collected from The Jakarta Post which was published on Wednesday, September 25, 2019. This data examined the continuation of

demonstration which happened on the previous days. Since the number of protesters had increased from day to day, and based on the president's command, the House of Representatives decided to delay the bills.

### **Datum 11**

This datum reported the amount of university students who ran the protest by gathering in front of the legislative compound. They were university students who came from various universities. This datum could be found in the first paragraph of the article.

**Students from various universities** gathered in front of the legislative compound to protest against the revision of the Criminal Code (*KUHP*), which they claimed threatened democracy. (The Jakarta Post, "House Agrees to Postpone Four Problematic Bills, Including Revised *KUHP*", 25/09/2019).

In datum 11, the writer used the inclusion strategy to represent the social actors "students from various universities." The way the author presented the social actors in general form, without mentioning the students from specific universities aimed to convey that all students from many universities around Indonesia were in the same line or group. By categorizing them in the same class, the author automatically generated **categorization strategy** (van Leeuwen, 2008). It indicated that the power practiced by the media was for influencing the readers to consider that the majority of university students were terrible because they had often involved in various demonstrations.



### Datum 12

This datum was taken from the same article as the previous datum, specifically it was taken from the third paragraph. As a whole, this paragraph talked about a group of a mass, including the university students, who marched to the street to demand lawmakers delaying the controversial bills.

Last two days saw **tens of thousands of university students** in Jakarta and other cities across the country taking to the streets to demand lawmakers hold off the passage of the controversial bills, arguing that the *KUHP* bill in particular threatens democracy and civil rights. (The Jakarta Post, “House Agrees to Postpone Four Problematic Bills, Including Revised *KUHP*”, 25/09/2019).

In datum 12, the inclusion strategy can be clearly seen in the words “tens of thousands of university students” which were printed in bold words. The social actors were represented by the addition of statistics as premodifying words of university students. The statistical data was used to show the validity of the information. Thus, the readers would believe more in the news. Based on this fact, van Leeuwen (2008) named such strategy as **assmilation strategy**, since the author presented the plurality of the social actors. Specifically, the type of assimilation strategy used by the author was *aggregation*, since it was presented in statistics.

Another inclusion strategy found in the datum was **categorization strategy** (van Leeuwen, 2008). It could be observed from the italic printed words. The words

“in Jakarta and other cities across the country” were categorized as further explanation of the social actors. In addition, the author put university students from Jakarta and from other cities across Indonesia in the same line or group. In fact, not all students from cities across the country went to the streets to join the demonstration. As a consequence, all university students across Indonesia would be regarded as the demonstrators who marched to streets because the writer presented the social actors with the chosen dictions. Therefore, the use of assimilation and categorization strategies were the same, which was to make the university students as the bad side.

### Datum 13

As the previous datum, this datum was also collected from the same article, but from different paragraph. The datum which was taken from the eighth paragraph examined some various community groups outside university students who also participated in that protest by blocking road access.

On Tuesday, **thousands of students** along with *various community groups, including representatives of farmers, journalists and workers* continued protesting in front of the House’s compound in Central Jakarta, blocking road access to Slipi, West Jakarta. (The Jakarta Post, “House Agrees to Postpone Four Problematic Bills, Including Revised *KUHP*”, 25/09/2019).

In datum 13, the writer applied two kinds of inclusion strategies. Firstly, the strategy could be clearly seen in the bold printed words, which was named as **assimilation strategy**. According to van Leeuwen (2008), it was suitable to

categorized the strategy as assimilation, since the writer performed the social actors in plurality “thousands of students.” Besides, the existence of the statistics “thousands”, which was called as the *aggregation* pattern, was to support the reliability of the news. Thus, the readers would be convinced of the truth of the news.

Secondly, the inclusion strategy used in this datum could be seen in the italic printed words. By giving further description about “various community groups,” such as the representatives of farmers, journalists and workers, the writer showed the social actors in a more detailed way. Based on that argument, the way the writer utilized such strategy was called **specification strategy** (van Leeuwen, 2008). Both assimilation (aggregation) or specification strategy were used to show the social actors in a specific way. It was aimed to make the readers realize that the writer was the one who knew the information well, so that the validity of the news was no need to be doubted. Besides, both strategies were also the same, treating the social actors as the negative groups.

**Online News 7: “No, Indonesia Students Are Not Taking to The Streets Only to Fight Sex Ban”**

The seventh data were also attained from The Jakarta Post in online version, published on Friday, September 27, 2019. The news discussed seven demands of the protesters which encompassed several problematic issues. For example, they rejected

the Criminal Code Bill (*RUU KUHP*), removed problematic *KPK* leaders, resolved human rights violations and put human rights violators on trial, and many others.

#### **Datum 14**

The datum presented below was taken from the first paragraph of the article, discussing some university students in Yogyakarta who ran protest containing disagreement about several new bills arranged by the House of Representatives.

**Students from various campuses in Yogyakarta** protest on Sept. 23 to voice concerns about several bills and the fate of the Corruption Eradication Commission. (The Jakarta Post, “No, Indonesia Students Are Not Taking to The Streets Only to Fight Sex Ban”, 27/09/2019).

In datum 14, the author attempted to show the inclusion of the social actor in the words “Students from various campuses in Yogyakarta”. To make it easy to identify, the researcher signed it with the bold printed words. Since the author chose the additions “in Yogyakarta” as the region or the city where the social actors studied, it determined that the author applied the **identification strategy** (van Leeuwen, 2008). The kind of identification strategy used was *classification* system, because the doers could be identified from the city which was embedded after the social actors. This strategy was used to manufacture the readers to trust the news, because the specific information was explicitly presented by showing the name of the city and the data where the event occurred.

### Datum 15

This following datum was collected from the eighth paragraph. The eighth datum mentioned that activists and experts criticized the bills and urged President to intervene and save the *KPK*. While, the ninth paragraph mentioned that the protesters demanded the House of Representatives to concern on the sexual violence bill.

Before it was passed, **activists and experts** *had criticized* the bill and *urged* President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo to intervene and save the antigraft body. The new *KPK* Law strips the *KPK* off of its independence through the establishment of a supervisory body and the conversion of the *KPK* into a government agency. (The Jakarta Post, "No, Indonesia Students Are Not Taking to The Streets Only to Fight Sex Ban", 27/09/2019).

In datum 15, the inclusion strategy conducted by the writer might be observed in the bold printed words "activists and experts." That inclusion strategy was called **activation strategy**, in which the sentence was written in the active form (van Leeuwen, 2008). The way the writer presented the social actors explicitly in the sentence denoted that the writer aimed to focus on the doers of the social actions. The writer tried to emphasize how brave the activists and the experts were to criticize the bills and urge the president to intervene and save the antigraft body. There was also another strategy found in this datum, which was **overdetermination strategy** since the writer generated more than one verb as the actions of the social

actors at the same time. This second strategy should be signed with the italic printed words “had criticized and urged”.

### Datum 16

This datum was also taken from the same article, but from different paragraph. The datum talked about the human rights violations, in which there was one of the protesters known as the mother of 1998 Semanggi Tragedy’s victim. In that tragedy, the government failed to catch the killer.

Taking part in the student protest in Jakarta on Sept. 24 was **Maria Catarina Sumarsih, the mother of Atma Jaya University student BR "Wawan" Norma Irmawan, who was shot and killed** during prodemocracy protests in what became known as the 1998 Semanggi Tragedy. (The Jakarta Post, “No, Indonesia Students Are Not Taking to The Streets Only to Fight Sex Ban”, 27/09/2019).

In datum 16, the author attempted to use the exclusion strategy which could be seen in the bold printed words. Since there was no trace about the doer of the social actions “was shot and killed,” the strategy used by the author was known as **suppression strategy** (van Leeuwen, 2008). The type of the suppression generated by the author is *passive agent deletion*, because the author wrote the sentence in the passive form and deleted the exact doer of the social actions.

Conversely, the object or the victim of the social actors was clearly shown in the text in a very detailed way. The object was presented by adding her full name, the kinship system by mentioning her relationship with her child, and the identity of

her child in a specific way. By knowing these facts, it indicated that the author tried to make the readers concern on the object or the victim of the action. Besides, passive sentence would shift the reader's attention only on the object, so that the readers would never wonder who the doer actually was.

**Online News 8: “Controversial Criminal Code Revision Made Legislative Priority Again”**

The next datum presented below was taken from The Jakarta Post which was published on Sunday, December 8, 2019. It reported the response of the House of Representatives that agreed to include the draft or the bills in the National Legislation Program (*Prolegnas*) for the following year. The government also agreed to review the bills.

**Datum 17**

This datum was obtained from the seventh paragraph of the article. This paragraph conveyed that there were 5 demonstrators killed in the demonstration who prompted the president to halt the deliberation of the disputed bills and dropped the disputed articles in the *RKUHP* bill.

*At least five people were killed* in the protests, prompting the President to call on lawmakers to halt the deliberation of the disputed bills and drop the disputed articles in the *KUHP* bill, meeting one of the demands of the students. (The Jakarta Post, “Controversial Criminal Code Revision Made Legislative Priority Again”, 8/12/2019).

In datum 17, the author tried to utilize the exclusion strategy by realizing the sentence in the passive form. It could be seen in the beginning of the sentence which was written in the bold printed words. Writing the sentence into a passive form, the subject or the doer of the social action would be hidden. On the other hand, only the object of the sentence appeared in the text and it was located in the beginning of the sentence. The author considered that mentioning the object or the victim of the social actions was more interesting to do rather than mentioning the doer. Based on this fact, since there was no trace about the social actor in the text, the exclusion strategy found in this datum was named as **suppression strategy** (van Leeuwen, 2008). Then, it was classified as the *passive agent deletion*, because the social actors were totally deleted from the text through passivating the sentence.

This kind of strategy might hide and protect the exact subject by concealing the social actor. Nevertheless, the subject of the action should be written, so that the readers knew who killed those people and the reason behind the action. Besides, reporting the news with this kind of method was not equitable for the students as the victims of the demonstration. The victims and the subject should both be exposed. Another strategy done by the author was **assimilation strategy**. It could be seen from the italic printed words “at least five people.” According to van Leeuwen (2008), by showing the plurality in the numeral data, the type of assimilation used in this datum was called *aggregation*. This strategy would support the credibility of the report, so that the readers would believe in the news.



### **Online News 9: “I Was Under Pressure’: Protester on Trial Claims Police Coerced him During Questioning”**

This data were published on Tuesday, January 28, 2020 discussing a problem between a university student and a police officer. Dede Luthfi Alfiandi, a student which was known as one of the protesters, was accused of assaulting a police officer during the *RKUHP* demonstration. However, Alfiandi and other student protesters conveyed that they got pressure from the police because they were assaulted and coerced while they were being questioned, until uttering false testimony during the interrogation section.

#### **Datum 18**

This datum was collected from the second paragraph of the article. It examined a statement by one of the university students who was accused of assaulting a police officer. In fact, the student was actually the one to be assaulted by the police. He was also coerced to make false testimony during interrogation process.

A defendant accused of assaulting a police officer during the September student protests has claimed he **was assaulted and coerced** into making false testimony during questioning by **the police**. (The Jakarta Post, “I Was Under Pressure’: Protester on Trial Claims Police Coerced him During Questioning”, 28/01/2020).

In datum 18, the power practiced by the media to marginalize the inferior group was realized with the inclusion strategy. It could be seen in the bold printed words. In that sub-clause, the author constructed the clause into passive form in which the focus of the clause was in the object, or might be showed in the word “he” referring to ‘a defendant.’ Based on van Leeuwen (2008), the way the author passivated the clause to include the social actor was named as **passivation strategy**. The social actor of the text was “the police” which was also written in the bold printed words. By putting the doer in the end of the sentence, the writer attempted to delay the presence of the social actor. It would be profitable for the police because after assaulting and coercing the defendant, his presence was not showed as the important or influential participant. Thus, the readers would concern more on the the defendant as the victim of the social actions “was assaulted and coerced” than the police.

#### **Datum 19**

In this datum, several university students were reported to run protest in Bogor City Hall. One of the students, Ariyanto said that he was being bumped by someone. Consequently, he hit a Bogor City Police officer during the rally. Ariyanto’s statement could be found in the seventh paragraph.

**He and his peers** then went to Bogor City Hall to stage the protests there instead. *Ariyanto* testified that during the rally he hit a Bogor City Police officer named Chandra Nelson in response to being bumped by *someone from behind*, Ardin said. (The Jakarta Post, “I Was Under Pressure”:

Protester on Trial Claims Police Coerced him During Questioning”, 28/01/2020).

In datum 19, based on van Leeuwen’s (2008) theory, there were several inclusion strategies found by the researcher. Firstly, the strategy which could be seen in the bold printed words was called **personalization strategy**. Pronoun “he” and possessive adjective “his peers” as the social actors of the text were categorized as human being. Therefore, it was named as personalization from the word ‘person’ referring to ‘human.’ Secondly, another inclusion strategy called as **nomination strategy** could be seen in the form of italic printed words. It was named as nomination because the author intended to nominate Ariyanto as the social actor. By choosing the informal name “Ariyanto” as the doer, the social actor became more specific and identifiable. Therefore, the readers would not question who the certain actor was.

The third inclusion strategy found in the datum above was **indetermination strategy**. It could be seen in the words “someone from behind” which were written in the bold and italic printed words. The presence of unspecified and anonymous actor would make the readers create several interpretations because certain doer was absent. It would be advantageous for the doer or someone who bumped into Ariyanto, since the exact doer was concealed and did not appear directly in the text. As a conclusion, those three inclusion strategies had the same direction, that

was to disfigure university students mentioned as ‘Ariyanto and peers’, so that the ones who had power or the superior group would be seen as the good characters.

#### **Online News 10: “Online Petitions Grow, Challenges Remain”**

This last data were taken from the Jakarta Post published on Tuesday, January 28, 2020. This news reported the number of online petition growing as a rise of digital activism in Indonesia. This case might be categorized as the continuation of the *RKUHP* demonstration, in which the protesters marched to the streets.

#### **Datum 20**

This datum was found in the first paragraph of the article. In this datum, the author discussed a number of university students who joined the demonstration event against the amendment of bills.

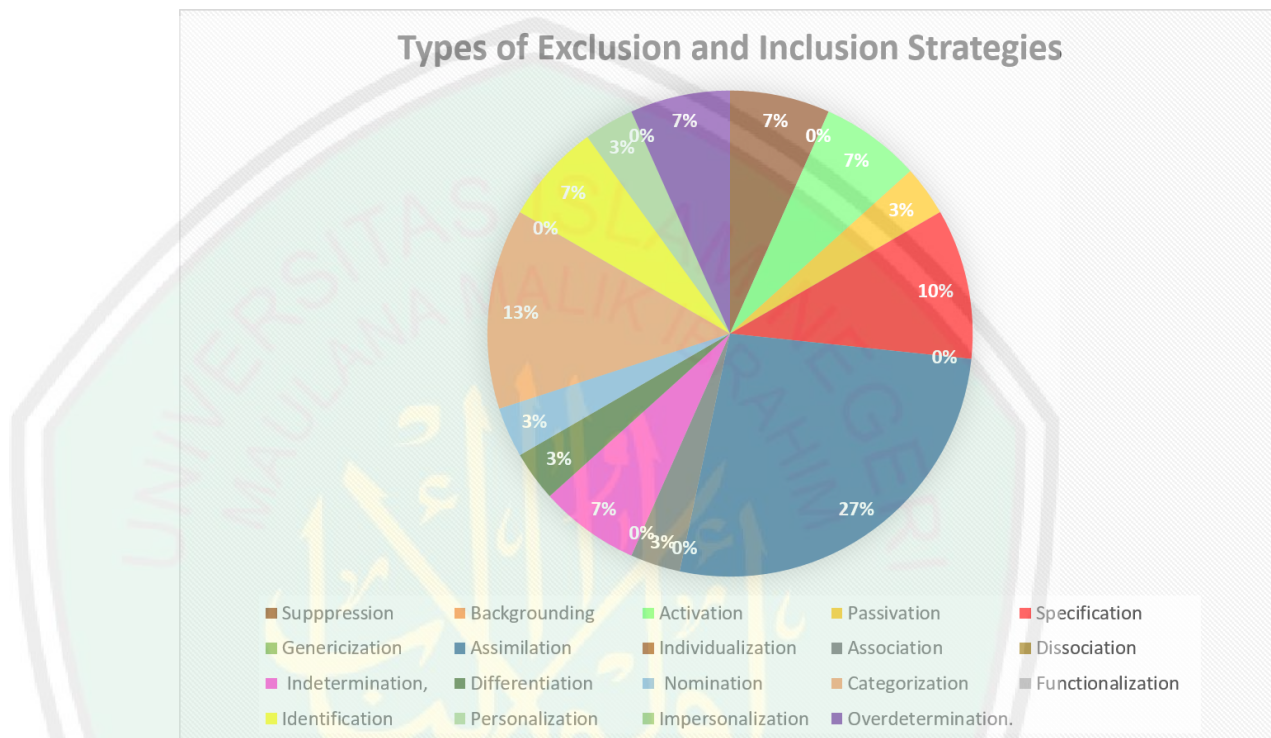
**Hundreds of students** protest in front of the House of Representatives in Central Jakarta against the amendment of the Corruption Eradication Commission (*KPK*) Law, the Criminal Code draft (*RKUHP*) and the sexual violence bill (*RUU KUHP*). (The Jakarta Post, “Online Petitions Grow, Challenges Remain”, 28/01/2020).

In datum 20, there was an inclusion strategy written in the bold printed words. To apply the inclusion strategy, the author utilized plurality to show the social actor as the massive group. Furthermore, since the numeral data was adopted to modify the social actors, the use of this inclusion strategy was named as

**assimilation strategy** which could be classified as *aggregation* (van Leeuwen, 2008). The assimilation strategy was shown by using noun phrase “hundreds of students” to put all university students into the same group or line. The author used aggregation by giving statistics of a huge amount of university students. This might influence the readers to think that the university students were the ones to trigger a chaotic act such as the protest. Therefore, they would get a negative label from the readers.

As a conclusion, from the data analysis above, the most dominant strategy used by the author was inclusion strategy rather than exclusion strategy, because suppression, as one of the types of exclusion strategy, was only used two times in the datum 16 and datum 17 . Meanwhile, assimilation, which was categorized as the inclusion strategy, could be found in the eighth datum. Then, it was followed by categorization strategy which occurred in the fourth datum. The third was specification strategy which could be found in the third datum. The fourth included activation, indetermination, identification, and overdetermination strategies, each of which could be found in the second datum. Finally, passivation, association, differentiation, nomination, and personalization strategies could only be found in the first datum. Meanwhile, one of exclusion strategies, namely backgrounding, and five inclusion strategies, including genericization, individualization, dissociation, functionalization, and impersonalization were not

found in this research. To provide an easier display of the research findings, the pie diagram is presented as follows.



*Figure 2. Types of Exclusion and Inclusion Strategies found in The Jakarta Post Online news*

## 2. Messages behind the Use of Exclusion and Inclusion Strategies

In this section, the second research question about the messages behind the use of both strategies was elucidated. After finding several exclusion and inclusion strategies from The Jakarta Post online news, and then determining them based on some types of exclusion and inclusion strategies, the hidden messages of

using both strategies were exposed to manufacture a critical judgement through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

The exclusion and inclusion strategies as the findings of this present study corroborated the reality that CDA was an approach to detect a biased or manipulative language. In this framework, enforcing the tactics of exclusion and inclusion turned out to be an effective discursive strategy in debilitating subordinated groups. According to data analysis above, language had been used by the author as the tool or the weapon to protect and support the superior group, namely the Police and the House of Representatives. However, the messages conveying those purposes were not uttered visibly through literal language. Both exclusion and inclusion strategies used on The Jakarta Post news carried out some hidden messages.

By interpreting the findings of the first research question about the exclusion and inclusion types and referring to van Leeuwen's (2008) theory of CDA, there were three possible hidden messages behind the use of those strategies. *First*, there was power practice exercised by certain superior group to portray or display the negative side of the inferior group. In this case, the university students were the group who had been represented as the bad characters because of their repeated protest.

*Second*, there was a process of marginalization and domination practiced by the media to defend actors who were considered as the upper class. Based on the data in the previous subchapter, the ones who were called as the upper class referred to the Police and the House of Representatives. Eventually, they marginalized and dominated the lower class society such as university students, by disfeaturing them.

*Third*, some essential and valuable things such as democracy, human rights, and universal values were not neutral on the national constellation. By employing certain dictions which produced unequal report of the news, the author of the news truly represented hegemony, inequality, injustice, and iniquity. The university students as the inferior group which had no power would be frequently described in a bad way, especially in the case of protest or demonstration. Moreover, the negative portrayal of university students as the ones who commonly ran protest had become a stereotype in the society. The stereotype existed because the media took part in reporting those actors.

## **B. Discussion**

After analyzing the data, the next stage which was significant to be conducted was a discussion section. The discussion is necessary to present an academic dialogue after finding the answers of the research questions. The



researcher presented the discussion as the result of data analysis about the exclusion and inclusion strategies found in The Jakarta Post news about the *RKUHP* demonstration issues. The strategies of exclusion and inclusion proposed by van Leeuwen (2008) were divided into several types.

Van Leeuwen categorized the exclusion strategy into two kinds, namely suppression and backgrounding. He also defined the inclusion strategy into seventeen kinds, namely activation, passivation, specification, genericization, assimilation, individualization, association, dissociation, indetermination, differentiation, nomination, categorization, functionalization, identification, personalization, impersonalization, and overdetermination. Although, the theory adopted in this present study was similar as the one used in the previous studies, this study revealed different results.

In this study, two strategies of representing the social actors utilized by the author of the news were found. The strategies covered exclusion and inclusion. From ten online news collected from The Jakarta Post as the data of this study, the researcher found two kinds of exclusion strategy and 28 kinds of inclusion strategy. Those strategies were classified into 20 datum since there were several data consisting of two or three strategies. Additionally, the researcher divided them into 20 data, because exclusion and inclusion strategies were found in 20 paragraphs. Since this research manifested many tactics to represent the social actors, further explanation was divided into some points.

Firstly, based on the findings which had been elucidated in the previous subchapter, there were two strategies of exclusion found in this research. Both strategies were included in suppression strategy, which were found in two data. There were in the clauses “Maria Catarina Sumarsih, the mother of Atma Jaya University student BR "Wawan" Norma Irmawan, who was shot and killed” (datum 16), and “At least five people were killed in the protests” (datum 17). This is in line with van Leeuwen (2008), who argued that suppression strategy deleted the social actor until there was no trace about her/him. Indirectly, the author tried to protect the doer by not mentioning her/him in the text. Meanwhile, the other exclusion strategy called backgrounding did not appear anywhere in the data.

There were two previous studies relevant with the present study, which were conducted by Calista & Nafiah (2018) and Qanitat (2015). Calista & Nafiah (2018) also found one type of exclusion strategy which was used three times in their research, namely suppression strategy. On the other hand, Qanitat (2015) found both exclusion strategies, they were suppression, which was used three times, and backgrounding, which was used two times, by the author of Guardian and New York Times news. Backgrounding strategy was not found in this study, however this present study was similar with Qanitat’s research in terms of practising suppression strategy by realizing the process of passive agent deletion. By deleting the agent or the social actor in the form of passive voice, the existence of the social actor was completely omitted.

Secondly, in this study inclusion strategies could be observed through the use of many types of inclusion. There were 28 inclusion strategies found in this study, which were classified in 12 kinds of strategies, namely activation, passivation, specification, assimilation, association, indetermination, differentiation, nomination, categorization, identification, personalization, and overdetermination. Conversely, Calista & Nafiah (2018) only found passivation, objectification (assimilation), identification, categorization, and indeterminacy as the types of inclusion strategies. Meanwhile, Qanitat (2015) found activation, genericization, specification, assimilation, differentiation, categorization, nomination, and overdetermination.

The researcher found two data which adopted the activation strategy, there were in the clauses “The protesters chanted and held up banners” (datum 6), “activists and experts had criticized the bill” (datum 15). This corresponds to van Leeuwen (2008), who claimed that activation strategy constructed the sentence in the form of active voice, so that the doers of the action clearly appeared in the text. Therefore, representing the protesters, the activists, and the experts as the social actors in datum 6 and 15 was the strategy used by the author to disfigure them as the groups who often ran protests. While Calista & Nafiah (2018) found no activation strategy, Qanitat (2015) found four data classified as activation strategy.

Furthermore, there was one datum applied the passivation strategy which was found in the clause “he was assaulted and coerced into making false testimony

during questioning by the police” (datum 18). This is in line with van Leeuwen (2008), who argued that passivation strategy aimed at putting the actor in the end of the sentence to delay the existence of the social actor. The author wanted to make the readers believe that the one who needed to be paid attention of was “he” which referred to a university student. Since the victim of the social action was more interesting to talk about rather than the doer himself. Then, Calista & Nafiah’s (2018) findings showed that there were two data applying passivation strategy to present the social actors. However, Qanitat’s (2015) result revealed contradiction since there was no passivation strategy in her research.

Besides, there were three data classified as specification strategy, as showed in the following clauses “Institute for Criminal Justice and Reform (ICJR) executive director Anggara” (datum 1), “Hundreds of students in Balikpapan, East Kalimantan” (datum 7), and “various community groups, including representatives of farmers, journalists and workers” (datum 13). This is in accordance with van Leeuwen (2008), who claimed that specification strategy was endeavored to represent the social actor clearer by adding a unique representation of the actor.

Specification was used to convince the readers that the information written by the author was reliable. Since those data tended to corner the university students by embedding bad image, the author intentionally generated some specific or clearer descriptions of the students to convince the readers that the report is credible. On the other hand, Calista & Nafiah (2018) did not find any

specification strategy, while Qanitat's (2015) findings pointed out two data categorized as specification strategy.

Besides, the researcher also found eight data classified as assimilation strategy which could be seen in datum 2, 3, 8, 10, 12, 13, 17, and 20. This corresponds with van Leeuwen (2008), who argued assimilation strategy could be used by applying the plurality form to generalize the social actors. For instance, in the phrase "thousands of university from across Indonesia" there was no specification about that statement and all university students in Indonesia were regarded as the doers. It was inappropriate to portray all university students in Indonesia as the doers of the protest, since this case only talked about the students who ran the demonstration. Calista & Nafiah (2018) also found one datum applying assimilation strategy, while Qanitat's (2015) found two assimilation strategies in her research.

In addition, there was only one datum adopted association strategy, as showed in "they damaged the people's sense" (datum 1). This is in accordance with van Leeuwen (2008), who contended that association strategy was attained by grouping the social actors. This strategy was employed in the word 'they'. The pronoun was regarded as having an unstable meaning which could be changed by other words according to the context. By using the plurality, the social actors were put in the same group and discriminated. However, both previous studies done by

Calista & Nafiah (2018) and Qanitat (2015) showed similarities since there was no association strategy found in both studies.

Moreover, two strategies of indetermination were found in two data, as showed in “Thousands of students in at least nine cities across Indonesia” (datum 4), and “someone from behind” (datum 19). The words “nine cities” and “someone” are unclear. It might trigger the readers to create multi-interpretation since there was no proper description that examined “nine cities” and “someone.” It is in line with van Leeuwen (2008), who claimed that the function of using indetermination strategy was to make the doer anonymous. By using the anonymity, the doer of the action was concealed so that his/her good image would be maintained. As in this present study, Calista & Nafiah (2018) also found two indetermination strategies in their research, while Qanitat (2015) did not find any indetermination strategy in her research.

The next result was about differentiation strategy. There was one datum which applied this strategy in this research. It could be seen in the phrase “In the capital, students from various universities “ (datum 8). This is in accordance with van Leeuwen (2008), who argued that this strategy was aimed to provide the additional information about the social actors. By adding the specification which made the social actors different from other university students, the media has power to convince the readers that the news was credible. However, there was no

differentiation strategy found in Calista & Nafiah's (2018) research, while two differentiation strategies were found in Qanitat's (2015) research.

Furthermore, nomination strategy was found in one datum, which was in datum 19 "He and his peers then went to Bogor City Hall to stage the protests there instead. Ariyanto testified". By choosing the word 'Ariyanto' as the doer of the action, the researcher wanted to distinguish him from other protesters. This is in line with van Leeuwen (2008), who claimed that nomination strategy was utilized to differentiate the social actor from the others. Besides, it would emphasize the specific information about the doer. Thus, by showing the specific information, the media has power to make the readers trust their news. Conversely, Calista & Nafiah (2018) did not find any nomination strategies in their research. Meanwhile, Qanitat (2015) found several nomination strategies that were used three times by the author of the news.

The upcoming explanation about inclusion strategies found in the findings of this present study is categorization strategy. The researcher found 4 categorization strategies in 4 different datum, including datum 9, 10, 11, and 12. This corresponds to van Leeuwen (2008), who contended that categorization strategy was attained by putting the social actors in the same category. Based on the data which had been previously analyzed, for example in the clause "Students from various universities", the author attempted to portray the bad attitude of the university students in Indonesia. Although not all Indonesian students participated

in that demonstration, the author wrote as if all Indonesian university students joined the protest group. Meanwhile, both previous studies investigated by Calista & Nafiah (2018) and Qanitat (2015) were the same in obtaining two categorization strategies to represent the social actors.

Besides, the researcher found two datum classified as identification strategy. As showed in the clauses “In the capital, thousands of activists and students” (datum 5), and “Students from various campuses in Yogyakarta” (datum 14). This is in line with van Leeuwen (2008), who argued that the use of this strategy was intended to show how the author was truly capable to present the detailed information about the news. In doing so, it was expected to make the readers believe in the credibility of the news. In addition, there was only one similar datum found in the study done by Calista & Nafiah (2018). On the other hand, Qanitat’s (2015) research was lack of identification strategy.

Moreover, there was only one personalization strategy found in this study, as showed in the noun phrase “He and his peers” (datum 19). This corresponds with van Leeuwen (2008) about the definition of personalization strategy, in which noun phrase clearly denoted that the social actors were human being. Thus, it was categorized as the personalization strategy. Furthermore, the use of this strategy was aimed to emphasize the presence of the social actors. By presenting the social actors explicitly, which referred to university students in this case, the media had power to disfigure them through the news about the *RKUHP* demonstration



provocated by university students. Conversely, previous studies conducted by Calista & Nafiah (2018) and Qanitat (2015) lacked of personalization strategy.

Overdetermination strategy was found in two data including “The protesters chanted and held up banners” (datum 6) and “activists and experts had criticized the bill and urged” (datum 15). Performing more than one social actions and social actors at the same time is called overdetermination strategy (van Leeuwen, 2008). The author used this strategy to give stress on the presence of the social actors and what they truly did. Both data seemed to convince the readers that university students frequently did negative things. Similarly, Qanitat (2015) found one overdetermination strategy in her findings. While Calista & Nafiah (2018) did not find any in their research.

After categorizing the types of exclusion and inclusion strategies, the researcher elucidated the messages behind the use of exclusion and inclusion strategies. This analysis could not be done before findings the use of several types of exclusion and inclusion strategies. In fact, some previous researchers who also investigated both strategies took different ways from the present researcher after explaining the findings.

First, Qanitat (2015) explained how the social actors were represented in the discourse, specifically in the newspaper being studied. The results of her research revealed that there were three ways might be used by the author to

represent the social actors in the discourse, including mentioning the exact doer of the social action, mentioning Muslim community and western community, mentioning Islamic countries government and western countries government.

On the other hand, this research wanted to reveal the implied messages of using both strategies. By representing the social actors in the action such as “protest” (datum 2, 3, 8, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 10) repeatedly, hidden messages may be unveiled if the discourse is critically analyzed.

Besides, another word which supported the researcher’s assumption was “protesters” (datum 6) to represent the university students. The words “protest” and “protester” could be interpreted or understood as negative behaviour. In addition, the social actors were excluded several times to hide the doers of the actions, for example “Maria Catarina Sumarsih, the mother of Atma Jaya University student BR "Wawan" Norma Irmawan, who was shot and killed” (datum 16), and “five people were killed in the protests” (datum 17).

Based on those statements, three possible hidden messages were found by the researcher through interpreting the research findings. The first was abusing power done by the superior groups for giving negative portrayal to the inferior groups. In this case, the inferior groups referred to university students, protesters, and activists. Whereas, the superior groups could be understood as the police, the House of Representatives, and the media.

The second hidden message was marginalizing and dominating the inferior or lower groups by disfeaturing them, to defend the superior or upper groups.

Finally, the last was the lack of neutrality on some significant and valuable things such as democracy, human rights, and universal values on the national domain. When the author employed some words or sentences which delivered unequal report, it actually might cause imbalance in the social life.

Interpreting some hidden messages of the news is a part of the meaning process which is produced through an active and dynamic process. This is in accordance with Fiske (as cited in Eriyanto, 2001) that meaning is manifested through an active and dynamic process, both from the reader's and the author's side. He said that the reader and the text have the same contribution in interpreting meaning, then this relationship places a person as a part of his/her relationship with the larger value system in which he/she lives in society, at this point the ideology will work.

There are some definitions of ideology. According to William (Fiske as cited in Eriyanto, 2001), ideology may be classified into three points. First, ideology is a belief system that is owned by a particular class or group. Here, ideology is not understood as something that exists within the individual itself, but it is accepted and determined from the society in which he lives, his social position, the division of labor, and so on. Second, ideology is a belief system created or false consciousness that can be opposed with scientific knowledge. This ideology works by making social relations which are real, natural, and we unconsciously accept them as truth. Third, ideology is a term used to describe a

meaning or an idea. For example, it can be realized by describing a subordinated group as a negative figure and a dominant group as a good figure.

The interpretation of three hidden messages were concluded as representing university students who did demonstration to refuse the *RKUHP* as the bad side, and defending the House of Representatives who arranged *RKUHP* as the good side worth to defend, so that the ideology used by the media is called *bourgeois ideology*. People accept and believe that the demonstration is one of the negative actions that should not be done. The university students should refuse the *RKUHP* by doing deliberation or speaking up their minds without running riots and doing violent acts. This is in line with Eriyanto's (2001) opinion about the *bourgeois ideology*, which means the idea or the belief coming from dominant or authoritative group to construct their good image and then it becomes something which is reasonable and accepted by the society.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter becomes the last part of the research that provides a conclusion of findings and discussion. It is also equipped with several suggestions for further researchers, especially those who are interested in investigating exclusion and inclusion strategies.

#### A. Conclusion

This present study discussed the use of exclusion and inclusion strategies found in some online news articles about *RKUHP* demonstration issues published by The Jakarta Post. It was conducted to find the types of both strategies and analyze some messages behind the use of both strategies to expose power used by certain people for subordinating the subordinated group. Moreover, to answer the research questions, the theory proposed by van Leeuwen (2008) was applied in this research.

Based on the formerly discussed findings and discussion, some points could be concluded. First, in reporting the online news about the *RKUHP* demonstration issues, the authors of The Jakarta Post adopted exclusion and inclusion strategies.

To exclude or conceal social actors, the kind of exclusion strategy applied by the authors was only one, namely suppression strategy.

Second, to include and display the social actors, the authors applied many types of inclusion strategies, covering activation, passivation, specification, assimilation, association, indetermination, differentiation, nomination, categorization, identification, personalization, and overdetermination. Thus, inclusion strategies were mostly used by the authors of The Jakarta Post.

Third, the usage of exclusion and inclusion strategies had delivered several possible messages. Firstly, there was practice of power abuse by superior groups (the House of Representatives) to display subordinated groups (university students) as the bad figures. Secondly, there was a process of marginalizing and dominating the inferior or lower groups by disfeaturing them in order to defend the superior or upper groups. Thirdly, some significant things such as democracy, human rights, and universal values on the public domain; in fact, were not entirely neutral.

Based on this conclusion, the researcher has an assumption that the result of this study is the same as the previous assumption which had been presented in background of the study and research design. This is in accordance with the main aims of this research, which were to discuss social issues about the inferior groups, namely university students, who were marginalized and got unequal treatment from the media.

## **B. Suggestions**

After conducting the research, the researcher would like to provide several suggestions for further studies for the sake of knowledge elaboration. It is recommended for the future researchers who are interested in examining the exclusion and inclusion strategies to choose other objects, not only in online news articles, but also in videos, speeches, or live conversations. Then, future researchers are expected to study Critical Discourse Analysis using other theories proposed by van Dijk, Fairclough, Wodak, or Fowler. Since every theorist proposes his own perspective of CDA, it is expected that the results will enrich the development of linguistics studies, particularly CDA.

Moreover, the future researchers are suggested to integrate exclusion and inclusion strategies with other theories such as post-structural, deconstruction, sociolinguistics, or with other approaches such as corpus linguistics and many others which will bring fresh and new perspectives of the linguistics field. Hence, the suggestions can hopefully deepen and broaden the analysis of exclusion and inclusion strategies which is included in the CDA approach for the development of linguistics knowledge.

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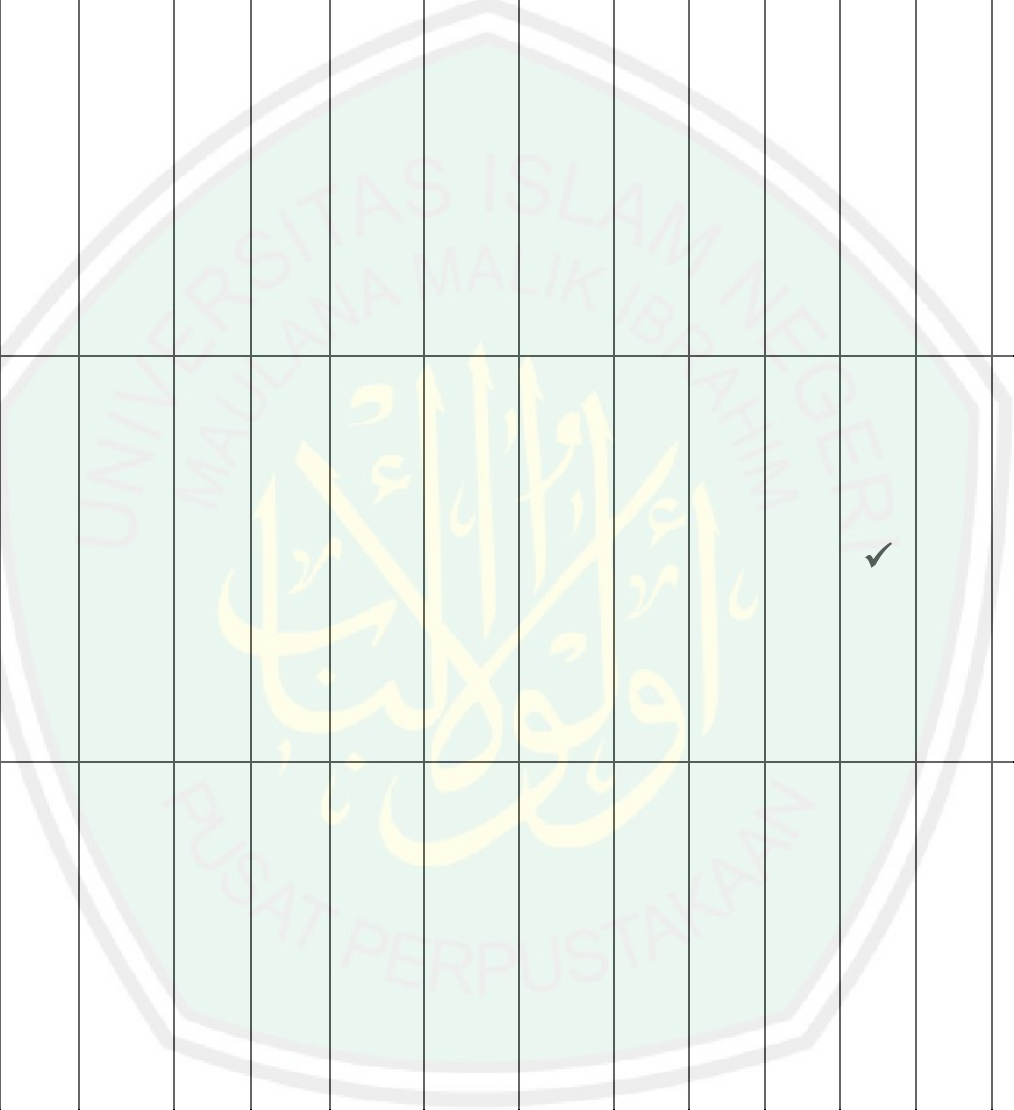
## CURRICULUM VITAE



Cholilia Zahrotin Nisa was born on September 26, 1997 in Bojonegoro, East Java. She is the oldest children of Mr. Mahfud and Mrs. Nikmah. She has the only one brother named Hanif Nashrul Aziz. She began her school at an islamic elementary school named *MIM* 01 Kedungadem and graduated in 2010. After graduating from elementary school, she continued her study into an islamic junior high school, namely *MTs Attanwir* Talun Sumberrejo Bojonegoro. Then, she continued her study into senior high school at the same school which named *MA Attanwir* Talun Sumberrejo Bojonegoro and succesfully graduated from that school in 2016. After finishing her study in senior high school, she enrolled and studied at *Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim* Malang to take Department of English Literature in Faculty of Humanities.

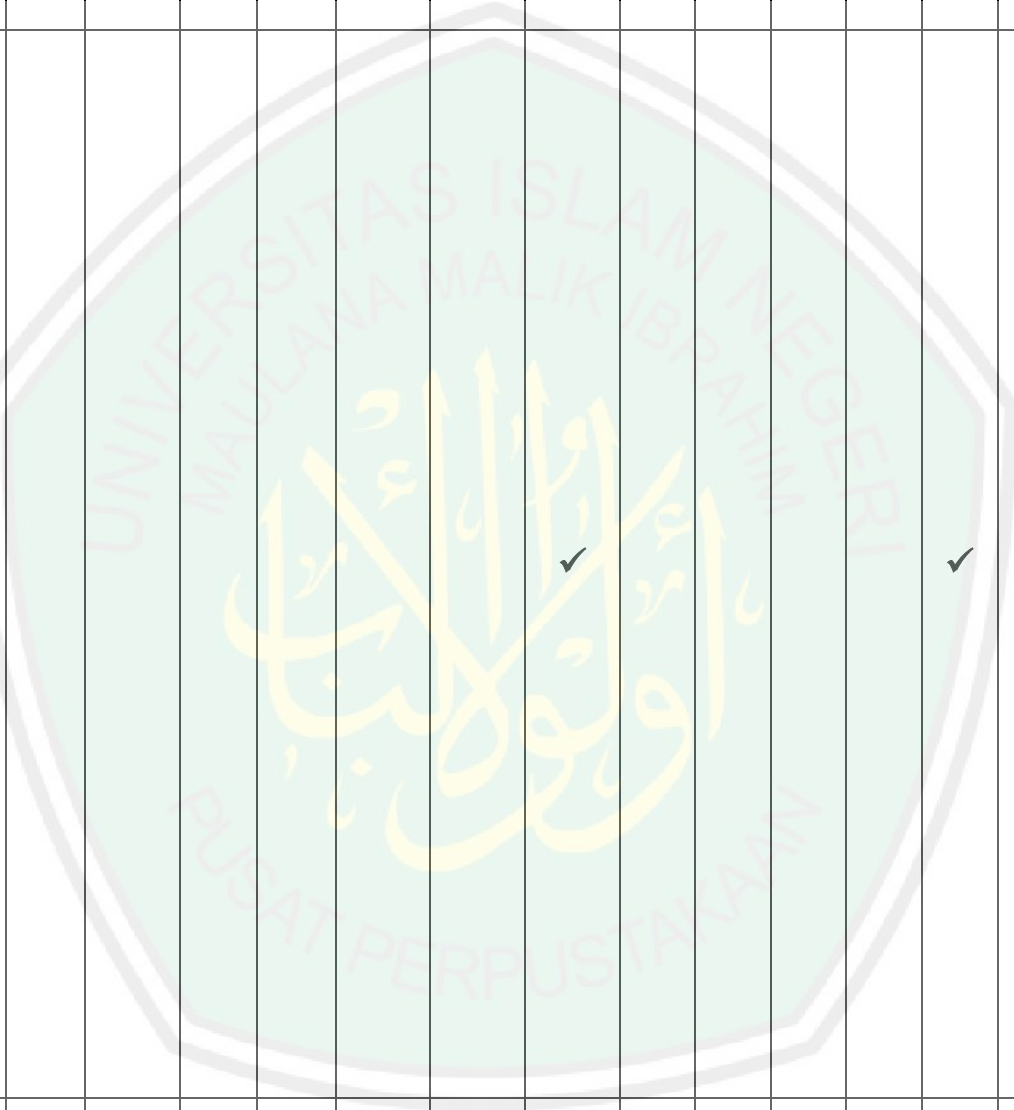


	gather in front of the House of Representatives complex in Central Jakarta on Monday, to protest against what they claim are attempts to roll back the country's political reforms.																			
4	Thousands of students in at least nine cities across Indonesia took to the streets on Monday demanding an end to what they claimed were ongoing attempts to roll back two decades of political reform in the country.																			
5	In the capital, thousands of activists and students from various universities thronged in front of the House's compound on Jl. Gatot Subroto in Central Jakarta, blocking road access to Slipi, West Jakarta, as																			





	the revised <i>KPK</i> Law.																			
8	Thousands of university students from across Indonesia have once again taken to the streets in a continuation of a series of protests against what they perceive to be attempts by the government and the legislature to roll back democracy. In the capital, students from various universities, both from within and outside the capital, gathered in front of the House of Representatives compound in Central Jakarta at 1 p.m. on Tuesday to voice demands for lawmakers to halt the passage of a number of controversial bills, including a revision of the Criminal Code ( <i>KUHP</i> ).																			
9	Students from various																			



	universities are now gathering in front of the parliamentary complex's on Tuesday, demanding the gate to be opened.																	
10	Tens of thousands of university students across the country took to the streets on Monday to demand the House of Representatives cancel controversial bills which, if passed, will threaten civil liberties, among other things.												✓					
11	Students from various universities gathered in front of the legislative compound to protest against the revision of the Criminal Code (KUHP), which they claimed threatened democracy.												✓					
12	Last two days saw tens of thousands of university students in Jakarta and other cities across the country												✓					









House of Representatives in Central Jakarta against the amendment of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) Law, the Criminal Code draft (RKUHP) and the sexual violence bill (RUU KUHP).																			
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**Sup : Suppression**  
**Back : Backgrounding**  
**Act : Activation**  
**Pas : Passivation**  
**Spc : Specification**  
**Gnr : Genericization**  
**Asm : Assimilation**

**Indv : Individualization**  
**Ass : Association**  
**Dis : Dissociation**  
**Idt : Indetermination**  
**Dif : Differentiation**  
**Nom : Nomination**

**Ctg : Categorization**  
**Fnc : Functionalization**  
**Ind : Individualization**  
**Prs : Personalization**  
**Impr : Impersonalization**  
**Ovd : Overdetermination**

**Appendix 2: Online News Article of the Jakarta Post about the RKHUP Demonstration Issues from September 2019 to January 2020**

**Jokowi bows to public pressure, calls for delay in passing Criminal Code bill into law**

Ghina Ghaliya, Marguerite Afra Sapiie and Marchio Irfan Gorbiano

Fri, September 20, 2019 / 09:19 pm

Hundreds of university students protest in front of the House of Representatives complex in Central Jakarta on Thursday, criticizing the amendment of the Corruption Eradication Commission (*KPK*) Law, the Criminal Code Law draft (*RKUHP*) and the sexual violence bill (*RUU KUHP*). (JP/Ghina Ghaliya)

Bowing to public pressures rejecting the controversial revisions of the Criminal Code, President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo on Friday called on the House of Representatives to hold off the bill deliberation, citing public concerns over some problematic articles in the bill.

The House initially rushed the deliberation and planned to pass it into law before its term ended this month. Following the President’s call, however, the lawmakers seem to be holding off the deliberation.

Jokowi’s decision was likely driven by massive criticisms and protests from numerous scholars and civil society organizations as well as from students, who staged rallies in front of the House on Thursday and Friday.

In a statement on Friday, Jokowi said he had continuously looked into and listened to the concerns of the public who had expressed their objections to some articles in the bill and that he agreed the proposed revisions needed to be “thoroughly reviewed.”

“I have ordered the Law and Human Rights Ministry to convey [my] stance to the House, that the passing of the Criminal Code bill into law should be postponed and that the bill should not be passed during the current sitting period,” Jokowi said.

“I hope the House is on the same page about this matter so that the deliberation of the Criminal Code bill can be continued [by lawmakers] in the next period.”

The draft revisions aim to amend the existing Criminal Code, which was first introduced during Dutch colonial rule.

At least 14 articles still needed to be reviewed, Jokowi said, without specifying which ones. However, he asserted that the government and the House should get input from communities and members of the public while discussing the substance of the articles.

Law and Human Rights Minister Yasonna Laoly said the 14 articles covered several topics, namely consensual premarital sex, cohabitation and the promotion of contraception, a ban on insulting the President that had been repealed by the Constitutional Court, a ban on abandoning chickens and corruption.

Over the past few weeks, the House has continuously faced backlash from critics and the public for its plan to pass the revisions to the Criminal Code, which have been discussed for decades, as they argued that some contentious articles in the bill -- if passed -- would lead to criminalization of normal activities and pose threats to civil rights, including to freedom of expression and citizens' right to privacy.

The peak of the public outcry took place on Thursday when hundreds of university students assembled in front of the House to reject the bill, blocking road access in front of the legislative building. They signed a letter of agreement with House secretary-general Indra Iskandar, comprising four demands including for the House to not pass any bills into law, including the Criminal Code, until the inauguration of the new lawmakers.

On the internet, *hashtags* #semuabisakena, #tolakRKUHP, #reformasiDiKorupsi, and #MahasiswaBergerak went viral, calling the government and the House to scrap the problematic articles in the bill.

Jkowi's fresh call for postponement of the bill's passage came only four days before the House was initially scheduled to pass it into law during a plenary session of its last sitting period on Sept. 24.

House Speaker Bambang Soesatyo of the Golkar Party said he had informed House faction leaders about Jokowi's demand and they had agreed to take it into account.

Before the plenary, the faction leaders and the House speaker would meet first to discuss it.

"We [lawmakers] are reviewing Jokowi's request to postpone the passing of the Criminal Code bill, which is slated for Tuesday [Sept. 24]. We are also looking again at the substance of the articles that still face rejection and will inform the public again about the contents," Bambang said.

Jokowi's Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) and other parties in the ruling coalition have expressed their support for postponing the passing of the bill into law.

Member of the House's working committee in charge of the Criminal Code bill deliberation, Masinton Pasaribu of the PDI-P, said he would help the President to speak with all the factions in the House to delay passing the bill.

"The House and the government can continue the deliberation later in the next term with a carry-over mechanism without having to start from scratch," he said.

Along with the Criminal Code bill, lawmakers and the government are currently working on a bill to revise Law No. 12/2011 on the rule-making process intended to make the carry-over mechanism possible.

Lawmaker Arsul Sani of the United Development Party (PPP), who is also a committee member, and NasDem secretary-general Johnny G. Plate said the House could not force the bill through when the government had a different opinion and that they would encourage the other lawmakers to review the contentious articles.

Another committee member, Nasir Jamil of the opposition Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), said he was ready to accept if the majority later agreed for a postponement.

"If the President wants it, please do. No one dares to oppose the President now," Nasir said.

Institute for Criminal Justice Reform executive director Anggara said in a statement he appreciated Jokowi's decision and asked the President to establish a committee to work on criminal law reform that involves all elements of society, including scholars

and experts from all related fields such as social welfare, economics, public health and civil society.

“It is important to guard the amendment of the Criminal Code so that it is always in line with democratic principles and gets public support,” he said.

Former justice minister Muladi, an expert committee member for the Criminal Code revision who has been working on it for decades, said he was disappointed with the delay as the draft had many articles that already existed in the current law, but which were then modified to diminish the Dutch influence.

“Just don't scrap it. It can be postponed, but if it fails, it means that we love colonialism [...] The current law has a very different philosophy from ours,” he said.

### **House closer to passing controversial *KUHP***

Karina M. Tehusjarana

Jakarta / Wed, September 18 2019 / 01:03 am

The conclusion of the controversial, decades-long revision of the Criminal Code (*KUHP*) seems imminent after House of Representatives members met with a government team at the Fairmont Hotel in Central Jakarta over the weekend to finalize the bill.

The latest draft of the bill, a copy of which was seen by The Jakarta Post, will, among other things, outlaw consensual sex between unmarried persons, restore a ban on insulting the President that had been repealed by the Constitutional Court and forbid two unmarried people from living together “as husband and wife”.

“Regarding the political and legal aspects, the substance of the *KUHP* bill is complete,” United Development Party (*PPP*) lawmaker Arsul Sani told reporters on Monday. “All that remains are some editorial questions, which we will leave to<sup>8</sup> the linguists.”

Arsul, a member of the bill's working committee, denied that the meetings, which were not open to the public and were not announced beforehand, were an attempt to hide from public view.

“Meetings that should be open are deliberation or debate meetings,” he said. “Do you need to know the placement of the periods and commas and whether we use the word ‘toward’ or ‘over’? That sort of meeting doesn’t need [to be open].”

He added that the meetings were held in a hotel because the House building was not available on weekends.

Fellow working committee member and NasDem Party lawmaker Taufiqulhadi said the new *KUHP* bill would soon replace the current one, which was adopted almost wholesale from Dutch colonial law.

“Thus, Indonesia’s mission to decolonialize our national criminal law is almost completed,” he said on Monday.

“I call it a decolonialization mission because the codification of this *KUHP* is part of a process to dismantle or abolish the colonial character.”

However, activists and observers have been less positive about the bill, saying that it still contained many problematic articles that could lead to overcriminalization and discrimination against minorities and other vulnerable groups.

Over 100 protesters from various NGOs, labor groups and university student bodies gathered in front of the House complex in Senayan on Monday carrying signs calling for lawmakers to delay the passing of the bill.

One sign had President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo’s slogan “Work, Work, Work” crossed out and the words “Prison, Prison, Prison” next to it.

The protesters gave speeches behind a set of prison bars to symbolize what they said was the bill’s apparent zeal to imprison people.

“The *KUHP* bill [the House] wants to pass is laden with imprisonment,” activist Lini Zurlia said at the demonstration. “If it is passed, it’s not [the House] that will suffer, but the younger generation like me and my friends. How can the House formulate the *KUHP* without involving those who will be affected.”



Institute for Criminal Justice and Reform (ICJR) executive director Anggara also condemned the closed meetings about the bill over the weekend, saying that they damaged the people's sense of trust in the government and the House.

"The *KUHP* bill was deliberated without strong legitimacy or transparency, so its passing should be delayed," he said in a statement on Monday.

Despite the objections, Arsul said the next step would be to take the bill to a plenary meeting of House Commission III, which oversees legal matters, for approval, after which it would be taken to a plenary meeting of the whole House.

"Whether it will be at the last plenary meeting of the term [on Sept. 25] or before that is still to be decided," he said, adding that the bill would never "satisfy all parties".

Nevertheless, ICJR researcher Maidina Rahmawati said activists still held out hope the bill's passage could be delayed.

"The bill still needs the approval of the factions before going to the plenary meeting, so right now we're trying to approach the party faction heads," she told the Post. "We're also trying to see if we can get access to the law and human rights minister because he hasn't signed the bill yet."

However, she said their best hope lay in pointing out technical errors and contradictions. "Reopening discussion on the substance [of the bill] seems impossible now."

## **'We refuse to return to New Order': Students protest against controversial bills**

Ghina Ghaliya and Gisela Swaragita

PREMIUM Jakarta, Padang, Purwokerto, Balikpapan, Makassar, Medan, Bandung, gyakarta, Malang / Mon, September 23, 2019 / 09:42 pm

Thousands of university student gather in front of the House of Representatives complex in Central Jakarta on Monday, to protest against what they claim are attempts to roll back the country's political reforms(JP/Ghina Ghaliya)

Thousands of students in at least nine cities across Indonesia took to the streets on Monday demanding an end to what they claimed were ongoing attempts to roll back two decades of political reform in the country.

In scenes reminiscent of the student movement that led to the downfall of the New Order Era in 1998, the university students amplified their demands for the government and the House of Representatives to hold off the passage of a number of controversial bills, including a revision to the Criminal Code (*KUHP*), arguing that the bills threatened democracy and civil liberties.

In the capital, thousands of activists and students from various universities thronged in front of the House's compound on Jl. Gatot Subroto in Central Jakarta, blocking road access to Slipi, West Jakarta, as they called for lawmakers to listen to the voice of the people who have rejected controversial articles in the bills.

The protesters chanted and held up banners with slogans ranging from "Reformasi Dikorupsi" (Reform Era is being corrupted) to "Mosi Tidak Percaya" (motion of no confidence), which reflected their dwindling faith in lawmakers and the government.

"We declare our motion of no confidence in the House. We are deeply disappointed because our aspirations have fallen on deaf ears and lawmakers do not take out concerns seriously," said University of Indonesia (UI) Student Executive Body (BEM) chairman Manik Marganamahendra, one of the students participating in the protest.

The widespread protests on Monday followed a smaller protest staged by hundreds of university students in front of the House last Thursday. In all the rallies, the students have raised the same demands while also criticizing the recent trends emerging in the country that activists fear are examples of the alarming state of Indonesian democracy.

The students particularly demanded that the House halt the planned passage of the *KUHP* bill, which contains a number of contentious articles — including restoring a ban on insulting the President — that critics have warned could threaten democracy and put civil liberties at risk.

The protesters also slammed the House and President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo's administration for, among other things, passing the controversial revision to the

Corruption Eradication Commission (*KPK*) Law, which has neutered the anti-graft body's investigative powers and undermined its independence.

In Yogyakarta, students and members of the public filled the main road of Jl. Gejayan in response to an invitation to street protests called #*GejayanMemanggil* (Gejayan Calling), a hashtag that had been trending on social media since Sunday.

Gejayan is a three-road junction that, during the 1998 student protests, became one of the spots where prodemocracy activists and students staged rallies demanding then president Soeharto step down from power.

One of the protesters carried a poster that read “The forests are on fire but it is the *KPK* that is being put out”, referring to the raging forest and land fires in Sumatra and Kalimantan that have caused a smothering haze in parts of the country and neighboring Malaysia and Singapore.

The students in Yogyakarta participated in the protests despite circulars issued by rectors of at least four universities, including Gadjah Mada University (UGM) and Sanata Dharma University (USD), which said the institutions did not support the student movement.

Hundreds of students in Balikpapan, East Kalimantan, held a march from Balikpapan Plaza Square to the Balikpapan City Council building demanding President Jokowi issue a regulation in lieu of law (*Perppu*) to replace the revised *KPK* Law.

“We want our demands to be heard by the House so that there will be no more disappointment for the Indonesian people,” said Angkit Wijaya, one of the protesters.

Besides the *KUHP* bill, the protesters also protested against problematic articles in the manpower bill, demanded the bill on the eradication of sexual violence be passed and called for an end to the arrests of activists in all sectors.

Similar protests also took place in Purwokerto in Central Java, Samarinda in East Kalimantan, Padang and Bukittinggi in West Sumatra, Makassar in South Sulawesi and in Bandung, West Java.

“We refuse to return to the New Order era,” said Sayid Ferhad Hasyim, a protester who participated in the rally in Samarinda.

The protests are likely to continue on Tuesday, during which the House is reportedly scheduled to pass the *KUHP* bill as well as other controversial bills, including a revision to the 1995 law on correctional procedures that would remove hurdles for graft convicts to get remission or parole.

Following protests last week, Jokowi called on the House on Friday to hold off the bill’s passage, citing at least 14 articles that still needed to be reviewed.

House Speaker Bambang Soesatyo and lawmakers on Commission III overseeing legal affairs, including those on the *KUHP* bill working committee, met with the President on Monday morning to talk about the issue.

Bambang said after the meeting that factions in the House were aware of the public concern and had agreed to review the bill as they had three remaining plenaries until the end of the term on Sept. 30. In the meantime, they would keep trying to negotiate with the President about the bill but would not force it through.

“If there is not enough time, we will decide to pass it over to the lawmakers in the next period. But we will keep trying so that it can be finished in the next period and give more information to the public about the bill,” Bambang said, adding that he was still optimistic that this could be completed before the end of the period.

During the meeting, Jokowi asked the House to not only delay the *KUHP* bill’s passage, but also the deliberation of other bills, including the manpower bill, land bill, mining bill and correctional procedures bill.

Commission III member Teuku Taufiqulhadi of the NasDem Party said the House would review the bills thoroughly. “But we haven’t made an agreement upon these with the other parties. We will discuss it tomorrow,” he said.

Syofiardi Bachyul, Agus Maryono and N. AdriAndi Hajramurni, Apriadi Gunawan, Arya Dipa, and Sri Wahyuni contributed to this report.

## **Students throng in front of House, more flood into Jakarta as protests continue**

Kharishar Kahfi and Karina M. Tehusjarana

Jakarta / Tue, September 24, 2019 / 02:37 pm

University students protest against the revision of the Criminal Code (*KUHP*) in front of the House of Representatives compound on Sept. 23. (JP/Donny Fernando)

Thousands of university students from across Indonesia have once again taken to the streets in a continuation of a series of protests against what they perceive to be attempts by the government and the legislature to roll back democracy.

In the capital, students from various universities, both from within and outside the capital, gathered in front of the House of Representatives compound in Central Jakarta at 1 p.m. on Tuesday to voice demands for lawmakers to halt the passage of a number of controversial bills, including a revision of the Criminal Code (*KUHP*).

The students thronged in front of the House gates on Jl. Gatot Subroto carrying protest banners and posters with messages that call for the state to be committed to continue the decades-old efforts for political reform.

Students from various universities are now gathering in front of the parliamentary complex's on Tuesday, demanding the gate to be opened @jakpost pic.twitter.com/N721M2kKrb

Commuter train stations were filled by students from other parts of Jakarta on their way to the demonstration.

At Manggarai station, commuters applauded as students wearing their school jackets passed by, according to a video posted on @jkinfo

At the time of writing, students from several universities outside the Greater Jakarta area were also making their way to the House complex, although some of them claimed to have faced obstacles.

Groups of students on their way to Jakarta from Diponegoro University and the University of Semarang in Central Java reportedly had their buses stopped by police.

Rombongan Undip dan Unnes ketahan di Rest Area 228 A Tol Kanci-Pejagan. Polisi menahan dan mengancam jika perjalanan dilanjutkan, PO bus akan dibekukan. Kami dituduh membawa senjata tajam, padahal membawa senjata tidak, bersikap anarkis juga tidak. #ReformasiDikorupsi pic.twitter.com/UVPWZ8xmb1

They eventually continued on their journey after hiring a new set of buses and are currently still headed to the capital.

Asked for confirmation, National Police spokesperson Brig. Gen. Dedi Prasetyo said that police had only "urged" students from outside Jakarta not to join the demonstrations because they were "vulnerable to being used by hardline groups".

He stopped short of confirming that police had tried to turn students back.

Besides Jakarta, students in other cities across the country, including Palembang in South Sumatra, Malang in East Java and Makassar in South Sulawesi have also continued to protest.

#MahasiswaHarusBergerak#MahasiswaBergerak#RakyatDukungAksiMahasiswa  
#ReformasiDikorupsi#Mahasiswapalembangbergerak#palembang  
pic.twitter.com/n8UTuCuDSo

In addition to the *KUHP* bill, the students are protesting against problematic articles in at least four other bills, including a manpower bill, a land bill, a mining bill and a correctional procedures bill. They are also demanding the lawmakers immediately pass a bill on the eradication of sexual violence.

Tuesday's protest happened at the same time as the House held a plenary meeting during which lawmakers initially planned to pass some of the controversial bills, including the *KUHP*. After a string of protests since last week, however, Jokowi asked the House to delay.

**Indonesia's controversial Criminal Code bill could soon be law. Here are the new crimes**

Karina M. Tehusjarana

PREMIUM Jakarta / Tue, September 24, 2019 / 02:56 pm

The part of the bill that has drawn the most attention over the past few years are the so-called "morality" articles, which, among other things, outlaw consensual sex between unmarried persons, extramarital cohabitation and public "fornication."(kompas.com/Palupi Annisa Auliani)

Tens of thousands of university students across the country took to the streets on Monday to demand the House of Representatives cancel controversial bills which, if passed, will threaten civil liberties, among other things.

Following the recent passing of the amendment of the Corruption Eradication Commission (*KPK*) Law, which neutered the antigraft body, lawmakers appear determined to pass the Criminal Code bill into law before the end of the 2014-2019 legislative term, finally concluding a decades-long attempt to revise the 1946 Criminal Code, which itself was based on Dutch colonial law.

While legislators and Law and Human Rights Minister Yasonna Laoly were all smiles after finishing deliberations on the bill last week, activists and experts have been far less positive, saying that the bill will lead to overcriminalization and discrimination against minorities and other vulnerable groups.

Widespread public outcry has led President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo to call on the House to delay the passing of the bill, but the House may still push for the bill at the last plenary session of the legislative term on Tuesday.

What exactly does the bill outlaw and how does it differ from the current Criminal Code?

'Morality' articles

The part of the bill that has drawn the most attention over the past few years are the so-called "morality" articles, which, among other things, outlaw consensual sex between unmarried persons, extramarital cohabitation and public "fornication."

Lawmakers have defended the inclusion of these articles by saying that they are in line with Indonesian values instead of "liberal" Western values.

In the current Criminal Code, only extramarital sex is prohibited, with no regulations regarding consensual premarital sex. The current Code also only allows the "victimized" husband or wife to report the crime.

The current code also does not prohibit "cohabitation", as lawmakers have termed it. The latest draft allows village heads to report the crime in addition to a person's spouse, parents or children.

United Development Party (PPP) lawmaker Arsul Sani argued that village heads should be allowed to report the crime because cohabitation caused "social damage".

"In Islam, if someone continually commits adultery, angels will not want to greet the 40 houses surrounding [the adulterers]," he said recently.

The article on fornication has also been a major sticking point, particularly because of its potential to outlaw same-sex intercourse, which the current Criminal Code only prohibits between an adult and a minor.

In earlier drafts of the bill, the article explicitly outlawed homosexual fornication. The government removed any mention of sexual orientation in a draft dated Aug. 28, but the last draft specifically mentions fornication "with people of the same sex."

Activists are concerned that the wording of the latest draft opens up the LGBT community to further persecution.

Limitations on freedom of speech

The bill has also been roundly criticized for bringing back *lèse-majesté* articles that have previously been repealed by the Constitutional Court.

The bill also introduces articles regulating contempt of court, a first in Indonesian law. Activists have warned, however, that the ambiguous wording of the contempt



articles could potentially lead to prosecution against those who criticize the justice system, including journalists.

In 2006, lawyer Eggi Sudjana and activist Pandapotan Lubis filed separate petitions against articles 134, 136 and 137 of the Criminal Code at the Constitutional Court. The articles outlaw "the deliberate insulting of the president and vice president," as well as the distribution of writing or pictures that contain insults against the president and vice president.

Ruling on both petitions, the court revoked the articles, arguing that they were part of a colonial legacy that was not in line with the freedoms enumerated in the 1945 Constitution.

In 2007, the court also revoked articles 154 and 155 of the Criminal Code, which outlaw insults against the Indonesian government, on a similar basis.

The latest draft of the bill restores these articles, but makes it so that the insults against the president and vice president as well as government institutions can only be prosecuted if they are reported by the insulted party, but activists say that the articles leave wide room for interpretation and could be used to suppress dissent.

Contraception and abortion

Family planning and women's rights activists have also taken issue with articles in the bill that regulate contraception and abortion.

## **House agrees to postpone four problematic bills, including revised *KUHP***

Ghina Ghaliya

Jakarta / Wed, September 25, 2019 / 11:04 am

Police use water cannon to disperse protesters in front of the House of Representatives compound in Senayan, Jakarta, on Tuesday afternoon. Students from various universities gathered in front of the legislative compound to protest against the revision of the Criminal Code (*KUHP*), which they claimed threatened democracy. (JP/Donny Fernando)

The House of Representatives agreed on Tuesday to delay the deliberation of four problematic bills, including the Criminal Code (*KUHP*) bill, following mounting public anger at the legislative agenda.

Last two days saw tens of thousands of university students in Jakarta and other cities across the country taking to the streets to demand lawmakers hold off the passage of the controversial bills, arguing that the *KUHP* bill in particular threatens democracy and civil rights.

The legislative body said it decided to postpone the deliberation of the revised *KUHP* bill and three other bills, namely the correctional procedures bill, land bill and mining bill, in accordance with President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo’s request to the lawmakers on Monday.

Among the four bills, the lawmakers and the government have only concluded deliberations of the *KUHP* bill and correctional procedures bill.

“We understand President Jokowi’s demand for us to postpone the four bills,” House Speaker Bambang Soesatyo said on Tuesday.

Bambang said the lawmakers agreed that they should first provide the public with better understanding regarding the controversial articles in the bills, citing the need to defuse public anger over the issue.

On Tuesday, thousands of students along with various community groups, including representatives of farmers, journalists and workers continued protesting in front of the House’s compound in Central Jakarta, blocking road access to Slipi, West Jakarta.

Besides the *KUHP* bill, which contains contentious articles that critics say could lead to excessive criminalization and undermine freedom of speech, the protesters also demanded Jokowi issue a regulation in lieu of law (*Perppu*) to annul the newly passed revision of the Corruption Eradication Commission (*KPK*) law.

The postponement means that the bills will not be deliberated or passed in the plenary meetings during the last session of the House’s 2014-2019 term, which will end next week, as the deliberations will be continued by the new cohort of lawmakers, including reelected ones, who are due to take their seats in the House until 2024 and are scheduled to be installed on Oct. 1.

Whether the problematic articles in the bills will be revised or scrapped remains to be seen.

## **No, Indonesian students are not taking to the streets only to fight sex ban**

Devina Heriyanto

Jakarta / Fri, September 27, 2019 / 01:06 pm

Students from various campuses in Yogyakarta protest on Sept. 23 to voice concerns about several bills and the fate of the Corruption Eradication Commission. The rally was known as #GejayanMemanggil (GejayanCalling). (JP/Tarko Sudiarno)

In the past few days, Indonesia has been witnessing its largest student movement since that of 1998, which brought down then-president Soeharto. The student protests made headlines not only in the national media, but also in international news outlets.

Many Indonesian readers of foreign media outlets, however, expressed their exasperation over the titles of the articles in various news outlets, which often focused only on the fact that the contentious Criminal Code (*RKUHP*) bill could criminalize premarital sex. The BBC, Deutsche Welle, The Japan Times, Al Jazeera, Reuters, The Sydney Morning Herald and CNN are among the outlets publishing articles implying that Indonesians were only protesting about a "sex before marriage" bill as the BBC put it, or a "sex ban law" as The Japan Times called it.

Not just sex

The revision of the *RKUHP* is only one among several problematic bills the students are protesting against and the criminalization of pre- and extramarital sex is the least of several concerns regarding the bill.

The students have seven demands in total encompassing several issues. Political scientist Amalinda Savirani from Gadjah Mada University said despite some criticisms of the movement's many demands, the varied nature of those demands could help the movement gain followers and momentum.

Here are the seven demands:

- Reject Criminal Code bill, mineral mining bill, land bill, correctional procedures bill and labor bill; revoke *KPK* Law and Natural Resources Law; pass sexual violence bill and domestic workers bill.

- Remove problematic *KPK* leaders picked by House of Representatives.

- Ban Indonesian Military (*TNI*) and National Police personnel from holding civilian offices.

- End militarism in Papua and other regions and immediately free Papuan political prisoners.

- End prosecution of activists.

- End burning of forests in Kalimantan and Sumatra and punish corporations responsible for fires and revoke their permits.

- Resolve human rights violations and put human rights violators on trial, including those at the highest levels of government; immediately restore rights of victims.

Student protester demands. (JP/File)

The *RKUHP* contains several contentious articles, not just the article on criminalizing extramarital sex. If passed, the new Criminal Code can make crimes out of freedom of speech, lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) rights, sexual reproduction rights and even homelessness. Several articles regulate against "attacking the dignity" of the president or vice president and publishing or broadcasting materials that contain "insults against the legitimate government".

The repeal of the newly passed Corruption Eradication Commission (*KPK*) Law also tops the priority list. Before it was passed, activists and experts had criticized the bill and urged President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo to intervene and save the antigraft body. The new *KPK* Law strips the *KPK* off of its independence through the establishment of a supervisory body and the conversion of the *KPK* into a government agency.

The protesters also demand that the House pass the sexual violence bill, which has been deliberated over since 2016. Many lawmakers are against the bill, calling it “liberal” and arguing that the bill would legalize zina (extramarital sex).

#### Problematic *KPK* leaders

On Sept. 12, the House elected five *KPK* leaders out of the 10 candidates shortlisted by a selection committee. The selection of the new *KPK* commissioners, who are to begin their work in December, has been controversial from the start, with activists calling the selection committee biased. Some of the candidates are also deemed “problematic”, including Insp. Gen. Firli Bahuri from the National Police, who was voted in as the *KPK*’s new chairman.

Not long after his inauguration in September 2018, *KPK* received a complaint regarding Firli. He had been meeting with West Nusa Tenggara Governor M. Zainul Majdi, also known as Tuan Guru Bajang, who was then being questioned as a witness in a corruption case pertaining to the divestment of gold and copper mining company PT Newmont Nusa Tenggara.

#### Keeping military and police out of civilian posts

The overstaffing of the *TNI* has led to a demand that the government allow military personnel to hold civilian jobs. This raises fear that Indonesia would again have a *dwifungsi* (dual function) military, which helped Soeharto maintain his power during the New Order.

The current 2004 Military Law does not have a provision that allows military personnel to hold civilian jobs.

Students protest against the planned revisions to the Criminal Code and the revision of the Corruption Eradication Commission Law in front of the House of Representatives in Senayan, Jakarta, on Sept. 24, the biggest student movement since 1998. (JP/Anggie Angela)

#### End militarism in Papua

The military has maintained a strong presence in Papua because of the number of separatist groups in the two Papuan provinces. Recently, an investigation revealed

that military activity in Nduga regency in Papua led to several human rights violations.

A racially tinged incident in Surabaya in August, which led to weeks of unrest in the Papuan provinces, has brought back the issue to public attention.

End prosecution of activists

The students in Yogyakarta, in their press release and standpoint document, said they were aware of prosecutions of corruption and democracy activists. Indonesia Corruption Watch release a report in April 2019 that from 1996 to the time of the report release there had been 91 cases of assaults against and prosecution of 115 anticorruption activists.

On forest fires

For months, some provinces on Sumatra and in Kalimantan have been battling forest fires, which resulted in smog and decreasing air quality. The National Police have named 249 people and six companies suspects of starting the forest fires.

On human rights violations

During the campaign period before he was elected for the first time, Jokowi promised to resolve past human rights violations in Indonesia. Activists have since slammed Jokowi for his mere lip service to or outright silence over some human rights violations, both in the past or under his administration. Taking part in the student protest in Jakarta on Sept. 24 was Maria Catarina Sumarsih, the mother of Atma Jaya University student BR "Wawan" Norma Irmawan, who was shot and killed during prodemocracy protests in what became known as the 1998 Semanggi Tragedy.

Sumarsih has been attending a human rights event called the "Kamisan" on every Thursday for hundreds of times to demand closure for her son's murder, but up until now the government has not found the killer.

**Controversial Criminal Code revision made legislative priority again**

Ghina Ghaliya

Jakarta / Sun, December 8, 2019 / 11:43 am

Despite massive student protests over controversial articles in a proposed amendment of the Criminal Code, the government and the House of Representatives have agreed to include the draft in the National Legislation Program (Prolegnas) for next year.

During a meeting on Thursday, Law and Human Rights Minister Yasonna Laoly and the House's Legislation Body (Baleg) agreed on a list of 50 bills to be prioritized for deliberation next year. The list includes four bills President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo had sought to delay only weeks ago, just before the current House members commenced their term in office for the 2019-2024 period, namely the Criminal Code (*KUHP*) revision, the correctional procedures bill, the land bill and the mining bill.

The latest draft of the *KUHP* revision, a copy of which was seen by *The Jakarta Post*, still includes 14 controversial articles that had sparked the protests, including articles to restore a ban on insulting the President that had been repealed by the Constitutional Court, as well as stipulations on morality that criminalize, among other things, consensual sex by unmarried people, cohabitation and the promotion of contraception.

A member of House Commission III, which oversees legal affairs, Habiburokhman, said his commission, which would handle the bill's deliberation, had reached no agreement with the government on the contentious articles that had caused the widespread protests in September.

"As a member of Commission III, I am ready to discuss the controversial articles, but personally I think we should not spend energy deliberating articles that are disputed," said the Gerindra Party lawmaker.

Jokowi faced a string of student protests nationwide when he decided to pass a controversial revision of the Corruption Eradication Commission (*KPK*) Law, followed by the hasty deliberation of four other bills opposed by many people, including the *KUHP* bill.

At least five people were killed in the protests, prompting the President to call on lawmakers to halt the deliberation of the disputed bills and drop the disputed articles in the *KUHP* bill, meeting one of the demands of the students.

Yasonna said the government wanted to review the articles rather than outright drop them.

“There are some matters we need to revisit [...]. We must take one step back to resolve some crucial articles,” Yasonna said in the meeting at the House. “Not all the 14 are problematic. Some are just misunderstood by the public,” he said.

Yasonna, however, said there were other bills that the government considered more important than the *KUHP* bill, which were the omnibus bill on job creation and the empowerment of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) and another omnibus bill on taxation.

“The two omnibus bills are our top priority. That’s our main focus. The other bills will remain on the 2020 list,” Yasonna told the Baleg members.

Baleg deputy chairwoman Rieke Diah Pitaloka of the ruling Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) asserted that the postponed bills should be deliberated thoroughly and with involvement of the public.

“It’s still very dynamic, we will discuss it in the commission,” said another member of Commission III, Masinton Pasaribu of the PDI-P.

Commission III member Taufik Basari of the NasDem Party suggested the government and the House reopen the discussion for all the articles in the bill, not just the 14 articles.

Trisakti University criminal law expert Abdul Fickar Hajar said the House and the government should seek input from the public, and the lawmakers should go into the field to discuss the legislative drafts directly with people from various backgrounds.

“It is not enough to just invite the public to the public hearings. The lawmakers could go the extra mile by visiting universities throughout the country [...]. The public has to contribute,” he said.

Institute for Criminal Justice Reform (ICJR) executive director Anggara concurred, saying civil society should be directly involved, including experts on social welfare, the economy and public health. “[This should go] beyond public hearings to directly involve [the public] in the deliberation process.”



Anggara said problems with the criminal code bill might not be limited to the 14 articles. “Some issues are still unclear, for example the article on [living together]. The minister has never mentioned it.”

## **'I was under pressure': Protester on trial claims police coerced him during questioning**

Theresia Sufa

Bogor, West Java / Tue, January 28, 2020 / 04:51 pm

Ariyanto's lawyer Ardin Firanata shows photographs of the defendant's bruised face, allegedly caused by assaults during questioning by the police. (JP/Theresia Sufa)

A defendant accused of assaulting a police officer during the September student protests has claimed he was assaulted and coerced into making false testimony during questioning by the police.

Ariyanto, 22, who is currently undergoing trial at the Bogor District Court, told the panel of judges on Monday that he was under pressure from the police while they questioned him for their investigation report.

The trial continued on Monday with presiding judge Friska and judges Arya and Melisa conducting the questioning of Ariyanto, during which his lawyer, Ardin Firanata, provided proof of the alleged assaults against the defendant, including photographs of Ariyanto's bruised face.

The case started when Ariyanto wanted to participate in the large student protests on Sept. 25, 2019, in front of the House of Representatives complex in Central Jakarta.

Ariyanto and some of his peers wanted to go to the capital by using the commuter line trains from Bogor Station in West Java, but they were dispersed by police officers stationed there.

He and his peers then went to Bogor City Hall to stage the protests there instead. Ariyanto testified that during the rally he hit a Bogor City Police officer named Chandra Nelson in response to being bumped by someone from behind, Ardin said.

Ariyanto told the judges that he only hit the police officer once.

“Have you read the police investigation report? It is said there that you hit a police officer twice, which the eyewitnesses said was so,” Friska said during the trial session on Monday.

“I only hit him once. I was under pressure during the making of the police report,” Ariyanto told the court.

Ariyanto said he wanted to join the protests after seeing posts on Facebook calling for people to rally against controversial bills, including the revision to the Criminal Code and the revision of the Corruption Eradication Commission (*KPK*) Law.

The court is to summon Chandra Nelson, who reported Ariyanto, and other police officers who questioned Ariyanto during the investigation, to testify.

Ariyanto worked as an employee for a convenience store in Bogor, which his family relied on.

Sahata, Ariyanto's father, said that he did not expect that his son was going to be arrested by the police.

“I had [...] forbidden Ariyanto from joining the protests. I wanted him to focus on his job. I only knew Ariyanto was arrested by the police after he did not come home for two days,” Sahata said.

Ariyanto was charged under Article 170 and Article 212 of the Criminal Code for assault against state officials, which upon conviction can result in a five-year prison sentence, seven years if grave wounds were caused and 12 years if the actions resulted in death.

The defendant is not the only person claiming to have been pressured by the police during interrogation after being accused of attacking officers during the September student rallies.

Dede Luthfi Alfiandi, whose picture became an emblem of the student protests after he was photographed clutching an Indonesian flag to his face, also told the judges at

the Central Jakarta District Court that he was tortured by police officers to falsely confess to having attacked authorities.

He was accused of violating articles 212 and 218 of the Criminal Code for resisting officers' orders more than three times.

According to the prosecutors, Luthfi and the other student protesters were asked to disperse but resisted and instead attacked the police officers by throwing stones.

Luthfi was also charged under Article 170 of the Code for allegedly taking part in destroying public facilities. (ami)

### **Online petitions grow, challenges remain**

PREMIUM Jakarta / Tue, January 28, 2020 / 01:28 pm

Hundreds of students protest in front of the House of Representatives in Central Jakarta against the amendment of the Corruption Eradication Commission (*KPK*) Law, the Criminal Code draft (*RKUHP*) and the sexual violence bill (*RUU KUHP*). (JP/Ghina Ghaliya)

In recent years, we have seen a rise of digital activism in Indonesia through online petitions. Some are political (such as a petition against the Criminal Code revision known as *RKUHP*), others are nonsensical (like the petition against a TV advertisement of K-pop girl band Blackpink).

Despite growing participation in such activism, online petitions aren't always a winning move.

Data from change.org, an online petition website, show that 2019 was a year of hyped democracy and antigraft campaigns.

A petition titled #reformasidikorupsi (corrupted Reform Era) gained 2.3 million online signatures, while #semuabisakena (everyone can be a victim), a petition against the Criminal Code revision, gained more than 1 million backers.

President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo remained the most targeted figure in online petitions in 2019, with 6,259,598 online signatures directed to him.

In second place was the West Kalimantan Police, which was criticized for the way it handled the case of Audrey, a junior high school student who sustained serious injuries and ended up in hospital after an assault by at least three girls. The petition tagged #justiceforaudrey elicited 3,790,195 online signatures, crowning it the biggest petition of the year.

"Social movements linked to democracy and corruption have increased because of the dynamic political situation in 2019, which was marked by legislative and presidential elections," said Desmarita Murni, the partnership director for change.org Indonesia.

"Environment issues gained lots of attention, too. That was caused by vast forest fires and some agrarian conflicts in 2019," she told a discussion in Jakarta recently.

Issues related to forest fires were trending second after #reformasidikorupsi with 762,000 online signatures. Other environment-themed petitions were "Punish the shooter of Hope the Orangutan" with 1,072,048 signatures and "Save Orangutan Batangtoru" with 953,662 signatures.

According to change.org, the number of Indonesian users of the platform more than doubled in 2019 to 13 million from 6 million in 2018. The platform also noted that as many as 2.5 million people reached the goals of the submitted petitions.

One of the most successful stories of last year's "clicktivism" [a term coined to describe activism through online platforms] was #amnestiuntuknuril (Pardon for Nuril). Through the petition, signatories called on President Jokowi to grant Baiq Nuril, a teacher convicted of defaming her alleged sexual harasser, a presidential pardon.

After gaining more than 300,000 online signatures and sparking massive engagement on social media, the President granted Nuril a pardon on July 15, 2019.

Despite all the glorious results, clicktivism is not without its flaws.

"The exclusiveness of the platform can't be denied. The more controversial an issue, the more signatures it will get. Also, those who have internet access and can afford the necessary gadgets to go online – typically people from middle or upper income households – and people who can express themselves well enough – usually the more educated – will find it easier to start or join a petition. The people impacted directly,

most of the time, didn't even know about the petition," film producer and activist Tunggul Pawestri, who initiated the #semuabisakena petition, told The Jakarta Post.

She added that, ideally, the people directly impacted by unfair policies should start their own petition. Tunggul also said online media could turn into a dangerous place for these people, too.

"It's dangerous for them to initiate a petition, since they might face big corporations or the government. We can't expect them to face the risks or go through legal proceedings themselves. That is why most of the petitions are initiated by NGOs or well-known public figures, who usually have a systematic plan," she added.

Dewi Sartika, the secretary-general of the Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA), said online activism in agrarian conflicts still faced challenges.

"Agrarian issues are not mainstream issues. To start a digital mass movement, we are still struggling to make people understand the complexity of the issues. Second, we are still searching for a formula to create a down-to-earth narrative that could engage the public, because agrarian issues are not simple issues with simple explanations," she told the Post.

"Regarding the effectiveness of online platforms in agrarian issues, I think we need to synergize online petitions with political lobbying and field activism. For example, when we [activists] protested against the establishment of Kertajati International Airport, as it demolished the village of Sukamulya, the activists still went to the sites. Only relying on online petitions will change nothing," she added.

The chairman of the Natural Forest and Environment Foundation of Aceh (HAKA), Irham Hudaya Yunardi, noted that there was no exact measurement for the effectiveness of clicktivism.

"There was a case where a palm and paper corporation changed its policy because of what began through an online petition. That was because the corporation was concerned about its public image. However, there were also cases in Papua in which online petitions didn't affect policymaking at all, because the regional authority simply didn't care," he said.

In response to questions about exclusiveness and effectiveness, the managers of change.org say the platform is firmly committed to providing accessibility to all.

"We brought up the stories of Agus Mandawen from Papua, who started an online petition about the delivery of free books to Papua, so that Papuan children could read more books. There was also a story about Abdul Manan of Riau province, who wrote a petition to the President asking him for [impromptu visits] to the area impacted by forest fire. These stories, however, were not gaining much [traction] because there was no media support to trend up the cases. Then we called on the media to work together with us to bring up the stories of the marginalized," Desmarita Murni said.



