

**SOCIAL ACTORS REPRESENTATION ON THE NEWS  
REPORTING OF PAPUA CONFLICT ISSUED BY ONLINE  
NEWSPAPERS**

**THESIS**

By:

**Retno Listianing Pratiwi**

NIM 16320190



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

**2020**

**SOCIAL ACTORS REPRESENTATION ON THE NEWS  
REPORTING OF PAPUA CONFLICT ISSUED BY ONLINE  
NEWSPAPERS**

**THESIS**

Presented to

Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S.)

By:

**Retno Listianing Pratiwi**

NIM 16320190

Advisor:

**Dr. Hj. Galuh Nur Rohmah M.Pd., M.Ed.**

NIP 19740211 199803 2 002



**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE**

**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES**

**UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK  
IBRAHIM MALANG**

**2020**

### **STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP**

I state that the thesis entitled **"Social Actors Representation On The News Reporting of Papua Conflict Issued By Online Newspapers"** is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by other person, except those cited as references and written in the bibliography. Hereby, if there any objection or claim, I am the only person who is responsible for that.

Malang, 26 June 2020

The Researcher

A yellow rectangular stamp with a red border. On the left, there is a vertical barcode. In the center, there is a red Garuda emblem. To the right of the emblem, the text "METERAI" and "VENUE" are printed. Below the emblem, the number "69277AJX552433288" is printed. A handwritten signature in black ink is written over the stamp.

Retno Listianing Pratiwi

NIM 16320190

## APPROVAL SHEET

This to certify that Retno Listianing Pratiwi's thesis entitled "**Social Actors Representation On The News Reporting of Papua Conflict Issued By Online Newspapers**" has been approved for thesis examination at Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, as one of the requirements for the degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S.)

Malang, 26 June 2020

Approved by

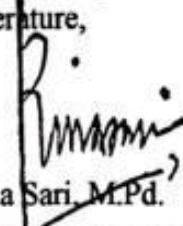
Advisor,



Dr. Hj. Galuh Nur Rohmah, M. Pd.,  
M.Ed.

NIP 19740211 199803 2 002

Head of Department of English  
Literature,



Rina Sari, M.Pd.

NIP 19750610 200604 2 002

Acknowledged by



Dr. Hj. Galuh Nur Rohmah, M.A.

NIP 19660910 199103 2 002

## LEGITIMATION SHEET

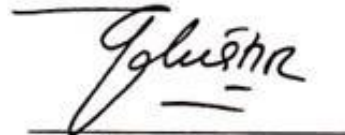
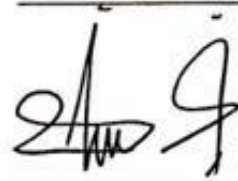
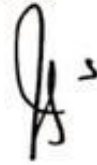
This is to certify that Retno Listianing Pratiwi's thesis entitled "Social Actors Representation On The News Reporting of Papua Conflict Issued By Online Newspapers" has been approved by the Board of Examiners as one of the requirements for the degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S.) in Department of English Literature.

Malang, 26 June 2020

### The Board of Examiners

1. Dr. Meinarni Susilowati, (Main  
M.Ed. Examiner)  
NIP 19670503 199903 2 000
2. Zainur Rofiq, M.A. (Chair)  
NIP 19861018201802011180
3. Dr. Hj. Galuh Nur Rohmah, (Advisor)  
M.Pd., M.Ed.  
NIP 19740211 199803 2 002

### Signatures



Approved by

Dean of Faculty of Humanities



## **MOTTO**

“Those blessings are sweetest that are won with prayer and worn with thanks.”

—Thomas Goodwin

## **DEDICATION**

I proudly dedicate this thesis to

My dearest parents Mr. Karyaji and Mrs. Supeni, who are faithfully and patiently  
waiting for me to finish college

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

*Alhamdulillah Rabbil 'Alamiin.* In this opportunity, I will be glad to express my most profound gratefulness to those who supported and helped me accomplish this thesis. First of all, I would like to thank Allah Swt because His blessing and mercy have guided me during the completion of this thesis. Then, *Shalawat* and *Salam* are always blessed to our Prophet Muhammad Saw, God's mercy of the universe. Furthermore, I would like to express my sincere thanks to:

1. Dr. M. Faisol M.Ag., Dean of the Faculty of Humanities of Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, who gave me permission to conduct this thesis and also encouragement, so this thesis can be completed;
2. Ribut Wahyudi, M.Ed., Ph.D., Head of Department of English Literature of Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, who permitted me to conduct this thesis;
3. Dr. Hj. Galuh Nur Rohmah, M. Pd., M.Ed., my advisor, for her continuous and valuable guidance, advice, and encouragement in completing this thesis;
4. All lectures at the English Literature Department of Faculty of Humanities of Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, who gave taught, motivated, and given guidance to me during my four years education in this university;

5. My dearest family, especially my mother, who never stop giving me prays, spirit, and motivation when I encounter difficulties and obstacles in the process of finishing this thesis, and my father, who had always worked hard to suffice all my needs;
6. Last but not least, my friends at the English Literature Department for helping, supporting, and motivating me during the process of finishing this thesis.

Malang, 26 June 2021

Retno Listianing Pratiwi

## ABSTRACT

**Pratiwi, Retno Listianing** (2020) *Social Actors Representation On The News Reporting of Papua Conflict Issued By Online Newspapers*. Undergraduate Thesis. Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Advisor Dr. Hj. Galuh Nur Rohmah M.Pd., M.Ed.

**Keywords:** Social Actors, Social Actors Representation, Exclusion, Inclusion, Papua Conflict

---

Social Actors Representation (SAR) is one way to understand how a person or group is described in a text, for example, in an online newspaper. This research aimed to investigate the SAR strategy and how social actors are represented in the news reporting of the Papua conflict issued by online newspapers. To find out the SAR strategy in the online newspapers, the researcher used Van Leeuwen's (2008) theory of SAR.

This research used descriptive qualitative to obtain an in-depth analysis of the data obtained. The data were nine online news articles from The Guardian, The Jakarta Post, and Antara News about the issues of the Papuan conflict published in August – September 2019. The researcher conducted this research in several steps; First, the researcher searched the data by using the keywords “Papua,” “West Papua,” and “Papua conflict” in each newspaper. Second, the researcher chose the terms of the news headlines that seemed to adopt the SAR strategy. Finally, the researcher identified the news articles based on their categories and how they were formed.

The findings show that to detach the actors (exclusion), The Guardian, The Jakarta Post, and Antara News mostly presented the social actors such as mass, activists, protesters, and Papuan students as passive agents and government as social actors such as Police, Governor, President, Security minister, The Air Force, and Ministry of foreign affairs as the active agent. The salient differences were found in the use of inclusion strategies. This confirms that The Jakarta Post and Antara News presented actors as individuals with certain classifications such as their ethnicity, “two good Samaritan.” In contrast, The Guardian presented the actors with surnames and titles such as “President Joko Widodo.” The results of this study revealed that the media practice using exclusion and inclusion strategies to defend upper group “the Government” as a good side in responding to the Papua conflict and discriminating lower groups such as protesters and Papuan students as a bad side.

Furthermore, it is recommended to use other objects such as speeches or conversations undertaken in a talk show to get different results. In addition, further researchers are also expected to use other theories of Van Leeuwen such as Social Action Representation, Visual Representation of Social Actors, etc.

## ABSTRAK

**Pratiwi, Retno Listianing** (2020) *Social Actors Representation On The News Reporting of Papua Conflict Issued By Online Newspapers*. Skripsi. Jurusan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing Dr. Hj. Galuh Nur Rohmah M.Pd., M.Ed.

**Kata Kunci:** Aktor Sosial, Representasi Aktor Sosial, Eksklusi, Inklusi, konflik Papua

---

Social Actors Representation (SAR) adalah salah satu cara untuk memahami bagaimana seseorang atau kelompok digambarkan dalam teks, contohnya pada surat kabar online. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menginvestigasi strategi Social Actors Representation (SAR) dan bagaimana aktor sosial direpresentasikan on the news reporting of Papua conflict issued by surat kabar online. Untuk menemukan strategi SAR pada ketiga surat kabar tersebut, peneliti menggunakan strategi SAR dari teori Van Leeuwen (2008).

Penelitian ini menggunakan deskriptif kualitatif dengan tujuan untuk memperoleh analisis secara mendalam terhadap data yang didapat. Data yang diteliti adalah sembilan artikel berita online dari The Guardian, The Jakarta Post, dan Antara News tentang masalah-masalah konflik Papua yang ditebitkan pada bulan Agustus – September 2019. Peneliti melakukan penelitian ini dengan cara; pertama, peneliti mencari data dengan menggunakan kata kunci “Papua”, “west papua”, dan “Papua conflict” pada setiap surat kabar. Kedua, peneliti memilih istilah dari judul berita yang sesuai dengan strategi SAR. Terakhir, peneliti mengidentifikasi isi berita berdasarkan kategorinya dan bagaimana mereka dibentuk.

Temuan menunjukkan bahwa untuk melepaskan aktor (pengecualian), ketiga surat kabar lebih banyak menghadirkan aktor sosial seperti massa, aktivis, pengunjuk rasa, dan mahasiswa Papua sebagai agen pasif dan aktor sosial pemerintah seperti Polisi, Gubernur, Presiden, Menteri Keamanan, Angkatan Udara, dan Kementerian Luar Negeri sebagai agen aktif. Perbedaan mencolok ditemukan dalam penggunaan strategi inklusi. Ini menegaskan bahwa The Jakarta Post dan Antara News menampilkan aktor sebagai individu dengan klasifikasi tertentu seperti etnik mereka “two good Samaritan,” sementara The Guardian menampilkan aktor sosial dengan nama dan gelar mereka seperti “President Joko Widodo”. Hasil penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa penggunaan strategi exclusion dan inclusion dipraktikkan oleh media dilakukan untuk membela kelompok atas “Pemerintah” sebagai sisi baik dalam menyikapi konflik Papua dan mendeskriminasi kelompok rendah seperti “protesters” dan “Papuan students” sebagai sisi buruk.

Selanjutnya, untuk penelitian selanjutnya disarankan menggunakan objek selain surat kabar seperti pidato atau percakapan dari sebuah talkshow untuk mendapatkan hasil yang berbeda. Selain itu, peneliti selanjutnya diharapkan menggunakan teori lain dari Van Leeuwen seperti Social Action Representation, Visual Representation of Social Actors, dll.

## مستخلص البحث

فرايتوي، رتنو ليستيانينج (2020) تمثيل الممثلة الاجتماعية في الصحافة عن صراع بابوا المنشورة في الصحيفة الرقمية. البحث الجامعي، قسم الأدب الإنجليزية، كلية العلوم الإنسانية، جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانج. المشرف: كاله نور رحمة، الماجستير.

الكلمات الرئيسية: استبعاد، تضمين، تمثيل ممثلة الاجتماعية، صراع بابوا.

---

(Social Actors Representation SAR) إحدى الطرق لفهم كيفية وصف شخص أو مجموعة في النص، على سبيل المثال في صحيفة على الإنترنت. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى التحقيق في استراتيجية (Social Actors Representation SAR) وكيفية تمثيل الفاعلين الاجتماعيين في التقارير الإخبارية لنزاعات بابوا التي تصدرها الصحف على الإنترنت. للعثور على استراتيجية البحث والإنقاذ في الصحف الثلاث، استخدم الباحث SAR من نظرية (Van Leeuwen 2008).

تستخدم هذه الدراسة الوصفية النوعية بهدف الحصول على تحليل متعمق للبيانات التي تم الحصول عليها. كانت البيانات التي تمت دراستها عبارة عن تسع مقالات إخبارية عبر الإنترنت من The Guardian, The Jakarta Post و Antara News حول قضايا نزاع بابوا والتي نُشرت في أغسطس-سبتمبر 2019. أجرى الباحثون هذا البحث بواسطة: أولاً، بحث الباحثون عن البيانات باستخدام الكلمات الرئيسية للصراع في بابوا، وبابوا الغربية، وبابوا في كل صحيفة. ثانياً، يختار الباحثون المصطلحات من عناوين الأخبار التي تتوافق مع استراتيجية البحث والإنقاذ. وأخيراً، يقوم الباحث بتحديد المحتوى الإخباري بناءً على فئاته وكيفية تكوينه.

تظهر النتائج أنه لإطلاق سراح الممثلين (استثناءات)، تقدم الصحف الثلاث المزيد من الفاعلين الاجتماعيين مثل الجماهير والنشطاء والمتظاهرين وطلاب بابوا كعملاء سلبيين وفاعلين اجتماعيين حكوميين مثل الشرطة والمحافظ والرئيس ووزير الأمن، القوات الجوية ووزارة الخارجية كوكيل نشط. تم العثور على فروق ذات دلالة إحصائية في استخدام استراتيجيات الاشتمال. وهذا يؤكد أن The Jakarta Post و Antara News يقدمان ممثلين كأفراد بتصنيفات معينة مثل عرقهم، وهما ساماريان جيدان، بينما تقدم صحيفة The Guardian الممثلين الاجتماعيين بأسمائهم وألقابهم مثل الرئيس جوكو ويدودو. تكشف نتائج هذه الدراسة أن وسائل الإعلام تمارس استخدام استراتيجيات الإقصاء والشمول للدفاع عن الجماعات على الحكومة باعتبارها الجانب الجيد في الاستجابة لنزاع بابوا والتمييز ضد مجموعات الطبقة الدنيا مثل المتظاهرين وطلاب بابوا على أنهم سيئون. الجانب.

علاوة على ذلك، لمزيد من البحث، يوصى باستخدام أشياء أخرى غير الصحف مثل الخطب أو المحادثات من برنامج حوارى للحصول على نتائج مختلفة. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، من المتوقع أن يستخدم المزيد من الباحثين نظريات أخرى من Van Leeuwen مثل تمثيل العمل الاجتماعي، والتمثيل المرئي للفاعلين الاجتماعيين، إلخ.

## TABLE OF CONTENT

THESIS COVER .....	
STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
APPROVAL SHEET .....	ii
LEGITIMATION SHEET .....	iii
MOTTO .....	iii
DEDICATION .....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .....	vi
ABSTRACT .....	viii
TABLE OF CONTENT .....	xi
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	
1.1 Background of the Study .....	1
1.2 Research Questions .....	6
1.3 Research Objectives .....	6
1.4 Scope and Limitation .....	6
1.5 Significances of the Study .....	7
1.6 Definition of Key Terms .....	8
1.7 Previous Studies .....	9
1.8 Research Method .....	11
1.8.1 Research Design .....	11
1.8.2 Data and Data Sources .....	11
1.8.3 Research Instrument .....	11

1.8.4	Data Collection .....	12
1.8.5	Data Analysis .....	13
CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE		
2.1	Critical Discourse Analysis .....	15
2.2	Representation .....	18
2.3	Social Actors Representation .....	21
2.3.1	Exclusion.....	24
2.3.2	Inclusion.....	26
CHAPTER III: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION		
3.1	Findings .....	32
3.2	Discussion .....	32
CHAPTER IV: CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION		
4.1	Conclusion.....	84
4.2	Suggestion .....	85
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....		87
CURRICULUM VITAE .....		90
APPENDIX.....		91

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This research explores social actors, focusing on how they are meant on the news reporting of Papua conflict published in The Guardian, The Jakarta Post, and Antara News online newspapers. This chapter presents background of the study, research questions, objectives of the study, scope and limitation, significances of the study, definition of key terms, previous studies, and research method.

#### **1.1 Background of the Study**

In van Leeuwen's CDA model, representation becomes an essential requirement. Van Leeuwen sees the Social Actors Representation (henceforth, SAR) as a necessary idea in CDA. The readers can understand how a person or group is described in the text by analyzing social actor's representation. According to Van Leeuwen (2008), this theory is divided into exclusion and inclusion.

Today, people live in modern life where the internet can access anything. Online news becomes one of the most accessible media to access the most diverse information. According to McMillen & Alter (2017), media is a form of communication that transmits messages from sender to recipient to stimulate thoughts, emotions, and attention about various social issues. Then, every message and information given through the news is based on how the writers choose particular words for their specific reasons.

Therefore, the authors' language will determine how readers understand the message or information from the news.

The researcher chooses the social actors representation as to the object of this study since it can explore the types of strategies used by the authors in representing a particular people or groups through the words or phrases they used in specific problems. Besides, representation is the meaning production from opinions or concepts produced through language. In short, by analyzing the language used correctly, it can be identified how language influences the reader's mindset.

In this study, the researcher examines some issues related to the discourse analysis of social actor's representation of the Papua conflict in August – September 2019. According to Van Leeuwen (2008), SAR is divided into two significant parts: exclusion and inclusion. Exclusion is how social actors are excluded or omitted within the discourse text, while inclusion is how social actors include or reveal within the discourse text. Furthermore, each SAR strategy has some other parts, such as exclusion has suppression, and backgrounding. Inclusion has activation and passivation; likewise, personalization and impersonalization have some distinctions, which later will be explained in chapter 2.

According to the above, in doing this research, the online news is used, especially The Guardian, The Jakarta Post, Antara News newspapers, specializing in their perspective in reporting information associated with Papua conflict. Those three online newspapers are chosen because (1) the

researcher cannot find the printed newspapers which present the news in the form of English text, (2) online mass media is felt more efficient and more comfortable to reach without buying the newspapers first, and (3) those online newspapers continuously report the issues of the Papua conflict.

The chosen subject can be a linguistic phenomenon during this research because it involves how the author creates certain representations through language or discourse in a news text. The term employed by the article's authors on this issue aims to persuade or influence the readers to support or marginalize a particular group of people in it.

Since the media reported demonstrations in Papua's several areas against the racism experienced by Papuan students in East Java, the Papuan conflict is chosen to be investigated. So, the researcher wants to confirm and prove whether those three newspapers adopt SAR strategies in reporting their news related to speculations or allegations by examining the employment of words, phrases, sentences, and expressions written within the text. Furthermore, this research uses the CDA approach in analyzing by underlining the questions of this research and how the news articles' writers do the representations of social actors involved in the text. In the process of doing representations, the researcher needs to investigate who the social actors are.

In my personal opinion, studying SAR can give a slight overview to the readers about the kinds of strategies adopted by several authors in representing a particular person or group through the words or phrases they

used. Second, it also provides background knowledge on how a text can describe a person or group in society. Theo Van Leeuwen introduced this discourse analysis model to detect and examine how a group or a person is marginalized in a discourse. This opinion refers to discourse and power. According to Eriyanto (2001, p. 171), power operates through formal channels, law, and state institutions with the ability to prohibit and punish and works through a series of discourses to define a group as incorrect or insufficient.

Moreover, people can understand the marginalization from the presence or absence of this group or someone in the text. Based on van Leeuwen (2008, pp. 23-32), a particular set of participants with roles and role allocation is at least needed in a news or news article. The social actors allocate their positions based on their interests. There are agents, victims, and beneficiaries. Previously, van Leeuwen said that the essence of an event was the sequence of social actions. Like someone meeting coincidentally with an old friend, for example, every simple crime is a series of actions carried out by several social actors.

Since this research is conducted by utilizing the analytical CDA's element, the exclusion and inclusion strategies of SAR, I start this research by learning the topic through previous studies to understand the issue. Evayani & Rido (2019) examined sexual violence in the New York Times and The Jakarta Post newspapers. According to them, sexual violence is a social problem that can cause a comprehensive response and can occur in

society regardless of any position, age, and other social factors. To present social actors in the media, they used several van Leeuwen's strategies. At the end of the research, they finally showed and concluded that actors, especially victims, are passive agents while the perpetrators are active agents.

Wahyudi et al. (2020) investigated the Indonesian presidential election in 2019 through Media Indonesia and iNews. This research stated that the media's ownership could influence the frequency of representing social actors in their news reporting. In representing social actors, exclusion, suppression, or backgrounding can be applied in the discourse. Furthermore, after doing the research, they concluded that Media Indonesia tends to side with Joko Widodo because of Surya Paloh as the media owner, which formed a coalition with him for his advances in becoming a presidential candidate. In contrast, iNews reports more often about Prabowo Subianto in a month, and it can be seen that this media sided with him.

The researcher found the gap to continue this study using the CDA approach of van Leeuwen's model from those previous studies: (1) even though the topics and theories are the same, the subject used in this research is different, (2) almost all previous studies refer to van Leeuwen's view of Eriyanto's book, not van Leeuwen's original text. Besides referring to Eriyanto's book, the researcher also relates to van Leeuwen's original book to ensure the strategies used in analyzing discourse, and (3) previous studies

only used one to two newspapers; the current study used three online newspaper models.

## **1.2 Research Questions**

Based on the background of the research above, this research proposed to answer the following questions:

1. What are the strategies used to represent social actors in the online newspapers report of the Papua conflict?
2. How are those strategies represented in the online newspapers report of the Papua conflict?

## **1.3 Research Objectives**

Based on the research questions above, in doing this research, the objectives of this study are:

1. To explain the strategies used to represent social actors in the online newspapers report of the Papua conflict.
2. To describe how the strategies are represented in the online newspapers report of the Papua conflict.

## **1.4 Scope and Limitation**

This research focuses on social actors representation of critical discourse analysis. The data used for analysis are taken from three online newspapers: The Guardian, The Jakarta Post, and Antara News. The articles are taken from the news column about the Papua conflict published in August – September 2019. The researcher uses those online newspapers because they continuously report the issue about the Papua conflict, and they have the

potential to side with fans and haters. The researcher limits it to a month because it is happening at that time. Many people are posting this issue on their social media due to their enthusiasm for this phenomenon. Furthermore, this research uses the social actors representation theory proposed by van Leeuwen (2008), which consists of two essential strategies.

### **1.5 Significances of the Study**

This research is conducted with the effort to provide theoretical and practical contributions. Especially for the interdisciplinary area of news reporting, understanding exclusion and inclusion strategies is found in the terms used by the authors in creating the news by using the theory of SAR proposed by van Leeuwen (2008). Theoretically, this research is expected to confirm and provide academic contributions, particularly in developing a theoretical framework of van Leeuwen's (2008) theory of SAR found in the Papua conflict's news reporting.

Practically, this research could ease the readers to understand how social actors are represented in the news reporting. It also contributes to everyone interested in discourse studies, especially critical discourse analysis or anything related to the topic presented in this research. Furthermore, this research can be helpful for students who are concentrating in the field of discourse studies. Hence, this research can be a reference for them to analyze SAR in different objects.

## 1.6 Definition of Key Terms

To avoid misunderstanding in interpreting that contains the terms used, the researcher defines key terms. Thus, the definition of key terms is required to understand the terms used during this study. The intended definition of key terms include:

**SAR:** Social Actors Representation (henceforth, SAR) analyzes CDA Theo Van Leeuwen's model of representing social actors. In this research, SAR is defined as how social events or actors are displayed or revealed in the media report (particularly in the news reporting of the Papua conflict). The authors' presence of several strategies in creating news can lead to different perceptions of the report. Hence, SAR is used to express how social actors are presented in news reporting.

**Exclusion:** Exclusion is the first strategy of representing social actors. In this research, exclusion defines as how social actors (the doer) and certain groups are not involved or excluded in the news reporting of the Papua conflict.

**Inclusion:** Inclusion is the second strategy of representing social actors. In this research, inclusion defines as the way

in how social actors or certain groups are involved or included in the news reporting of the Papua conflict.

Papua conflict: The conflict has been to the Papuan society due to racist action towards Papuan students in East Java in August 2019. This conflict triggered demonstrations in several areas in Papua and some involved riots.

### **1.7 Previous Studies**

Several studies that used the theory of SAR proposed by van Leeuwen were done by researchers. First, Evayani and Rido (2019) examined how social actors are represented in news reporting of sexual violence. The study results showed that both newspapers mainly presented the actor to distinguish the actor (exclusion), especially the victim as a passive agent and the perpetrator as an active agent. They found salient differences in the use of inclusion strategy. It confirmed that The Jakarta Post presented the actor as a specific individual, such as gender, age, and occupation. In contrast, The New York Times showed them by their surname and title, such as “Professor.”

Second, Kord and Sarani (2018) examined how social actors are represented through two communication modes: visual and linguistic modes in the EFL textbook based on the CDA approaches. This study revealed that participants of males and females are displayed differently through visual and linguistic representation modes. In the case of linguistic gender

representation, they found practiced female-oriented ideology in this series. In contrast, the results of visual gender representation show that males are stereotypically represented as ideal and more prominent than females.

Third, Hamad and Karman (2019) investigated Indonesian democratic leaders who aimed to describe how radical-Muslim groups are represented and determine how the researchers represent the system of democracy. The study results revealed that radical Muslim groups have distinctive perspectives and rationale in representing and delegitimizing leaders within the context of democracy. Language operates as a structure to dispute and delegitimize democratic leaders. Even more, in violence's legitimation can use language practice. For example, the construction of "democracy as a religion" and "leader as a kafir" legitimize sacred violence, e.g., terrorism.

Fourth, Lulita (2018) examined how ICT classroom teachers and students are represented differently as social actors. This study's preliminary results showed that she could categorize social actors in the IC classroom into two central thematic representations: positive and negative. Hamzah is represented as the delegate of classroom presenters of victimized, oppressed, intimidated, and minoritized actors. Hamzah's Mathematics teacher is described as an intolerant, dehumanizing, discriminatory, and oppressing actor. Besides, Hamzah's Social Sciences teacher is illustrated as a racial, stereotyping, dominant, and provoking actor.

## **1.8 Research Method**

This chapter consists of research design, data and data sources, research instrument, data collection, and data analysis.

### **1.8.1 Research Design**

This study uses a qualitative descriptive method, as the purpose of this study, to explain how the SAR strategies are represented in online news of the Papua conflict. This method is chosen because it provides in-depth explanations and produces exploratory information about social actor's representation in the news of the Papua conflict. Furthermore, it helps to reveal how social actors are featured in The Guardian, The Jakarta Post, and Antara News online news by using Van Leeuwen's framework.

In addition, the researcher uses constructivism as a philosophical worldview in this study. Constructivism worldview has a central focus, namely describing the social context. In investigating the social actor's representation on the issue of Papua conflict, the researcher discusses and interprets the strategies used in online news texts to obtain the authors' linguistic features of social actor's representation. Furthermore, it will guide the researcher to explain social actor representation in the news of the Papua conflict.

### **1.8.2 Data and Data Sources**

The data were obtained from The Guardian, The Jakarta Post, and Antara News online newspapers published from August to

September 2019. The researcher considered that during the chosen times, there was much news of issues in those newspapers. In this research, the researcher focused on the Papua conflict. Besides, the data were obtained primarily from the official sites of *theguardian.com*, *thejakartapost.com*, and *en.antaranews.com*. The researcher chose those newspapers because most Indonesian mass media present news in the Indonesian language, so the researcher found those three online newspapers that present the hottest issues, whether in Indonesia or other countries, in English text.

### **1.8.3 Research Instrument**

The main instrument of this research was the researcher herself, who investigated, gathered, and analyzed the data through The Guardian, The Jakarta Post, and Antara News to determine the representation of social actors, whether excluded or included reporting the finding of the study. It is called so because the researcher cannot directly interview people involved in creating the news, such as the writer of the report, publisher, or the people who contribute to making the news itself, which will be investigated in this research.

### **1.8.4 Data Collection**

The researcher collected the data in several steps. First, the researcher opened and typed the keywords of “Papua,” “West

Papua,” and “Papua Conflict” in each newspaper, and it gives the researcher all news related to the Papua conflict. Second, the researcher chose the terms from the headline news that seemed to adopt the strategy of van Leeuwen’s theory of SAR then read the whole text of the report. Third, based on this study’s scope, the researcher took the news criteria from three online newspapers: The Guardian, The Jakarta Post, and Antara News, with a total of 9 reports published in August September 2019. Finally, the researcher identified the news based on their categories and how they are formed.

#### **1.8.5 Data Analysis**

The researcher analyzed the data in several steps. First, the researcher read the whole data three times to get a slight overview of the articles’ discussion. Second, to find out what and how the strategies used in reporting their news, the researcher analyzed and categorized them based on Van Leeuwen’s SAR theory. Third, the data were organized into exclusion when the articles’ writers hide or omit the social actors in the text. In contrast, the data were categorized into inclusion strategies when the writers are shown certain social actors in the text. Fourth, to ensure that the data analyzed and categorized is correct, the researcher re-reads and re-checks by underlining and signing each word, phrase, or sentence that seems to adopt van Leeuwen strategies. Fifth, the researcher

discusses the result of the data analysis in the finding and discussion.

Then as a final point, the researcher provides the conclusion of the study supported by the theories.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

This chapter discusses relevant theories used to analyze how social actors are represented on the news reporting of Papua conflict issued by online newspapers. It covers critical discourse analysis, representation, van Leeuwen's social actors' representation, exclusion, and inclusion strategies.

#### **2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis**

In critical linguistics, this is a linguistics study that aims to uncover how the hidden power relations with ideological processes occurred in oral or written texts. In this case, CDA is understood as a language study that studies language not only from the linguistic aspect but also relates it to context. The context here implies that language is utilized for particular purposes and practices, including power practice. CDA is considered more suitable for analyzing public discourse. The aspects studied in the CDA are central aspects through the language of ideology absorbed in it. According to van Dijk et al. in Eriyanto (2001, pp.8-14), there are five crucial characteristics of CDA, namely action, context, historical, power, and ideology are presented as follows:

- a. Discourse as action. This understanding associates discourse as a form of interaction that is not placed in a closed and internal space. First, discourse is seen with a purpose that is to influence, debate, persuade, support, react, and so on. Second, discourse is understood by something

expressed consciously and controlled, not for something that is expressed out of consciousness or out of control.

- b. The role of context in the interpretation of discourse is CDA considers the context of the discourse, such as situations, settings, conditions, and events. Context can affect language usages, such as situations where the text is produced, language usage, and the intended function. Text is a form of language and all types of communication expressions, music, pictures, speech, sound effects, etc. Discourse is a description of text and context in a communication process. Here, cognition is needed not only but also the specific picture of the culture carried.
- c. Discourse as a historical product. In a critical paradigm, discourse is placed in a particular social context and cannot be understood without context. Significant aspects to be understood by putting discourse in particular historical contexts. Understanding is only obtained if it can provide the historical context of the text created and understand how the political situation occurred.
- d. Discourse on power struggles. The concept of power is the key to the relationship between discourse and society. This CDA considers the element of power. Such a conversation between a worker and his employer is not a normal conversation because of the employer's power dominance. The relationship of power to discourse sees what is called control. Control does not have to be physical but also mental and

psychological. Control over discourse in the form of context control, such as secretaries in meetings, do not have power but can only hear it.

- e. Discourse as an ideological practice. In this critical view, ideology is a central character in the CDA because the text is a reflection of a particular ideology. Ideology is built by the dominant group to produce. The role of discourse in the ideological framework is; first, ideology is social, individual, and not personal because it requires groups and organizations. Second, ideology is social, but it is used internally within group members and the community. Therefore, discourse analysis must look at the context, mostly how the groups' ideology plays a role in shaping discourse.

CDA is a kind of discourse analytical research that focuses on studying how abuses of power, domination, and inequality are created, produced, and rejected through texts or orally in social and political contexts. Moreover, the relationship between languages, power, and ideology within discourse is the main issue of CDA. CDA, which is intended in this paper, attempts to reveal the hidden intentions of someone who makes a statement when responding to a news report. CDA is a multidisciplinary approach to studying discourse that views language as a social practice (Wodak and Meyer, 2001). In this case, CDA aims to uncover ideologies and power relations in language practice.

CDA's experts have always stated that the primary purpose of CDA is to uncover the blurring in discourse that contributes to the income of unequal relations between discourse participants. According to van Dijk (1997 p. 9), a

text is like an iceberg on the surface of the sea so that critical discourse analyzers are responsible for revealing hidden meanings in the text. Operationally, any statement that is not clear in the analysis is explained to be told, especially the unequal social power structure. The intentions, views, and social beliefs limited as ideologies in the CDA, are sometimes hidden behind words written or spoken. Thus, the disclosure of the ideology behind the text is the main task of the CDA. Besides, CDA seeks to uncover ideologies based on positive self-representation and negative other-representation strategies.

Regarding this, CDA provides six analytical tools with different theoretical bases, namely the Dispositive Analysis, Socio-cognitive Approach, Discourse-historical Approach, Corpus-based Linguistics Approach, Socio-semantic Approach, and Dialectical-relational Approach. Each approach has its focus; for example, a socio-semantic process is an approach that considers discourse as the recontextualizing social practices. Thus, socio semantic's primary focus is how social practice elements, such as actors, are represented in the text. Since the socio-semantic approach explains how actors are represented in the text, this approach is suitable for discovering how social actors are represented in a news report. As a socio-semantic approach is employed in the present research, it will explain this approach further in the following section.

## **2.2 Representation**

The representation shows how meanings are produced using language and exchanged between group members in a culture. In general, representation is

related to how people understand the world. In defining representation, Hall (1997) emphasizes the process as a critical point. The process begins with the construction of images and concepts in the human brain that make them meaningful. Representation connects principles in our minds by using language that lets us interpret objects, humans, actual activities, the imaginary objects, and events that aren't actual. Then he defines representation as to the manner humans provide and switch meaning thru language as a tool.

Similarly, as Halliday (2014) explained, representation is an activity where people produce something significant about reality. Representation itself has many definitions relying on the disciplines. For example, in media studies, representation refers to how social aspects, including age, gender, and ethnicity, are provided to the audience (Rahardi, 2017, p. 6). In short, producing meaning is one way of representation. The work system of representation consists of two crucial components; they are concepts in mind and language. These two components are correlated. The idea of something owned and exists in mind makes humans or persons know the meaning of something. It can conclude that representation is a process to produce substance from concepts in our minds through language.

Meanwhile, Eriyanto (2005) emphasized the term representation concerning reporting, both in print and electronic media (TV). According to him, the term representation refers to how the news portrays an individual, a community, a particular idea, or an opinion. The appearance includes two things. First, whether a person, a group, a specific idea or thought is displayed

correctly. Second, how the representation is shown is related to words, sentences, accentuations, and photo assistance such as what a person, a group, a particular idea, or opinion is displayed in the news to the public (Zaini, 2013 pp. 126-127). Alternatively, Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA) depicts representation as a portrayal of a specific occasion, individual, or circumstance which depends on the context (Fairclough, 2003).

Besides, van Dijk (2002) contributes to this definition by portraying representation as people's ways to build the underlying meanings by utilizing language in the text. That's to say, representation relates to meaning production and is seen as something that's continuously shown in a text. However, different from media study, in CDA, the represented elements include power issues, ideology, and underlying messages. All elements influence representation to portray reality partially. The text producer's ideology, for example, makes a representation in the text not value-free. Ideology in text constructs how social representation is presented depending on the writer's intention and how to achieve it.

Moreover, the text producers' power and the underlying meaning determine the choice of words and what is left unsaid to deliver the intended message in representation. As previously mentioned, in representing some reality aspects, the text producer's ideology and power affect the final product. For example, the text producer will always have choices to mention or hide some elements when representing specific issues. How the text producer presents the case in the text has become the primary interest in text analysis.

As a framework that can be used to analyze representation, CDA explains why specific choices are chosen in representing some realities aspects in text and how it is related to the ideology.

### **2.3 Social Actors Representation**

Social Actors Representation (henceforth, SAR) is one of the major approaches in the CDA. In this research, SAR is an approach that sees discourse as the re-contextualization of social practices. The re-contextualization of social practices refers to how people depict social practices in different contexts through language and images. According to Eggins (2004), this approach is related to the meaning of the language used in social lives' textual process. According to van Leeuwen (2008) cited in Eriyanto (2001 pp. 171-195), this approach is an analytical model to find out and detect how a person or group is marginalized in a discourse text. Thus, SAR aims to see and examine how a group or a person is marginalized in his position in discourse.

Moreover, addressing SAR from a CDA point of view should often deal with the context or the circumstance surrounding it. In this case, the context is in the form of the past and the current social context, as discourse can be interpreted by different people in various ways, considering that they have different experiences, expertise, or even power and social status. The objects of CDA research not only in spoken discourse (e.g., speech, conversation, news coverage, etc.) and written discourse (e.g., book, script, document, newspaper, etc.) but also in the semiotic aspect of communicative events such

as video, sound, music, gesture, picture, etc. Through these objects, SAR attempts to discover how social actors are represented or exposed in the discourse since discourse acts both as a means of transmitting knowledge and forming a particular mental image for listeners, readers, or observers. For example, power and ideologies expressed by discourse nowadays are closely linked to one of the linguistic product that is mass media.

The mass media lead certain groups to be wrong or blamed. The media indirectly creates a perception and awareness of something at the head of the public through the continuously shared news. The discourse created by the media may legitimize one thing or group and delegitimize and marginalize others. We regularly feel that the report about the abuse of women includes inequality because the victims are falsely portrayed so that the public is more sympathetic to the people who are the perpetrators. Hence, van Leeuwen made an analytical model that can be used to see how events and social actors are displayed in the media and how a group that does not have access is a party that is continuously marginalized (van Leeuwen, 2008 pp. 23-54).

Then, van Leeuwen (2008, pp. 7-12) mentioned several essential elements of social practices. One of them is the participants or social actor's feature, which becomes a critical role in investigating ideology in a text because representation is based on what social actors do. The classified social actor through the following diagram is the summary of social actors in a socio-semantic approach as complete divisions of SAR network (van Leeuwen, 2008 p. 52).

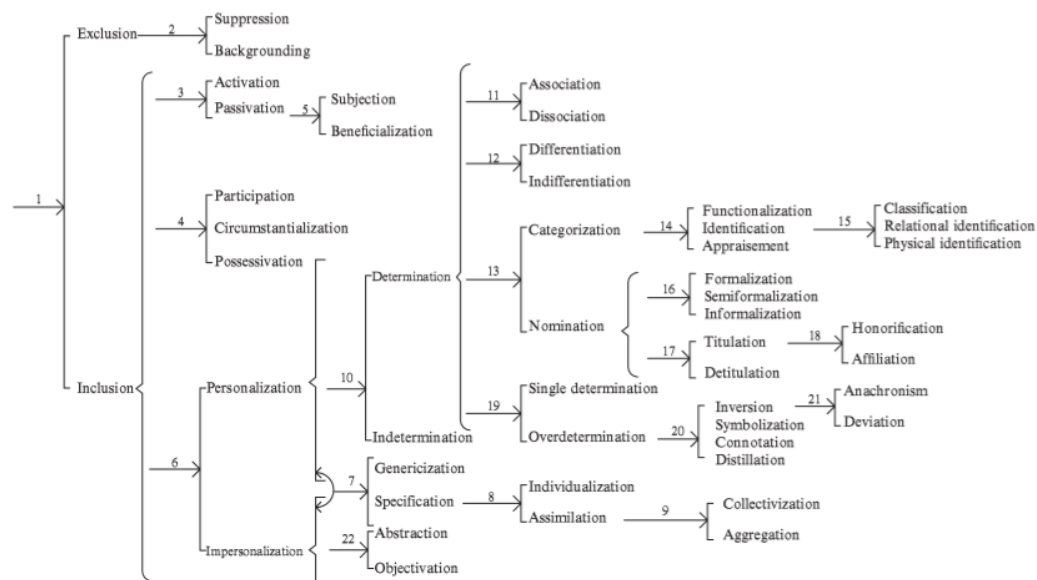


Figure 1.1 Social Actor Network

From the diagram above, we can assume that representing social actors' primary concern is how they are represented linguistically through two main strategies; they are exclusion and inclusion. According to Berger (1996) cited in van Leeuwen (2008), the re-contextualization concepts are the primary concern of the socio-semantic approach which combines the representation of meaning in sentences to convey ideological messages and also to direct the emotions and attitudes which the audience would associate with the roles fulfilled by choosing certain social actors. Thus, van Leeuwen (2008) stated that exclusion and inclusion of social actors' portrayal are primarily used to conform to the needs and goals of the audience they are intended. Further explanation about exclusion and inclusion are presented in the following subsections.

### 2.3.1 Exclusion

Exclusion is the process of how a particular group or social actor is not involved or omitting in a discourse. The removal of social actors has a specific objective in this case. Accordingly, newsreaders need to criticize how each party appears in the article. Exclusion has two different ways to omit social actors' presence; they are suppression and backgrounding (van Leeuwen, 2008 p. 29).

#### a. Suppression

Suppression refers to how social actors' involvement is excluded entirely in the text without leaving a trace that refers to the actor. The linguistic awareness of suppression can be understood in different ways, as follows:

- 1) *Passive agent deletion* or known as passivation. It aims to draw the readers' attention to the other one (victim) by omitting a genuine actor, for instance, in the sentence "*A separatist movement simmered for decades in Indonesia's easternmost provinces*" (The Guardian, 2019). The object "*a separatist movement*" becomes the focus of the sentence. The author of the sentence uses passive agent deletion or passivation.
- 2) *Non-finite clauses* (e.g., infinitival clause *to-*) it has a function as a grammatical participant. For instance,

“to maintain this policy” (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 29).

It allows social actors responsible for enforcing the policy to be omitted in the text by the infinitival clause “to maintain this policy.”

- 3) *Nominalizations and process nouns* are often used to eliminate certain groups or social actors. As the name implies, it is related to changing verbs into nouns. For instance, in the sentence “The level of support for stopping immigration altogether was at a post-war high” (van Leeuwen, 2008 p. 30). Initially, the word “support” has functioned as a verb or an action. Yet, through nominalization, the verbs “support” and “stopping” are changed into nominal form.

#### b. Backgrounding

The exclusion, which less radical, can be called backgrounding. It refers to how social actors’ involvement is excluded entirely in the text by leaving a trace that refers to the actor. Based on the suppression strategy, a backgrounding strategy is used to conceal participants’ presence in particular clauses to underline the action. Simple patterns in a non-finite clause with –ing and-ed participles, in infinitival clauses with to-, and paratactic clauses have existed as a context of backgrounding.

### 2.3.2 Inclusion

The inclusion strategy focuses on mentioning the involvement of social actors in the text, which differentiates this strategy from exclusion, which hides social actors' involvement in-text completely. Additionally, the use of inclusion in a text signifies the social actors' ideological positions, which are more powerful compared to exclusion. However, if the writer uses inclusion in the text, s/he should pay role allocation attention since it indicates roles performed by the social actors. According to van Leeuwen (2008), inclusion has subcategories as follows:

#### a. Role Allocation

Role allocation in the socio-semantic approach emphasizes roles, either active or passive, occupied by social actors in the text. Van Leeuwen states the participants in the text may be used as instigators of action, as agents of action, as beneficiaries of action, or as those influenced by action depending on the intention of the author of the article. As previously mentioned, role allocation consists of two different strategies, namely activation, and passivation. Activation happens when the social actors become active participants in an interaction, while passivation occurs when the social actors become depicted as the activities' subjects.

#### b. Genericization and Specification

The choice regarding representing social actors as singular or plural form belongs to genericization and specification strategy. To indicate the general specification, the use of plural form without the definite article is one of the options, for instance, “non-European immigrants” (van Leeuwen, 2008 p. 36).

#### c. Assimilation/Individualization

The following strategy is assimilation or individualization, which concerns whether social actors are presented individually or as a group. Assimilation refers to social actors being treated as a group, which can be realized through two different options: aggregation and collectivization. Aggregation means positioning the quantifiers definite or indefinite, which functions as either the numerative or the nominal group head. Meanwhile, collectivization happens when first-person plural or third-person plural, like “we” and “they,” are included in the text. Different from aggregation, collectivization does not treat the groups as statistics. On the contrary, individualization represents social actors in singular forms by putting a singular noun in the text. For example, the author uses “we” as the reference of Australians in the “Race Odyssey” text (van Leeuwen, 2008 p. 36).

#### d. Association/ Dissociation

Association is defined as groups is composed of social actors, both general and never classified as a single entity in the text. Association employs parataxis and related situations. For instance, “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 p. 38). The other term called dissociation happens when the association is disbanded. For example, van Leeuwen mentions two children, namely “Mark and Mandy,” who came from the same neighborhood. However, the association was disbanded when both children entered their classroom and resulted in them being mentioned separately or as a part of the classroom in the text.

#### e. Indetermination/Differentiation

Indetermination occurs when social actors are identified as individuals or groups which are undefined or anonymous. It is normal to use indefinite pronouns to describe social actors in an indeterminate manner, such as “someone” or “somebody” in a sentence. On the contrary, differentiation refers to a condition where social actors' identities are specified and distinguish them from being identical actors or

groups. In particular, it stresses the difference between “self” and “other” or “us” and “them.”

f. Nomination/Categorization

A proper noun usually creates a nomination. It is classified into formal (given sure name only, with or without honorifics), semi-formal (given name and sure name), and informal (given name only). In contrast, categorization happens when social actors are portrayed in terms of their particular identification, designation, or identification and mutual functions.

g. Functionalization/Identification

Both functionalization and identification are included in the categorization strategy. Functionalization focuses on the representation based on the activity of social actors, for instance, occupational role. In this sense, the social actor’s portrayal is linked to what kind of job they are doing in the text. Commonly, it is defined by several ways: first, by a noun formed by a verb added by suffixes such as –er, -ant, -ent, -ian, -ee, as an interviewer, second, by a noun denoting a place or tool aligned with an activity added with suffixes such as –ist, -eer, like a pianist. Third, by combining nouns that indicate places or tools closely related to activity and highly generalized categorizations.

Conversely, identification is when social actors are portrayed in terms of what they are more or less permanently. Therefore, functionalization relates to what they (social actors) do, while categorization deals with the descriptions regarding the qualities attached to each social actor. Van Leeuwen has divided identification into three different categories, namely classification, relational identification, and physical identification. First, classification belongs to social actors based on their significant history and culture variables, such as age and gender. Second, relational identification allocates social actors focused on one another's relationship, kinship, or working relationships. Third, physical identification only mentions if the story included the description of social actors.

#### h. Personalization/Impersonalization

Personalizing social actors contributes to social actors' portrayal as human beings, recognized by possessive pronouns or nouns and human-related meanings. In contrast, impersonalization involves portraying social actors using abstract nouns in two ways: abstraction and objectivation. Abstraction happens when the social actors are described and in the representation by a standard attributed to them. For instance, in the Papua conflict is the words "Muslim, racist,

poor, black, monkey, illegal, etc..” Objectivation occurs when social actors are portrayed by reference to a position or event closely related to the person or to the action in which they are depicted as engaged. In other words, metonymic reference is used to understand objectivation. For instance, in the case of Papua, conflict is the word “monkey” in the sentence “... called Papuan high school student as a monkey” (The Guardian, 2019).

i. Overdetermination/ Single Determination

Overdetermination takes place when social actors are portrayed as engaging in more than one social practice simultaneously. For instance, “A little girl with a long, fair pigtail came and stood next to Mary Kate” (van Leeuwen, 2008 p. 44). Overdetermination has four categories; they are inversion, symbolization, connotation, and distillation. On the contrary, a single determination depends on how social actors are portrayed for a particular action. The social actor is not mentioned to be multitasking in a single determination since it focuses on a specific participant or participants involved in one social action.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

This chapter presents the findings and discussion of the study. The first is presenting the research findings, which are intended to answer the following research questions. 1) What are the strategies used to represent social actors in the online newspapers report of Papua conflict?; and 2) How are those strategies defined in the online newspapers report of Papua conflict?, based on van Leeuwen's (2008) social actors representation frameworks of critical discourse analysis. Second, in the discussion, the results of the data analysis are presented and elaborated. In this chapter, the entire research data are not fully displayed but showed them in appendix 2. Furthermore, the data tabulations (appendix 1) display the data analyzed, creating different perspectives or points of view among readers.

#### **3.1 Findings**

In three online newspapers, namely The Guardian, The Jakarta Post, and Antara News, the Papua conflict was published on August – September 2019 more than 50 news articles with various themes. However, in this research, the researcher taken for only nine articles by taking three articles from each newspaper. The articles adopted are taken based on Van Leeuwen's (2008) framework.

### Datum 1

The data presented below is taken from an article in the column of The Guardian newspaper online version entitled “**Protesters set fire to the parliament building in West Papua as tensions mount**” by Ben Doherty and agencies published on August 19, 2019. The news reported about the riots in West Papua, which opposed the detention of Papuan students in Surabaya, East Java. This article is broken down into smaller units in a sentence form. Afterward, each sentence found is analyzed to classify and determine which techniques are used to represent social actors. Several social actors are found at this point and shown as follows in table 1.

**Table 1.** Social actors representation in Article 1 of TG

Social Actors	Representations	Frequency
The doer	Protesters	Three times
	Police	Twice
	Human rights lawyer Veronica Koman	Once
The victims	Papuan students	Six times
The government	Indonesian security forces	Once
	National police spokesman Dedi Prasetyo	Once
	Papua police spokesman Ahmad Kamal	Once
	A spokesman for the Indonesian Ministry of foreign affairs	Once
	Deputy governor Mohamad Lakotani	Twice

	Papua governor Lukas Enembe	Once
The other parties	Local media	Once
	Albert Mungguar, one of the activists	Once

By looking at the table above, how the author represents clearly can see social actors. The author emphasizes his writing on the victim in the text. Some of the techniques or strategies used by the author in representing social actors are discussed below.

### 1. Exclusion strategy

The first indication found in this article is the exclusion strategy. As explained in chapter 2, this strategy is used to eliminate or hide social actors in the text. The writer uses several ways of exclusion strategy as in the first line of the article.

**Datum (1.1)** *“Protestors in the West Papuan provincial capital of Manokwari have set fire to the local parliament building after a demonstration against the arrest and detention of scores of Papuan students.”*

The sentence above shows that suppression can be realized in the **nominalization process**. This sentence adopts a nominalization process, which means that the verb is converted to be a noun. In this sentence, the words “*the arrest and detention*” show a face-to-face process carried out by the social actors who committed the act with the action’s victim. The face-to-face process between social actors who are involved is not clearly stated in this sentence.

However, based on the previous sentence above, it may be found that there is a face-to-face process between the Police (people who act the arrest and detention) and Papuan students (as victims). If social actors are included, the sentence would be: “**Police arrested and detained Papuan students**, so protesters in the provincial capital of Manokwari, West Papua set fire to the parliament building to oppose the actions.” It can conclude Papuan students. While in the previous sentence, the author of the article only emphasizes the actors who become the victims (Papuan students).

The next sentence is taken from the second line of the article. In this section, the news reported the existence of separatist movements heated up in Papua and West Papua. It also reported that the Indonesian security forces were accused of violating human rights.

**Datum (1.2)** “Indonesian security forces have been frequently **accused** of human rights abuses.”

The sentence (1.2) presented above shows that suppression can be demonstrated by the **passive agent deletion process known as passivation**. This sentence informs us that someone accused the Indonesian security forces of unknown identity. In this case, the author does not mention who the social actors made the accusation, whether the societies or protesters?. This sentence is emphasized in Indonesian security as victims who are “*accused*” rather than the perpetrators. If the previous sentence mentions the other social actors, then we can change the sentence (1.2) into “**Societies/ protesters accused** the Indonesian

*security forces of violating human rights.*”. It can conclude that the social actors who accuse the Indonesian security forces are “*Societies/ protestors.*” In contrast with the sentence in (1.2), in this sentence, the social actors involved in it are clearly and explicitly mentioned.

The **passive agent deletion** process is also found in the fifth line of the article. This news reported about Papuan students’ coercion to barricade themselves in their dormitories reported by local media.

**Datum (1.3)** “*Local media reported Papuan students were forced to barricade themselves in their dormitories.*”

This sentence is emphasized on Papuan students as victims who are forced by the person whose identities are unknown. In this case, the passive agent deletion used because the author does not mention who (the perpetrators) were forcing the Papuan students in their dormitories, whether military or police officers?. Suppose social actors (perpetrators) are included in the sentence. In that case, we can change the sentence above into: “Local media reported a military/ police officer forced Papuan students to barricade themselves in their dormitories.” It can be concluded that the person or group who forced Papuan students to be explicitly mentioned, the social actors involved are “*a military/police officer.*” Besides, data (1.3) also shows that Papuan students must carry barricades in their dormitories. In the sentence “*Papuan students were forced to barricade themselves in their dormitories,*” it can be seen that the removal of beneficiaries is possible. It is because the author does not

mention to whom carried out the “barricade.” So, **suppression of the non-finite clause** strategy is used in this sentence.

## 2. Inclusion strategy

The datum presented below is taken from the fourth line of the article. This news reported the tear gas shooting and mentioning racist words to Papuan students in dormitories.

**Datum (1.4)** *“Police fired tear gas into dormitories before arresting 43 students, with officers calling the students “monkeys” during the operation, Albert Mungguar, one of the activists said at a news conference on Sunday.”*

The datum (1.4) presented above shows that an **activation-participation** and **passivation-participation** process can demonstrate the role allocation. It shows that “Police” is represented as an active actor, which refers to someone carrying out a particular action. In this case, the author wants to include social actors in the text by using activation to show social actors and emphasize to the readers clearly who is acting the “fired tear gas.” Then, the phrase “43 students” are represented as passive actors. In this sentence, the passive actor refers to a person or group involved in the action. In general, passive actors are described as social actors who are, in the end, recipients of actions. The sentence above refers to someone who acts directly as an object that stimulates the action or why an active actor carried out the action; however, because the activated actor is a police officer in the sentence

above, this analysis only related to 43 students as passive actors in the text.

## Datum 2

The data presented below are taken from an article in the column of The Guardian newspaper online version entitled “**Indonesian president calls for calm after violent protests in West Papua**” by Helen Davidson and Ben Doherty, published on August 20, 2019. The news reported about President Jokowi's appeal to the Papua and West Papua to forgive each other after the racism experienced by Papuan students in East Java. This article is broken down into smaller units in a sentence form. Afterward, each sentence found is analyzed to classify and determine which techniques are used to represent social actors. Several social actors are found at this point and shown as follows in table 2.

**Table 2.** Social actors representation in Article 2 of TG

Social Actors	Representations	Frequency
The doer	A separatist movement	Once
	Mass	Twice
The victims	-	-
The government	Indonesian President Joko Widodo	5 times
	Governor of East Java, Khofifah Indar Parawansa	Once

	Indonesian security minister, Wiranto	Once
	The governor of Papua province, Lukas Enembe	Once
	Indonesian security forces	Once
	More than 40 Papuan students	Once
	All students	Once
	Angry mobs	Once

The second table above describes how the authors represent social actors. The authors emphasize their writing on the government, represented by the word president, Indonesian president Jokowi, and other words related to the President. Some strategies used by the authors in representing social actors in this article are discussed below.

### 1. Exclusion strategy

**Datum (2.1)** “*The Indonesian president has called for calm after days of violent protests against and by ethnic West Papuans.*”

The datum (2.1) presented above is taken from the first paragraph of the article. This sentence shows that the **backgrounding** process is used. The author of the article stated that “*The Indonesian president*” appeals to the societies for calm over protests by ethnic West Papuans. This sentence only mentioned the social actor implicitly without mentioning whom the “Indonesian president” stands for?. In this case, social actors are excluded by playing roles to reduce the frequency of their existence

in the text—other processes of backgrounding are also found in the next datum.

**Datum (2.2)** “... Koman said the Indonesian government had restricted the internet in the West Papua region.”

The datum (2.2) presented above is taken from the eleventh line of the article. In the sentence, the author of the article written “*the Indonesian government had restricted...*” which means the author did not mention to whom “the Indonesian government” is addressed? Is it addressed to President Jokowi or other people who are cooperated with the Indonesian government?. In this case, the author used a **backgrounding strategy** to exclude social actors because the author mentioned social actors implicitly and did not explicitly mention them.

## 2. Inclusion strategy

**Datum (2.3)** “A separatist movement has simmered for decades in Indonesia’s easternmost provinces, Papua and West Papua, while Indonesian security forces have been frequently accused of human rights abuses.”

The data (2.3) presented above is taken from the fifth line of the article that represented movements that threaten security in Papua and West Papua. The term “*separatist*” is a noun that refers to someone who supports the separation of certain groups of people from greater scope based on ethnicity, religion, or gender. The use of such a strategy is called the **functionalization** strategy. It is because functionalization is related to what they (social actors) do. Besides, the sentence also uses a **differentiation** strategy since the author reveals two contrasting events.

First, the author mentioned that the separatist movement was boiling, whereas, in the second event, the author said that the Police are often accused of violating human rights. From these two events, it can conclude that the author wants to mention two different occasions in one sentence as a form of comparison of them.

**Datum (2.4)** *“President Joko Widodo urged people to forgive each other "as fellow countrymen" instead of getting angry while pledging to look after the "honor and welfare of all people in Papua and West Papua."*

The datum (2.4) presented above is taken from the second line of the article. The news reported about President Jokowi’s insistence on forgiving one another by making promises for the Papuan people’s security and honor. In writing this, the author of the article seemed to represent the Indonesian government by mentioning his sure name “Joko Widodo” with the honorificier by using the more formal word “President Joko Widodo.” The term used indicates that the author of the article wanted to put some distance between the actors and the readers to be more convincing. The use of such proper nouns is categorized as a **nomination strategy**.

The article also used other strategies in representing the social actor and his action clearly in the text. The way the social actor is defined in the text can be categorized as **Role allocation with an activation strategy**—an activation strategy aimed to display or include social actors clearly and emphasize it to the readers. The use of both inclusion strategies in data (2.4) showed that the author wanted to reveal or

include social actors in the text. By having social actors specifically and his action actively, the author wanted to show up the government among all people in Papua and West Papua over the riots that occur in Papuan students in East Java.

The datum (2.4) also uses another strategy. The sentence “*while pledging to look after the honors and welfare of all people in Papua and West Papua.*” It serves as a characteristic of the actions of social actors who previously said about mutual forgiveness for everyone. In this case, when the author tries to distinguish between what is mentioned first and lastly by social actors to avoid ambiguous perspectives among readers, it is called the **differentiation** process.

**Datum (2.5)** “*Indonesian security minister, Wiranto, pledged an investigation into what happened in Surabaya.*”

The datum (2.5) presented above is taken from the tenth line of the article. The news reported an investigation into the riots in Surabaya, East Java, which will be carried out by Wiranto. In the sentence, the article's author mentioned the social actor. The text's actor is “Indonesian security minister, Wiranto,” which shows that the social actor is involved in the text is Wiranto as the Indonesian security minister. In this case, the author wanted to show and emphasize the readers' focus on the actor explicitly represented. The use of such a strategy is called an inclusion strategy with a **specification** process. The other specification process is also found In the eight-line. The sentence

*“**Governor of East Java, Khofifah Indar Parawansa**, apologized for the behavior of the mob, and said it "does not represent the voice of the people of East Java.” In the twelfth line of the article, “**The governor of Papua province, Lukas Enembe**, demanded an end to the racist treatment of Papuans across Indonesia, and called for all provincial leaders to protect Papuan students.”*

**Datum (2.6)** *“**We** hope that all non-Papuan people in all parts in Indonesia will maintain harmony by not taking any unconstitutional actions such as persecution, vigilante violence, selfishness, racism, discrimination, and intolerance, as well as any other actions that can hurt Papuan people's feelings or undermine harmony.”*

The datum (2.6) presented above is taken from the last line of the article. This news reports on the hopes of the Papua Provincial Government to maintain harmony by not taking actions that hurt the Papuan people's feelings. In this sentence, we can state the involvement of social actors expressly. The author of the article used one of the **specification** strategy processes to mention the participation of social actors in the text specifically. In this sentence, there is a pronoun “we,” which functions as the sentence's subject. The use of the pronoun “we” aimed to mention social actors as part of a group. Besides, “we” actually refers to “*the Government province of Papua, Lukas Embe*” and “*Papuans*.” Therefore, it can conclude that the process of **assimilation in a collectivization way** is used in the text to reveal the social actors specifically. However, if the author of the article mentions these two actors in the text, such as “**Papuans and I (Lukas Embe)** hope that all

*non-Papuan people in all parts in Indonesia will maintain harmony.”* So we can see that this sentence adopted an **individualization** process of the specification strategy.

### **Datum 3**

The data presented below are taken from the column of The Guardian newspaper online version entitled “**Outcry as Indonesia seeks to arrest the famous West Papua rights lawyer**” by Kate Lamb published on September 5, 2019. In this case, this news reported about the arrest of an Indonesian lawyer Veronica Koman suspected of spreading news fake in Papua and West Papua, causing riots there. This article is broken down into smaller units in a sentence form. Afterward, each sentence found is analyzed to classify and determine which techniques are used to represent social actors. Several social actors are found at this point and shown as follows in table 3.

**Table 3.** Social actors representation in Article 3 of TG

<b>Social Actors</b>	<b>Representations</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
The doer	Veronika Koman	Five times
The victims	-	-
The government	Indonesian Police	Twice
	Police	Twice
	East java Police	Once

	Indonesia's National Commission of Human Rights	Once
	The executive director of Amnesty International Indonesia	Twice
	Michelle Bachelet, the UN high commissioner for human rights	Once
The other parties	-	-

The third table above describes how the writer represents social actors. The author emphasizes social actors as the doer, which is marked by the phrase “Veronika Koman” and anything related to it. Several strategies used by the author in presenting social actors are discussed below.

### 1. Exclusion strategy

*Datum (3.1) “Outcry as Indonesia seeks to arrest renowned West Papua rights lawyer.”*

The datum (3.1) presented above is taken from the title of the article. In the title of this article, there are several indications of exclusion strategies. First, the sentence informs the readers that some “*Outcry*” is revealed during a West Papuan lawyer’s arrest. However, the article’s author does not mention who expresses the outcry at all. In this case, **the passive agent deletion** process of the exclusion strategy is used in the text to disguise the social actors’ identity. Besides, other exclusion strategies are also found in this sentence, such as “*Indonesia seeks ...*”. In this case, the author does not mention to whom “Indonesia” is referred? Is it for security forces or someone else?. Such a strategy is called the **backgrounding process** because the author of the article

mentions social actors implicitly. Other examples in the use of this strategy are also found in the following excerpt.

Datum (3.2) “***Indonesian police have named*** human rights lawyer and well-known West Papua advocate Veronica Koman as a suspect in the spreading of “fake news,” accusing her of provoking widespread unrest in Indonesia’s easternmost provinces.”

The datum (3.2) presented above is taken from the first line of the article. The news reported about West Papuan lawyers who have been charged with allegedly spreading false information. The author points out that “*Indonesian police*” as the actor (the doer) in the act of “*accused*” Koman as a suspect. However, the author does not explicitly mention who the “Indonesian police” refers to whom?. The author aims to make the readers focus on what the doer has done to Koman’s lawyer as the victim. Besides, the sentence above also shows that the author uses the **backgrounding** process in representing social actors. In the phrase “*accusing her*,” the author does not mention in detail who made the accusation, whether it was made by the Police or someone else. However, if we look at the sentence carefully, actually the social actor who made the “accusation” was mentioned at the beginning of the sentence, “Indonesian police.” If the social actor is included in the sentence, it can be changed into “***Indonesian police accusing her*** of *provoking...*”. The aim of removing social actors in the phrase “*accusing her...*” is to reduce social actors’ involvement in the text. The use of such a strategy is also found in the fifth line of the article, such as

*“**Indonesian police** say they have also contacted Interpol to seek assistance in locating the Indonesian lawyer, who they believe is abroad.”*

**Datum (3.3)** *“Veronica Koman faces charges after being **accused** of spreading ‘fake news’ and inciting unrest.”*

The datum presented above shows that the author uses the exclusion strategy in this text. It shows that Koman was “*accused*” of spreading false news. However, the author does not mention who had accused Koman of doing that?. Regarding this, the use of such a strategy is called the **passive agent deletion** process because the author tries to conceal or exclude the strong actors in the text. Hence, the readers only focus on Koman as the victim of the alleged social actor. This sentence also uses an inclusion strategy discussed below.

## **2. Inclusion strategy**

The datum (3.3) presented above shows that the author wanted to reveal social actors by using a proper noun in representing the social actors in the text. Therefore, the use of proper nouns can be categorized as a **nomination strategy**, especially in situations where only one social actor lives with that name, that is “*Veronica Koman*.” In this case, “*Veronica Koman*” as a social actor is represented through a nomination strategy in a semi-formal way. The author of the article mentions her sure name and given name.

**Datum (3.4)** *“Police specifically mentioned Koman’s posts about an incident in Surabaya in mid-August where military and nationalist militia were captured on video calling Papuan students “monkeys” and “dogs.”*

The datum (3.4) presented above shows that the author wanted to mention social actors by using a proper noun as in datum (3.3) to represent social actors. The use of the appropriate noun in representing social actors in the text can be categorized as a nomination strategy. It is different from the previous datum, in datum (3.4). The author represents social actors through the **nomination process in an informal way**. The author of the article only mentions her given name, which is “*Koman*.”

**Datum (3.5)** *“Usman Hamid, the executive director of Amnesty International Indonesia, said the move was deeply misguided. “The root of the real problem is the act of racism by some members of the TNI [Indonesian army] and the excessive use of force by the police in the student dormitory in Surabaya,” Usman told *tirto.id*.”*

The datum (3.5) presented above is taken from the seventh line of the article. The sentence above shows that the author uses several inclusion strategies in representing social actors. We can see the first indication at the beginning of the sentence, the phrase “*Usman Hamid, the executive director of Amnesty International Indonesia*.” It shows that the author wanted to mention social actors specifically. The use of such a strategy can be categorized as a **specification** process. The second indication is also found in the phrase “*some members of the TNI [Indonesian army]*.” In that phrase, the author does not mention information in detail about the intended quantity. The readers will

speculate to others from the word “some,” which can be referred to as the **abstraction** process. According to van Leeuwen, the use of such a strategy is often used by authors in mentioning something. It is not because the authors do not know about certain information. Besides, an indication of an inclusion strategy is also found in the phrase “*Usman*.” It shows that the author uses a proper noun in representing social actors in the text. Such a proper noun can be categorized as a **nomination process informally** because the author only mentions his given name in the text.

**Datum (3.6)** “*Meanwhile in Geneva, Michelle Bachelet, the UN high commissioner for human rights, who until now has been blocked from the visiting West Papua, said on Wednesday that she was concerned about escalating violence.*”

The datum (3.6) presented above is taken from the tenth line of the article. The sentence above shows that the author specifically mentioned the social actor. In the sentence above, the social actor is “*Michelle Bachelet, the UN high commissioner for human rights*.” The use of such a strategy in representing social actors is called the **specification** process. Another example of this strategy is found in the twelfth line: “*I encourage the authorities to engage in dialogue with the people of Papua and West Papua on their aspirations and concerns...*”. The author represents a social actor through the pronoun ‘*I*.’ The use of the pronoun ‘*I*’ refers to the specification since this sentence is an action carried out by a social actor in the previous sentence in datum

(3.6), which is “*Michelle Bachelet*.” Hence, the first-person pronoun refers to *Michelle Bachelet*.

#### Datum 4

The data presented below are taken from the column of The Jakarta Post newspaper online version entitled “**Papuan students on Java face increased pressures from Islamist, nationalist groups**” by Ivany Atina Arbi and agencies published on August 19, 2019. In this case, this news reported some of the pressures faced by Papuan students residing in Java. This article is broken down into smaller units in a sentence form. Afterward, each sentence found is analyzed to classify and determine which techniques are used to represent social actors. Several social actors are found at this point and shown as follows in table 4.

**Table 4.** Social actors representation in Article 1 of JP

Social Actors	Representations	Frequency
The doer	Islamist	Twice
	Nationalist	Twice
The victims	Papuan students	Five times
The government	the Surabaya Legal Aid Institute	Once
	Surabaya Police deputy chief Adj. Sr. Comr. Leonardus Simarmata	Once
	Surabaya police officer	Once

The other parties	Two good Samaritan Indonesian students	Once
	civil militias from the hard-line group Islam Defenders Front (FPI)	Twice
	youth organization Pemuda Pancasila (PP)	Once
	Human rights lawyer Veronica Koman	Once
	local leader Maryanto	Once
	Experts on Papua issues	Once

The fourth table above describes how the author writer represents social actors. The author emphasizes social actors as the victims, which is marked by the phrase “Papuan students.” Several strategies used by the author in presenting social actors are discussed below.

### 1. Exclusion strategy

**Datum (4.1)** “***Tension** between residents and Papuan students also arose in Candi subdistrict, Candisari district, Semarang, as residents were offended by the students' alleged reluctance to participate in the Independence Day celebrations in the neighborhood.*”

The datum (4.1) presented above is taken from the eighth line of the article. The news reported about some tension occurring in Candi District. In this sentence, the author mentions that there is some “*tension*” that occurs between residents and Papuan students. But the author does not give detailed information about who revealed all these tensions. Such a strategy is called the **passive agent deletion** process because the author tries to hide strong social actors in the text. Another

example of using this strategy is also found in the sentence presented in the following datum.

**Datum (4.2)** *“All of the students have been released after being questioned as witnesses.”*

The datum (4.2) presented above is taken from the twelfth line of the article. This sentence also shows that the authors use the process of **passive agent deletion**. The strategy is used by the authors aimed to remove or hide the social actors of the text. In this case, the authors only mention that all students “have been released” without saying the social actors who freed them. Besides, the inserting technique can change the sentence above become: *“All of the students have been released by the police officer after being questioned as witnesses.”* The exclusion strategy by removing passive agents (Police officers) can make the reader focus on the target rather than the social actors who act. The target in this text is “all students.”

## 2. Inclusion strategy

**Datum (4.3)** *“Papuan students on Java Island have repeatedly become the target of intimidation by Islamist and nationalist groups as armed conflict between security forces and separatist groups in Papua escalates.”*

The datum (4.3) presented above is taken from the first line of the article. In this sentence, the author shows that the Islamist and nationalist groups intimidate Papuan students on Java Island. The author shows how social actors are displayed as passive actors in the text. The

social actor in the sentence above is “Islamist and nationalist groups.”

Passive actors in this sentence refer to a person or group who is involved in the action. Therefore, the use of such a strategy is called the **Passivation-participation process of Role Allocation strategy**.

Besides, the phrase “*Islamist and nationalist*” can also be categorized as a **functionalization** process. Functionalization has a function to represent social actors related to what they do. In this case, functionalization can be marked by adding suffixes. One of the suffixes that can be added is *-ist*. Other examples of using this strategy are also found in several phrases in this article, such as *separatist* (line no.1 and no.22), *racist* (line no.7), *anti-nationalist* (line.19), and *activist* (line no. 23).

**Datum (4.4)** “*Human rights lawyer Veronica Koman, who is also a representative of the National Committee for West Papua (KNPB), said Sunday that the angry mob purportedly damaged the dorm’s gate and threw stones at the building while chanting “Kick out Papuans!” and “Slaughter Papuans!” for hours, restricting the students’ movement.*”

The datum (4.4) presented above is taken from the fourth line of the article. The author wants to show how social actors are displayed as active actors in the sentence. The social actor in the sentence above is “*Human rights lawyer Veronica Koman.*” Veronica Koman as a social actor in the text, is mentioned as an active participant in an active voice. In general, the subject of an active voice form will be an active actor in the text because, in some cases, the subject will participate or, in this case, performed any action involved in the clause. Therefore, using a

strategy like this is called the **Activation-participation process of the Role Allocation strategy**. Another example of this strategy is also found in this article's eleventh line, such as “Surabaya Police deputy chief Adj. Sr. Comr. Leonardus Simarmata said separately that the arrests were made as the Police were looking for the person who destroyed an Indonesian flag and dumped it into a ditch.”

**Datum (4.5)** “Two good Samaritan Indonesian students, who at midnight delivered food to the students trapped inside the dorm, claimed to have been assaulted and later arrested by police who were guarding the area.”

The datum (4.5) presented above is taken from the fifth line of the article. In this sentence, the authors show how social actors are displayed in the text. The social actor in this sentence is “*Two good Samaritan Indonesian students*.” The social actor is presented through the category of social actors. In this case, it can show the type through essential characteristics of a person such as religion, status, social status, physical form, etc. The use of such a strategy is called the **categorization** process. In addition, the sentence above can also be categorized as a **nomination-identification strategy**. This strategy is almost the same as the categorization strategy, representing how certain groups, events, and actions are defined. An illustration of using this strategy is shown as follows:

Nomination	<b>Two good Samaritan Indonesian students</b> have been assaulted and arrested by Police.
Identification	Two good Samaritan Indonesian students, <b>who at midnight delivered food to the students trapped inside the dorm</b> , claimed to have been assaulted and later arrested by Police who were guarding the area.

The illustration above shows that the author uses an identification strategy in representing social actors. The phrase “*two good Samaritan Indonesian students*” as social actors in the text is the explanatory sentence—the use of bold capital marks the descriptive sentence.

**Datum (4.6)** “[...*They* are only unarmed, hungry, thirsty, and tired students who have been rounded up by *hundreds of racist civil militias and security forces* for more than 24 hours, she said.”

The datum (4.6) presented above is taken from the seventh line of the article. In the sentence above, the author shows how social actors are portrayed in the text. The social actor is mentioned by using the pronoun “*they*.” If we read the previous sentence in the sixth line of the article, the phrase “*they*” as participation refers to “43 students”. Such a strategy is called the **assimilation strategy in a collectivization way** because the author mentions social actors by including third-person plural in the text. Other examples of using this strategy are also found in the article, such as “*we*” (line no. 9, 12, 22), dan “*they*” (line no. 9, 15, 22). The author also shows how social actors are represented in the text by using other

inclusion strategies. The author describes “*hundreds of racist civil militias and security forces*” as passive participants with an **abstraction strategy**. This strategy is used because the author does not precisely mention the number of racist civil society and security forces. The author only said “*hundreds*” in the clause.

#### Datum 5

The data presented below are taken from the column of The Jakarta Post newspaper online version entitled “**Papuan riots, protests against racism spreading but calming down: Police**” by Benny Mawel, published on August 21, 2019. The news reported about the riots that occurred in Papua due to the action racism experienced by Papuan students in East Java. In analyzing the data, this article is broken down into smaller units in a sentence form. Afterward, each sentence found is interpreted to classify and determine which techniques are used to represent social actors. Several social actors are found at this point and shown as follows in table 5.

**Table 5.** Social actors representation in Article 2 of JP

Social Actors	Representations	Frequency
The doer	Protesters	Nine times
The victims	Papuan students	Twice
The government	National Police spokesman Brig. Gen. Dedi Prasetyo	Once

	Papua Police spokesperson Sr. Adj. Comr. Mathias Krey	Once
	the Communications and Information Ministry	Once
	the Ministry's acting spokesman Ferdinandus Setu	Once
	A Mimika Police officer, Sr. Adj. Comr. Agung Marlianto	Once
The other parties	Siswanto Tigtignaweria	Once
	Patricio Wetipo, a human rights activist from Timika	Once

The fifth table above describes how the author represents social actors. The author emphasizes social actors as the doer, marked by the phrase “Protesters.” Several strategies used by the author in presenting social actors are discussed below.

### 1. Exclusion strategy

**Datum (5.1)** *“Papuan riots, protests against racism spreading but calming down: Police.”*

The datum (5.1) presented above is taken from the title of the article. The sentence shows that the author describes how social actors are represented in the text. It stated that some Papuan riots occurred as a form of protest against widespread racism. It can see that the author only emphasizes what is expressed, not who expresses the action. In this case, the author uses a passive social actor strategy where the social actor who expresses the action is mentioned at the end of the sentence. The passive social actor of this sentence is “*police*.” The purpose of using this strategy is to direct the readers into the other one. In this context, more

direct the readers to what is conveyed by social actors. Here the illustration.

<b>Active</b>	<b>The Police said</b> Papuan riots as protests against racism spreading but calming down.
<b>Passivation</b>	Papuan riots protest against racism spreading but calming down: <b>Police.</b>

From the illustration above, it can see that by using the active sentence, the social actor.”*The police*” is presented clearly. From this, the readers will focus on “*the police*” as a social actor delivering the action. Whereas by using the passive sentence, the social actor “*the police*” is positioned as a passive social actor so that the readers will focus more on what is conveyed. Hence, it can conclude that the sentence in data (5.1) uses **passive agent deletion** of the suppression strategy.

**Datum (5.2)** “... *Riots broke out in Indonesia's Papua with a local parliament building torched as thousands protested allegations that police tear-gassed and arrested students who supported the restive region's independence.*”

The datum (5.2) presented above is taken from the first line of the article. In that sentence, the author points out that there were several “*riots*” in Papua. However, the author does not mention in detail the information about who revealed it. The removal of strong social actors

in the text aims to make the readers pay more attention to the actions, not the person who expresses them. Such a strategy is called the **passive agent deletion** process because the author tries to hide or delete social actors in the text. Another example of using this strategy is also found in the clause “*a local parliament building torched ...*”. In this case, the author does not mention who torched the parliament building: protesters or others? If the insertion strategy is used, we can change the sentence into: “*Protesters torched the parliament building as thousands protested allegations ...*” From this sentence, it can be seen that the social actor (the doer) is included in the text.

**Datum (5.3)** “*To curb the spread of misinformation amid the unrest, the Communications and Information Ministry has throttled back internet access in Fakfak since 9 a.m. The Ministry plans to restore normal connection speed in the region at 6 p.m.*”

The datum (5.3) presented above is taken from the eleventh line of the article. The author informs that “*the Communications and Information Ministry*” restricts internet access in Fakfak. It can be seen that the social actor in the text is “*the Communications and Information Ministry*.” In mentioning social actors, the author does not mention in detail the information about the minister’s identity. In this case, social actors are excluded by playing roles to reduce their existence in the text. The use of such a strategy is called **backgrounding strategy**.

## 2. Inclusion strategy

**Datum (5.4)** “National Police spokesman Brig. Gen. Dedi Prasetyo issued a written statement on Wednesday saying that “the situation in Fakfak is gradually getting calm. Generally, the security situation in Jayapura, Manokwari, and Sorong has also been calm”.

The datum (5.4) presented above is taken from the third line of the article. In this sentence, the author describes how social actors are displayed in the text. The text’s social actor is “*National Police spokesman, Brig. Gen. Dedi Prasetyo*,” which is mentioned explicitly by the author that Brig. Gen. Deni Prasetyo as National Police spokesman. The use of such a strategy is called the **specification** process. Other examples of this strategy are also found in this article, such as *Papua Police spokesperson Sr. Adj. Comr. Mathias Krey* (line no. 8), *the Ministry’s acting spokesman Ferdinandus Setu* (line no. 12), *Patricio Wetipo, a human rights activist from Timika* (line no. 16), and *A Mimika Police officer, Sr. Adj. Comr. Agung Marlianto* (line no. 21).

**Datum (5.5)** “Siswanto Tigtnaweria, who participated in the rally in Fakfak, said rioting broke out in the regency with local people setting fire to tires on the streets and conflicts erupted between a local mass organization and some protesters.”

The datum (5.5) presented above is taken from the fifth line of the article. In that sentence, the author describes how social actors are represented in the text. The social actor is “*Siswanto Tigtnaweria, who participated in the rally in Fakfak*.” The involvement of social actors is categorized as the **identification process** because the author mentions

the existence of social actors by mentioning the explanatory sentence that aims to explain or describe the first position, that is “*Siswanto Tigtignaweria*,” while the descriptive sentence in this text is “*who participated in the rally in Fakfak*.” Besides, social actors’ existence in this sentence can also be referred to as **the activation-participation** process of the Role Allocation strategy because “*Siswanto Tigtignaweria*” is mentioned as an active participant in the process of said in an active voice. Other examples of using this strategy are also found in this article, such as “*Papua Police spokesperson Sr. Adj. Comr. Mathias Krey said...*” (line no. 8), and “*Patricio Wetipo, a human rights activist from Timika, said...*” (line no. 16).

**Datum (5.6)** “*We investigated 50 accounts in the first couple of days. Today we’ve managed to shut down 12 accounts- Ferdinandus said.*”

The datum (5.6) shown above is taken from the fourteenth line of the article. In the sentence, it shows that the author uses several inclusion strategies. First, the author mentions social actors by using the pronoun “*we*” as a plural third-person. The author does not mention information in detail to whom the social actor “*we*” is referred. The use of such a strategy is called the **assimilation strategy in a collectivization way**. Besides, the author also uses an **objectivation strategy**. It is revealed in the sentence “*we investigated 50 accounts*” and “*Today we’ve managed to shut down 12 accounts,*” which the number of accounts under investigation and turned off mentions explicitly by the author.

**Datum (5.7)** *“I called on locals to maintain order when voicing their aspirations. Chaos will benefit no one- Agung told the press.”*

The datum (5.7) presented above is taken from the last line of the article. In this sentence, the author represents a social actor through the pronoun “*I*.” The use of the pronoun “*I*” refers to the specification since this sentence is an action carried out by a social actor in the last sentence, which is “*Agung*.” Hence, the use of such a strategy is called an **individualization process of the specification strategy**.

#### **Datum 6**

The data presented below taken from the column of The Jakarta Post newspaper online version entitled “**Thousands of Wamena residents wish to flee after deadly unrest,**” which was published on September 27, 2019. The news reported about the efforts of Wamena residents to leave the city after the riots. In analyzing data, this article is broken down into smaller units in a sentence form. Afterward, each sentence found is analyzed to classify and determine which techniques are used to represent social actors. Several social actors are found at this point and shown as follows in table 6.

**Table 6.** Social actors representation in Article 3 of JP

Social Actors		Representations	Frequency
The doer	Protesters		Once

The victims	32 people	Once
The government	The Air Force	Once
	Air Cdre. Triwibowo, the commander of Silas Papare Air	Once
	The Indonesian Military (TNI)	Once
	the National Police	Once
The other parties	Antara news agency	Once
	Students	Once

From the table above, it can be seen how social actors are represented in the text. In this article, the author does not emphasize any social actors. All social actors are represented in equal portions. It is different from the previous tables, emphasizing social actors (the doer) or victims. Some strategies used by the author in representing social actors are discussed below.

### 1. Exclusion strategy

**Datum (6.1)** *“Thousands of Wamena residents wish to flee after deadly unrest.”*

The datum (6.1) presented above is taken from the title of the article. The author points out that thousands of Wamena residents hoped to leave the city after the riots. However, the author does not mention the social actors who expressed this. Such a strategy is used to drive the

readers to focus on the actions delivered by unidentified social actors. Therefore, such a strategy is called the **passive agent deletion process of the suppression strategy**. It is different if the author uses the insertion strategy by mentioning the social actor who expressed this. The sentence above can be changed become: “*The police said* that thousands of Wamena residents wish to flee after deadly unrest.” This sentence concludes that the social actor “Police” is actively represented in the text. In this case, the reader no longer asks who expressed the hopes of the Wamena residents. In describing social actors in the text, the author also uses the inclusion strategy discussed below.

**Datum (6.2)** “Two Hercules planes have *been prepared* to transport the residents, especially injured ones- Triwibowo said as reported by Antara news agency.”

The datum (6.2) presented above is taken from the fifth line of the article. The news reported about two Hercules planes being prepared to transport the residents. The sentence above shows that the author uses the **passive agent deletion** process because it does not involve the social actors who “prepared” the plane. The purpose of using this strategy is often used to hide or remove social actors from the text. However, after reading a whole of the news, the social actor who “prepared” the two planes was “The Air Force,” mentioned in the fourth line of the article. If the author uses an insertion strategy, then we can change the sentence into: “The Air Force has *prepared two Hercules planes* to transport the residents, especially injured ones.” Unlike the previous sentence in

datum (6.2), in this sentence, the social actor who “*prepared*” two planes to transport the residents is included in the text.

## 2. Inclusion strategy

As mentioned in the datum (6.1) above, the author mentions “*Thousands of Wamena residents*” as passive social actors. However, the author does not mention the information in detail about the quantity of Wamena residents who hoped to flee the riots. In this case, the amount of the information supplied by the author only mentions “*thousands.*” The use of the phrase “*thousands*” can not provide clear information to the readers. The use of such a strategy is called an **abstraction strategy**.

**Datum (6.3)** “*Protesters burned down a government office and other buildings in Wamena, according to an AFP report.*”

The datum (6.3) presented above is taken from the first line of the article. In that sentence, the author describes the burning of government offices and other buildings in Wamena. The author represents “*Protesters*” as active actors in the text. The phrase “*Protesters*” refers to social actors who commit acts of arson. The involvement of such social actors in the text is referred to as the **Activation-participation of the Role Allocation strategy**. On the other hand, the phrase “*Protesters*” can also be said as a process of **abstraction** because the author does not mention who is involved in the “*protesters*” specifically.

It is also found in the phrase “*other buildings*” because the author also does not explicitly mention “*other*” is referred to what buildings.

**Datum (6.4)** “*Around 1,200 residents* have signed up with the Indonesian Air Force to flee Wamena, citing fears overstaying in areas around Baliem Valley, *said Air Cdre. Triwibowo, the commander of Silas Papare Air Base in Jayapura, Papua.*”

The datum (6.4) above is taken from the third line of the article. The sentence above shows that the author uses the **passivation-participation** process of the Role Allocation strategy in representing the social actors. It can be seen when the author shows that around 1,200 residents have signed up with the Indonesian Air Force to flee Wamena. However, the author does not mention who revealed this actively. The author mentions the social actor at the end of the text, “*said Air Cdre. Triwibowo, the commander of Silas Papare Air Base in Jayapura, Papua*”. This strategy is called **passivation-participation** because social actors are mentioned passively. Also, the author represents the passive social actor “*Air Cdre. Triwibowo, the commander of Silas Papare Air,*” which is called the **Individualization process of the Specification strategy** because the social actor is explicitly mentioned. Besides, the other inclusion strategies are also found in this text. Using the phrase “*around 1,200 residents*” is categorized as an **abstraction strategy** because the authors do not mention information in detail.

**Datum (6.5)** “The Air Force has prepared *two Hercules aircraft* for the evacuation.”

The datum (6.5) presented above is taken from the fourth line of the article. The news reported that there were two Hercules planes prepared by the Air Force for evacuation. In this case, the author clearly states the number of aircraft designed. The use of such a strategy is called the **objectivation** process.

### Datum 7

The data presented below are taken from the column of Antara News newspaper online version entitled “**President orders crackdown on rioting, anarchy in Papua,**” published on August 29, 2019. This news reported the President’s direction to the Police and military to take decisive action against those who commit violence and racism. In analyzing the data, this news is broken down into smaller units in a sentence form. The data found is interpreted to be classified based on the categories they use in representing social actors. Some social actors in this news are seen and displayed in table 7 below.

**Table 7.** Social actors representation in Article 1 of AN

Social Actors	Representations	Frequency
The doer	-	-
The victims	-	-
The government	The President	Four times

---

The other parties

---

Table 7, presented above, describes how the author represents social actors in the text. In this case, the author emphasizes social actors (the government), which is marked with the phrase "*The President*" and anything related to it. Some of the strategies used in this news are discussed below.

### 1. Exclusion strategy

**Datum (7.1)** "*President* orders crackdown on rioting, anarchy in Papua."

The datum (7.1) presented above is taken from the title of the article. From the sentence above, it shows that the author uses the **backgrounding process** in representing social actors. The social actor of the sentence is "*President*." In representing social actors, the author does not mention clearly and specifically for whom "*President*" is intended? Does it refer to the Indonesian President Joko Widodo or other presidents?. In this text, social actors are excluded by using the roles playing, which aimed to eliminate or reduce social actors' presence in the text. If the insertion strategy is used in the text, we can change the previous sentence into: "*Indonesian President Joko Widodo* orders crackdown on rioting, anarchy in Papua." This sentence shows the difference between the sentence in the data (7.1) and the present sentence. The data (7.1) represents social actors using a backgrounding

strategy because the social actor is excluded by playing roles. On the contrary, in the present sentence, a social actor's existence is included in the text. Other examples of backgrounding strategy are also found in this article, such as "*The President has also called on the public...*" (line no.2), "*The government would remain...*" (line no. 4), and "*The government has planned...*" (line no. 5).

Besides, the sentence in the datum (7.1) also uses another exclusion strategy in representing social actors. The sentence "*President orders crackdown on rioting, anarchy in Papua*" shows that the President is ordering someone to a crackdown. However, in that sentence, the author does not completely mention who the President called someone. Is it directed to the Police or someone else? Then it will be difficult for the readers to examine if they do not read the whole text of the article. In this case, the author uses the **passive agent deletion strategy** to eliminate other social actors involved in the text. Suppose the author involves other social actors as recipients of the President's actions. In that case, we can change the sentence into: "*President orders the police to crackdown on rioting, anarchy in Papua.*"

## 2. Inclusion strategy

**Datum (7.2)** "*President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) has ordered the police and military to take stern measures against those spreading anarchy and racism in Papua.*"

The datum (7.2) presented above is taken from the first line of the article. In the sentence above, the text's social actor is "*President Joko*

*Widodo (Jokowi),*” which is represented as activation-participation. The author mentions social actors actively as actors or participants who carry out “*has ordered*” actions to the Police and military. Hence, it is called a process of **Activation-participation of Role Allocation strategy**. Besides, the use of the phrase “*President Joko Widodo (Jokowi)*” can also be called a **nomination strategy**. In representing social actors, the author mentions his sure name “*Joko Widodo*” with the honorificier by using a formal way, “*President Joko Widodo.*” In this case, the author wants to distance the social actors and the readers to be more convincing.

**Datum (7.3)** “*I am following the case, and I have received information on the latest situation in Papua, especially in Jayapura- Jokowi said before a shadow puppet theater in Purworejo, Central Java, late Thursday.*”

The datum presented above is still taken from the first line of the article. It shows how a social actor is represented in the text. The author defines a social actor through the pronoun “*I*.” The pronoun “*I*” refers to the specification since this sentence is an action carried out by a social actor who is “*Jokowi.*” Hence, the use of such a strategy is called an **individualization process of the specification strategy**. It is also found in the article’s fifth line, such as “*I call on all leaders.*”

**Datum (7.4)** “*We have planned it (the meeting) to be conducted this week, but it is not possible. In the near term, we will have the meeting with youth leaders, customary as well as religious leaders- Jokowi said.*”

The datum (7.4) presented above is taken from the seventh line of the article. In the sentence, it shows how the author represents the social actors. The author mentions the social actors by using the pronoun “we” as a plural third-person. The author does not mention information in detail to whom the social actor “we” is referred. The use of such a strategy is called the **assimilation strategy in a collectivization way**.

#### **Datum 8**

The data presented below are taken from the column of Antara News newspaper online version entitled “**Two named racist speech cases against Papuans,**” which was published on September 2, 2019. The news reported about two suspects of racist speech in Papua. According to the government, it was a violation of electronic information and transaction. In analyzing data, this article is broken down into smaller units in a sentence form. Then, the data found is interpreted to be identified and searched for what and how the authors’ strategies in reporting their news and representing social actors. Several social actors are found and shown in table 8 below.

**Table 8.** Social actors representation in Article 2 of AN

<b>Social Actors</b>	<b>Representations</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
The doer	Two suspects	Eight times
	Five military personnel	Twice
The victims	-	-

The government	Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs Wiranto	Twice
The other parties	Thousands of people	Once
	The rallies	Once

Table 8 presented above shows that the author places more emphasis on the social actor (the doer), marked by the phrase “*two suspects*.” Some strategies used by the author in representing social actors are discussed below.

### 1. Exclusion strategy

**Datum (8.1)** “*Two named in racist speech case against Papuans.*”

The datum (8.1) presented above is taken from the title of the article. The author mentions that there are two suspects in the case of racist utterances against Papuans. In this case, the social actor who revealed it was unknown because the author does not provide detailed information about who showed it. The use of such a strategy in representing social actors is called the **Passive agent deletion** process. However, when the author includes or reveals a social actor who expresses in the text, then we can change the sentence into: “**The police revealed** that there are two named in racist speeches against Papuans.” It can see; it is different from sentence (8.1), which does not mention the social actor who

revealed it, while in the present sentence, the social actor is involved in the text so that the readers do not need to speculate as to who showed it.

## 2. Inclusion strategy

**Datum (8.2)** “*The Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs Wiranto* gave a press conference on the latest situation in Papua and West Papua.”

The data (8.2) presented above is taken from the first line of the article. The author mentions that Wiranto as the coordinating minister for Political, Legal, and Security held a press conference on how Papua's situation and West Papua. The sentence shows how social actors are represented in the text. The author explicitly mentions the social actor in the text so that the readers will focus on who is conducting the press conference. The use of such a strategy is called an **individualization process of the specification strategy**, aiming to make the reader focused on who is taking action.

**Datum (8.3)** “*We have named* two suspects Tri Susanti and Saiful. Both were charged with multiple cases.”

The datum (8.3) presented above is taken from the second line of the article. The sentence shows how the author represents social actors in the text. The social actor “we” is involved in the text as the main actor. By using the phrase “we” in representing social actors, it will be quite difficult for the readers to understand who is meant by “we” in the text? The use of the pronoun “we” as a third-person plural is one of the characteristics of **the process of collectivization of the assimilation**

**strategy.** This strategy is commonly used to reduce the involvement of social actors in the text. Then, the author uses other strategies in representing “*two suspects Tri Susanti and Saiful.*” The author uses a strategy **specification** because it provides detailed information about the identities of the two suspects.

**Datum (8.4)** “***Thousands of people** took to the streets in the West Papua provincial capital of Manokwari and the Papua provincial capital of Jayapura in protest.*”

The datum (8.4) presented above is taken from the eighth line of the article. It reported on the large number of people in Papua and West Papua who took to the streets to protest. In reporting the news, the author uses **the abstraction strategy** in representing social actors. The use of the phrase “*thousands of people*” presented as social actors of the text. The use of “*thousands*” in the text is an abstraction because the author does not mention detailed information about the specific number of people who joined the protest.

#### **Datum 9**

The data presented below are taken from the column of Antara News newspaper online version entitle “**Provocation to cause anarchy continues in Papua: Wiranto,**” published on September 5, 2019. The news reported about several parties who are trying to provoke Papuans to continue their anarchist action. The news article is broken down into smaller units in a sentence form to facilitate the analysis process. The data was then analyzed

and classified based on their categories in representing social actors in the text. Several social actors are found and shown in table 9 below.

**Table 9.** Social actors representation in Article 3 of AN

Social Actors	Representations	Frequency
The doer	Parties	Three times
The victims	-	-
The government	Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs Wiranto	Twice
	Local leaders	Once
	He	Three times
The other parties	-	-

From table 9 presented above shows how social actors are portrayed in the text. The author emphasizes the social actors (the doer) and the government as social actors who strive to avoid anarchist action. In this news, the author uses the phrase “Parties” to represent social actors. Meanwhile, the writer also uses the pronoun “He,” which is represented as the government. Some strategies used by the author in representing social actors are discussed below.

### 1. Exclusion strategy

**Datum (9.1)** *“The military and police conducted a meeting with local leaders and some elements of the society in Biak Numfor, Papua...”*

The datum (9.1) presented above is taken from the third line of the article. It reported that the military and Police had a meeting to prevent any provocation. The phrase “*The military and police*” is a social actor from the text. However, the author does not mention or not provide detailed and specific information on who is included in “*the military and police*.” The use of such a strategy is called the **backgrounding** process because the author only focuses on who generally holds the meeting without mentioning the identity of “*the military and police*.”

## 2. Inclusion strategy

**Datum (9.2)** “*Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs Wiranto* said some parties are still trying to provoke people in Papua and West Papua to continue their anarchic actions in the regions.”

The datum (9.2) presented above is taken from the first line of the article. It reported on the existence of several parties who are trying to provoke Papua and West Papua to continue their anarchist actions. It was conveyed by “*Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs Wiranto*,” represented as a social actor in the text. In this case, he mentioned as an active participant in the process of said in an active voice. Hence, the use of such a strategy is called an **Activation-participant process of the Role Allocation strategy**. Besides, the author’s way of mentioning social actors, “*Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs Wiranto*,” can also be referred to as the **Individualization process of the strategy specification** because the

authors state the identity information of social actors clearly and precisely.

**Datum (9.3)** “... *some parties* are still trying to provoke people in Papua and West Papua to continue their anarchic actions in the regions.”

The datum (9.3) presented above shows how the author represents social actors. The text's social actor is “*some parties*” who are portrayed as actors (the doer) of acts of provocation against the people of Papua and West Papua. The use of the phrase “*some parties*” is categorized in the process of abstraction because detailed information about the identities of the parties involved is not explicitly mentioned. One characteristic of this strategy is the use of “*some*” so that social actors in this text are categorized as **an abstraction strategy**. Other examples are also found in this news article, such as “*some elements of the society*” (line no. 3).

### 3.2 Discussion

After analyzing data from 9 articles taken from The Guardian, The Jakarta Post, and Antara News published in August – September 2019, the researcher found two Social Actors Representation strategies proposed by Van Leeuwen (2008). He mentioned that inclusion strategies could be presented when social actors are included and exclusion when excluded in the news. The findings revealed some salient differences and similarities in how each newspaper includes or excludes social actors.

In exclusion strategy, The Guardian has used three processes of suppression strategy; passive agent deletion, non-finite clause, nominalizations, or nouns processes. Meanwhile, The Jakarta Post and Antara News have used the passive agent deletion process. The Guardian tended to eliminate one social actor to direct the reader to something else. In this case, The Guardian emphasized the victim as a social actor so that readers' empathy will be focused on the victim as the recipient of a particular action. The Jakarta Post emphasized actions that occurred in the Papua conflict. The author omitted the social actors involved in the action. It made the reader more focused and believed in what happened (actions) in the Papua conflict than the social actors who revealed the action. In addition, Antara News omitted one of the social actors involved in the action to direct readers to social actors who have "power."

Besides, those three newspapers tended to eliminate one social actor to direct the readers to other things. It is in line with Evayani, W., & Rido, A. (2019), which states that the suppression process in online news is a process in which the writer directs the reader's attention to one party. It causes the involvement of other parties in the action to be underappreciated or receive less attention from readers. In addition, another exclusion strategy is the backgrounding process which is found in those three online newspapers. It is related to the previous studies conducted by Evayani, W., & Rido, A. (2019), Karman (2019), and Lulita (2018), which also found the backgrounding process from the exclusion strategy. However, this research

is similar to Karman (2019) that backgrounding strategy is used to reduce the existence or presence of social actors in the news by using role-playing.

In the inclusion strategy, The Jakarta Post mostly presented the social actors by using the Assimilation process of the Specification strategy. According to Van Leeuwen (2008), assimilation happens when the first person plural or the third person plural. In this case, social actors are not clearly stated and detailed in their identities but represented as groups of people characterized by the use of plurality such as “we” and “they.” It is in line with Evayani, W., & Rido, A. (2019), Abdullah, F., & Lulita (2018), and Karim, A. (2017) that assimilation is a process in which the author represents social actors in a group that is described by plurality.

Furthermore, Antara News mostly presented social actors by using the Individualization process of the Specification strategy. According to Evayani, W., & Rido, A. (2019), individualization represents individual social actors. For example, “*National Police spokesman, Brig. Gen. Dedi Prasetyo*” (datum 5.4), “I” (datum 5.7), “*Air Cdre. Triwibowo, the commander of Silas Papare Air*” (datum 6.4), and involves other actors or events in their reporting. The authors provide information about how a person, group, or certain other circumstances are presented in the text to direct the reader’s focus on other things related to it. Then, Abdullah, F., & Lulita (2018) also argued that individualization refers to the specification of social actors as individuals or single entities. The authors provide information about how a person, group, or certain other circumstances are

presented in the text to direct the reader's focus on other things related to it. In this case, social actors are represented in specific characterizations.

Besides, the use of nomination strategy is another distinctive feature. The salient differences are that The Jakarta Post and Antara News mostly presented the social actors with a nomination-identification process to clarify and describe what social actors are like. According to Van Leeuwen (as cited in Eriyanto 2009, p.184), this strategy is carried out by providing clauses as explainers. It aimed to show how the author was able to present detailed information, so the readers are expected to trust the credibility of the news. In addition, based on van Leeuwen (2008), the identification strategy has three categories. One of them is the classification category. For example, "*two good Samaritan Indonesian students*" (datum 4.5). It is in line with Evayani, W., & Rido, A. (2019), where classification refers to the conditions when social actors are represented in terms of main categories in which different classes of people. These categories include age, gender, origin, class, ethnicity, etc.

Meanwhile, The Guardian mostly presented social actors by using a nomination strategy. According to Van Leeuwen (2008), this strategy addresses people through the use of proper nouns. For example, "*President Joko Widodo*" (datum 2.4) was a formal nomination where the author represents a social actor using his surname with the honorary title "*President.*" Then "*Veronika Koman*" (datum 3.3) was a semi-formal nomination because the author means social actors using her sure and given

name, “*Koman*” (datum 3.4), and “*Usman*” (datum 3.5) was informal nomination because the author represents a social actor with his given name. It is in line with van Leeuwen (2008), who argued that this strategy is classified into formal, semi-formal, and informal nominations. This research is similar to Evayani, W., & Rido, A. (2019); calling someone by their first name is rare in the American context. After all, it happens if the person has a close relationship and knows each other well. On the other hand, in the context of The Jakarta Post and Antara News, as representatives of the Indonesian people, it is infrequent to mention someone with an academic title such as “professor” or “doctor,” this may be because the naming system in Indonesian context is somewhat different from English.

On the other hand, the researcher found a particular equation for those three newspapers. They mostly classify social actors in their work, which implies a functional tendency of social actors involved in the text. Those three newspapers mostly use the Role Allocation strategy in which the authors activated and passivated the social actors. According to Amer (as cited in Abdullah & Lulita, 2018), role allocation distinguishes between activated and passivated roles assigned to social actors. Active roles refer to strategies to represent social actors as active subjects in social events. On the other hand, passive roles are social actors represented as objects that carry out an activity. Van Leeuwen (2008, pp. 44-45) argues that subjected social actors are needed as objects in representation. Conversely, social actors who benefit are people or other parties who benefit from an activity.

Based on those statements, the researcher found social actors' representation of Papua conflict from those three newspapers through the interpretation of the findings. The existence of social actors belonging to the upper and lower groups. In this study, the upper group refers to the "Police," "Governor," "President," "Security minister," "The Air Force," and "Ministry of foreign affairs." In presenting the news, the author represents the Government as the good side. However, the perpetrators or victims in reporting the Papua conflict are represented as the bad side. Another word that supports the researcher's assumption is "protesters," which refers to "Papuan students." The word "protest" or "protesters" can be understood as bad behavior. In this study, social actors such as "mass," "activists," "protesters," and "Papuan Students" are social actors who become the lower group.

In this case, the abuse of power by the Government as the superior group can give a negative portrayal of the inferior group. In addition, social actors were excluded several times to hide the perpetrators of the actions. For example, "Indonesian security forces have been frequently **accused** of human rights abuses" (datum 1.2) and "Riots broke out in Indonesia's Papua with a local parliament building **torched**" (datum 5.2). Meanwhile, the Government as the social actors of the upper group were included several times to reveal the exact doer of the actions. It happened because the Government was able to explain the events or chronology of the Papua conflict.

As a social actor, the Government is presented as a party that plays an active role in the Papuan conflict and uses its position and power to control the situation. For example, “President Joko Widodo urged people to forgive each other” (datum 2.4), “The Air Force has prepared two Hercules aircraft for the evacuation” (datum 6.5), and “President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) has ordered the police and military to take stern measures against those spreading anarchy and racism in Papua” (datum 7.2). In this case, the three newspapers tend to report on the Government’s actions in responding to the Papua conflict as the problem-solving agent. This research is similar to Karman (2019), who assumed that the representatives of the leader or Government as a social actors have a responsibility and playing a role in carrying out the actions.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION**

This chapter is presented to determine the final chapter of this research. It consists of the conclusion of the current study and suggestions for further researcher.

#### **4.1 Conclusion**

The current research is presented to investigate what and how the SAR strategies represent social actors in The Guardian, The Jakarta Post, and Antara News reporting on the Papua conflict that occurred in August 2019. It focuses on what strategies represent social actors in a news text through the theory proposed by van Leeuwen (2008). Based on the previous chapter's findings and discussion, it is found that social actors revealed in those three newspapers are represented through exclusion and inclusion strategies. It shows that social actors can be removed and displayed in the text. The strategies have their respective functions, such as the exclusion strategy, which is divided into two parts, namely suppression and backgrounding. In this research, suppression can be realized through passive agent deletion, nominalization, and non-finite clause, while backgrounding can be learned through role-playing or functional positions of social actors to reduce their presence in the text.

Besides, in representing social actors, the authors also tend to use inclusion strategies through Role Allocation, Specification, Assimilation,

Individualization, Nomination, Categorization, Functionalization, Identification, Impersonalization (Abstraction & Objectivation), and Differentiation. The use of the strategy aims to present social actors clearly and explicitly so that the reader does not wonder about who is carrying out a particular action. Furthermore, after analyzing the data, the researcher found that in reporting the news about the Papua conflict, the authors were not completely neutral because they mentioned the social actors as the good and bad sides. For example, Papuans who protest are described as bad behavior and considered it a severe case, such as burning a parliament building and throwing stones while doing protests. Whereas, the government or prominent figures who conduct a direction or conference in dealing with the issue of the conflict in Papua is described as good behavior as an example when the President asks people to forgive each other and asks people to remain calm in facing this matter.

By conducting this research, the researcher can see that social actors can be described positively or negatively based on the authors' perspectives in representing the parties or actors involved in news reporting, such as reporting issues of the Papua conflict. Besides, the researcher is also able to learn that in representing social actors in a news report, there are two main strategies from SAR by van Leeuwen (2008) that can be used to find out how certain parties or actors are marginalized in a news reporting, namely exclusion and inclusion strategies. The process of marginalizing the discourse shows that those media's ideological practices as a group that has

power. Often, a person or a group tries to marginalize a discourse based on the ideology they have.

## **4.2 Suggestion**

Based on the findings, discussion, and conclusion of the current research, the researcher expresses the following suggestions. First, this research uses the theory of SAR proposed by van Leeuwen (2008). Further researchers can investigate different approaches from van Leeuwen such as social action representation, visual representation of social actors, etc. Besides, in this current research, the researcher uses the online newspaper as a research object. For further researcher is expected to use other material that can be used as research objects to explore more material about the theory proposed by van Leeuwen. Second, the current research investigates how social actors are represented in a news text. A further researcher interested in conducting similar research in this context can use other data such as speech or conversations undertaken in a talk show to get different results from previous studies. The last, the readers are expected to be more careful in reading, understanding, and trusting the news text's contents because in writing the news, not all of the authors can be completely neutral in describing social actors in it.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdullah, F., & Lulita (2018). Social Actors in an Intercultural Communication Classroom: A discursive lens of intercultural education. *Indonesian Journal of English Language Teaching*, 13 (1), 3 –51.
- Avid, R. Z. (2020). South Korean Media Representation of Yemeni Refugees. *KEMANUSIAAN The Asian Journal of Humanities*, 27(1), 89–114.  
<https://doi.org/10.21315/kajh2020.27.1.5>
- Albaburrahim, A., & Sujinah, S. (2017). Analisis Wacana Kritis Pada Pemberitaan Kasus Papa Minta Saham Di Metro Tv. *Lingua Franca: Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra, Dan Pengajarannya*, 1(2), 1–12.
- Bernard, T. (2018). The Discursive Representation of Social Actors in the Corporate Social Responsibility ( CSR ) and Integrated Annual ( IA ) Reports of Two South African Mining Companies. *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines*, 10(1), 81–97. Retrieved from <https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass/journals/cadaad/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/05-Bernard.pdf>
- Budhiono, R. H. (2019). The Representation of Social Actors in Mosques Shooting in New Zealand News Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis.
- Bustam, M. R., & Juanda. (2014). Nominalization Strategies of Exclusion Represented on the Headlines of the Jakarta Post in the Case of Feud of Kpk Vs Polri Part Ii : a Study of Cda. *Metalingua*, 12(2), 195–204.
- Calista, A., & Nafiah, R. (2018). Critical Discourse Analysis: Exclusion and Inclusion on CNN Indonesia Online News of Agression on Ahmadiyah. *LORONG: Media Pengkajian Sosial Budaya*, 7(1), 147–154. Retrieved from <http://urj.uin-malang.ac.id/index.php/lorong/article/view/231>
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches Second Edition. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Darwish, A. Diagan. (2019). Ideology in Unequal Treaties: A Social Actor Representations Study. *British Journal of English Linguistics*, 7(3), 34–43.
- Davies, D., Caldas-Coulthard, C. R., & Coulthard, M. (1999). *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis. The Modern Language Review* (Vol. 94). <https://doi.org/10.2307/3737104>

- Dashti, L. (2017). Representation of Social Actors in J. Krishnamurti and Alan Watts' Philosophical Speeches: A Critical Discourse Analysis. *Journal of Applied Linguistics and Language Research*, 4(4), 51–59.
- Eriyanto. (2001). Analisis Wacana: Pengantar Analisis Teks Media. Yogyakarta: LkiS.
- Evayani, W., & Rido, A. (2019). Representation of Social Actors in Sexual Violence Issue in The New York Times and The Jakarta Post Newspapers: A Critical Discourse Analysis. *Teknosastik*, 17(2), 43.  
<https://doi.org/10.33365/ts.v17i2.322>
- Gee, J. P., & Handford, M. (2013). The Routledge handbook of discourse analysis. In *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis*.
- Hall, S. (1997). Representation Cultural Representations. *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*, 1–63.
- Karim, A. (2017). The Representation Of ISIS In The American Newspapers In Terms Of Van Leeuwen's Social Actor Approach: A Critical Discourse Analysis.
- Karman, K., & Hamad, I. (2019). Representation of Indonesian Democratic Leaders by Jama'ah Ansaru Tawhid and Hizbut Tahrir as Radical Muslim Groups. 307(SoRes 2018), 319–323.
- Mohd Noor, S. N. F. (2017). The Representation of Social Actors in the Graduate Employability Issue: Online News and the Government Document. *International Journal of Society, Culture & Language*, 5(1), 82–93.
- Mursida & Ermanto (2018). Exclusion in Online News about "Terrorism": The Study of Theo Van Leeuwen, 301.
- Na, P. (2020). Representation of Social Actors in Financial times Report on China's Panda Diplomacy, 8(4), 196–205.  
<https://doi.org/10.11648/j.ijla.20200804.14>
- Rahardjo, M. (2008). Sejarah Penelitian Kualitatif, 1 dan 2, 1–9.
- Rahardjo, M. (2018). Selayang Pandang Penelitian Kualitatif. *Kuliah Metodologi Penelitian*. Retrieved from <http://repository.uin-malang.ac.id/2412/1/2412.pdf>
- Rashidi, N., & Ghaedsharafi, S. (2015). An investigation into the culture and social actors representation in summit series ELT textbooks within van

- Leeuwen's 1996 framework. *SAGE Open*, 5(1).  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244015576054>
- S, N. G. B., & Azhari, M. (2018). Critical Discussion Analysis About The Representation of Anti-Bullying Culture in “gajah” Songs of Tulus With Teun A. Van Dijk Approach. 1(2), 8-15.
- Sarani, A. (2018). A Study of the Representation of Social Actors in Touchstone Series : A Critical Discourse Analysis Perspective. 12(1), 111–133.
- Sofyan, A. N., & Zifana, M. (2019). Representing social action in Indonesian: A case of Indonesian presidential race. *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 9(2), 252–262. <https://doi.org/10.17509/ijal.v9i2.20216>
- Suprihatin, Santoso, & Subyantoro. (2020). Social Actor Exclusion on 2019 Presidential Election News Reporting in MediaIndonesia.com and iNews.id, *Seloka: Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia*, 9(30), 36–44.
- Surjowati, R. (2020). Disclosing Australian Newspaper's Ideologies in Reporting Political News Through Social Actor Representations Strategy: CDA Perspective, 11(1), 38–54. <https://doi.org/10.15642/NOBEL.2020.11.1.38-54>
- Utama, G. N., Amalia, R. M., & Yuliawati, S. (2020). The representation of executed Indonesian migrant workers in The Jakarta Post News articles.
- Van Leeuwen, T. (2008). Discourse and practice: New tools for critical discourse analysis. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Journal of Language and Communication, 5(2) (2018) ISSN: 2289-649X  
 ©Universiti Putra Malaysia Press. (2018). 5(2).

## **CURRICULUM VITAE**



**Retno Listianing Pratiwi** was born in Pasuruan on December 28, 1997. She graduated from SMA Negeri 1 Purwosari in 2016. She started her higher education in 2016 at the Department of English Literature of Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Then, she graduated from Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang in 2020.

## Appendix 1: Data Tabulations

Data	Datum	Exclusion		Inclusion																		
		Sup	Back	Act	Pas	Per															Imp	
						Det									Idt		Gen	Spc		Abs	Obj	
						Asse	Diss	Dif	Idf	Ctg		Nom			S-dt	O-dt		Idv	Ass			
									Func	Idn	Frm	Semf	Ifrm									
1.	Protestors in the West Papuan provincial capital of Manokwari have set fire to the local parliament building after a demonstration against <b>the arrest and detention of scores of Papuan students.</b>	√																				
	Indonesian security forces have been frequently <b>accused</b> of human rights abuses	√																				
	Local media reported Papuan students were <b>forced</b> to barricade themselves in their dormitories	√																				
	<b>Police fired tear gas</b> into dormitories before arresting <b>43</b>			√	√																√	

	<p><b>students</b>, with officers calling the students “<b>monkeys</b>” during the operation, Albert Mungguar, one of the activists said at a news conference on Sunday.</p>																				
2.	<p><b>The Indonesian president</b> has called for calm after days of violent protests against and by ethnic West Papuans.</p>		√																		
	<p><b>...the Indonesian government had restricted</b> the internet in the West Papua region</p>		√																		
	<p><b>A separatist movement</b> has simmered for decades in Indonesia’s easternmost provinces, Papua and West Papua, <b>while</b> Indonesian security forces have been frequently accused of human rights abuses</p>								√						√						



	lawyer and well-known West Papua advocate ...																			
	<b>Veronica Koman</b> faces charges after being <b>accused</b> of spreading ‘fake news’ and inciting unrest.	√										√								
	Police specifically mentioned <b>Koman’s</b> posts about ...												√							
	<b>Usman Hamid, the executive director of Amnesty International Indonesia</b> , said the move was deeply misguided. “The root of the real problem is the act of racism by <b>some members of the TNI [Indonesian army]</b> and the excessive use of force by the police in the student dormitory in Surabaya,” <b>Usman</b> told <a href="http://tirto.id">tirto.id</a>												√				√		√	
	Meanwhile in Geneva, <b>Michelle</b>																√			



[illegible]









	I am following the case and I have received information on the latest situation in Papua, especially in Jayapura- Jokowi said before a shadow puppet theater in <b>Purworejo, Central Java, late Thursday.</b>																√			
	We have planned it (the meeting) to be conducted this week, but it is not possible. In the near term, we will have the meeting with youth leaders, customary as well as religious leaders- Jokowi said																	√		
8.	Two named in racist speech case against Papuans	√																		
	<b>The Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs Wiranto</b> gave a press conference on the latest situation in Papua and West																√			

	Papua.																			
	<b>We have named two suspects Tri Susanti and Saiful.</b> Both were charged with multiple cases																√	√		
	<b>Thousands of people</b> took to the streets in the West Papua provincial capital of Manokwari and the Papua provincial capital of Jayapura in protest																		√	
9.	<b>The military and police</b> conducted a meeting with local leaders and some elements of the society in Biak Numfor, Papua...		√																	
	<b>Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs Wiranto</b> said some parties are still trying to provoke people in Papua and West Papua to continue their anarchic actions in the regions			√													√			

	Some parties are still trying to provoke people in Papua and West Papua to continue their anarchic actions in the regions																			√	
--	---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	---	--

**Sup : Suppression**

**Asse : Association**

**Nom : Nomination**

**Gen : Genericization**

**Back : Backgrounding**

**Diss : Dissocation**

**Frm : Formalization**

**Spc : Specification**

**Act : Activation**

**Dif : Differentiation**

**Semf : Semiformalization**

**Idv : Individualization**

**Pass : Passivation**

**Idf : Indifferentiation**

**Ifrm : Informalization**

**Ass : Assimilation**

**Per : Personalization**

**Ctg : Categorization**

**Idt : Indetermination**

**Imp : Impersonalization**

**Imp : Impersonalization**

**Func : Functionalization**

**S-dt : Single Determination**

**Abs : Abstraction**

**Det : Determination**

**Idn : Identification**

**O-dt : Overdetermination**

**Obj : Objectivation**

## **Appendix 2: Articles on Papua Conflict**

### **Datum 1**

#### **PROTESTERS SET FIRE TO PARLIAMENT BUILDING IN WEST PAPUA AS TENSIONS MOUNT**

**Spark for the latest unrest related to simmering separatist movement appears to have been detention of scores of Papuan students**

**By Ben Doherty and agencies / 19 Aug 2019 06.41 BST**

Protestors in the West Papuan provincial capital of Manokwari have set fire to the local parliament building after a demonstration against the arrest and detention of scores of Papuan students.

A separatist movement has simmered for decades in Indonesia's easternmost provinces, Papua and West Papua, while Indonesian security forces have been frequently accused of human rights abuses.

The spark for the latest unrest appears to have been the detention of scores of Papuan students in Surabaya, East Java, for bending a flagpole in front of a dormitory during the celebration of Indonesia's Independence Day on 17 August, according to Papuan activists.

Police fired tear gas into dormitories before arresting 43 students, with officers calling the students "monkeys" during the operation, Albert Mungguar, one of the activists said at a news conference on Sunday.

Local media reported Papuan students were forced to barricade themselves in their dormitories, while a vigilante mob threw stones at the building while chanting, "kick out Papuans" and "slaughter Papuans" for hours.

On Monday morning, Papuan protesters set fire to the legislative council building and blocked streets in the provincial capital of West Papua, Manokwari, by burning tyres and tree branches, deputy governor Mohamad Lakotani said.

“The city centre, market, the port are next to the parliament building, as well as shopping centres. Everything’s affected. Practically, the whole city is not running, if not to say completely paralysed,” Lakotani told Kompas TV.

Television footage showed a group of about 150 people marching on the streets in Manokwari, as well as footage of smoke billowing from a parliament building.

Papua governor Lukas Enembe told broadcaster TVone that Papuans were angry because of “the extremely racist words by East Java people, the police and military”.

National police spokesman Dedi Prasetyo said security personnel were trying to calm the situation.

“Negotiations and communication are ongoing. Generally the situation is under control,” Prasetyo, who is based in Jakarta, said by text message.

A separate, peaceful protest of about 500 people was also underway in the town of Jayapura, the capital of Papua province, Papua police spokesman Ahmad Kamal said.

The Papua and West Papua provinces, the resource-rich western part of the New Guinea island, makes up a former Dutch colony that was incorporated into Indonesia after a widely criticised UN-backed referendum in 1969.

Exiled West Papuan independence leader Benny Wenda said peaceful protests by West Papuans and supporters across the Indonesian archipelago “have been met with arrests, beatings and abuse given out by the Indonesian colonisers”.

“Every month, the world is given horrifying new evidence of the Indonesian state’s violent intention to crush the West Papuan people’s demand for freedom and self-determination.”

Human rights lawyer Veronica Koman said on Twitter the protests in Jayapura and Manokwari were the largest in years, with demonstrators marching through city streets, some waving the secessionist Morning Star flag.

Last week, the Pacific Islands Forum bloc of countries called on Indonesia to finalise a long-promised visit to the Papuan provinces by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights Michelle Bachelet. The Forum wants a report on alleged human rights abuses within a year.

A spokesman for the Indonesian ministry of foreign affairs said the commissioner’s visit was “on the table” and that negotiations over the visit were ongoing. Indonesia maintains Papua and West Papua are integral and indivisible parts of the Indonesian state, and regards the Free West Papua campaign as an illegitimate separatist movement.

**Datum 2****INDONESIAN PRESIDENT CALLS FOR CALM FOR AFTER VIOLENT PROTESTS IN WEST PAPUA**

**Joko Widodo tells residents it's 'better to be forgiving' after anger over mass arrests of Papuan students in Surabaya**

**By Helen Davidson and Ben Doherty | Tue 20 Aug 2019 04.38 BST**

The Indonesian president has called for calm after days of violent protests against and by ethnic West Papuans.

President Joko Widodo urged people to forgive each other “as fellow countrymen” instead of getting angry, while pledging to look after the “honour and welfare of all people in Papua and West Papua”.

“My brothers and sisters in Papua and West Papua, I know you feel offended,” he said. “It’s okay to be emotional, but it’s better to be forgiving. Patience is also better.”

Widodo’s comments came after thousands of people took to the streets of the West Papuan provincial capital, Manokwari, on Monday, setting fire to a legislative council building, in protest against racist abuse and mass arrests of Papuan students in the Indonesian city of Surabaya.

A separatist movement has simmered for decades in Indonesia’s easternmost provinces, Papua and West Papua, while Indonesian security forces have been frequently accused of human rights abuses.

On Saturday, Indonesia’s Independence Day, more than 40 Papuan students in Surabaya, East Java, were arrested over the alleged damage to an Indonesian flag in front of a dormitory, according to Papuan activists.

Angry mobs gathered outside the dorms and reportedly chanted racist and anti-Papuan slogans, and threatened violence.

Governor of East Java, Khofifah Indar Parawansa, apologised for the behaviour of the mob, and said it “does not represent the voice of the people of East Java”.

All students were released after questioning, but the police raid and the use of teargas was a “totally disproportionate” response, Indonesian human rights lawyer, Veronica Koman, said.

Indonesian security minister, Wiranto, pledged an investigation into what happened in Surabaya.

Koman and student protesters told Guardian Australia they expected protests to continue. Koman said the Indonesian government had restricted the internet in the West Papua region.

The governor of Papua province, Lukas Enembe, demanded an end to the racist treatment of Papuans across Indonesia, and called for all provincial leaders to protect Papuan students.

“This is our common effort to prevent similar incidents in the future as well as to uphold nationalism and unity as fellow Indonesians,” he said.

“We hope that all non-Papuan people in all parts in Indonesia will maintain harmony by not taking any unconstitutional actions such as persecution, vigilante violence, selfishness, racism, discrimination and intolerance, as well as any other actions that can hurt Papuan people’s feelings or undermine harmony,” he said.

**Datum 3****OUTCRY AS INDONESIA SEEKS TO ARREST RENOWNED WEST PAPUA RIGHTS LAWYER****Veronica Koman faces charges after being accused of spreading ‘fake news’ and inciting unrest****By Kate Lamb** *in Jakarta* / Thu 5 Sep 2019 03.26 BST

Indonesian police have named human rights lawyer and well-known West Papua advocate Veronica Koman as a suspect in the spreading of “fake news”, accusing her of provoking widespread unrest in Indonesia’s easternmost provinces.

In a move slammed by Amnesty International Indonesia, the human rights lawyer faces charges under the country’s controversial electronic information and transactions law, and faces up to six years in jail if found guilty.

Police specifically mentioned Koman’s posts about an incident in Surabaya in mid-August where military and nationalist militia were captured on video calling Papuan students “monkeys” and “dogs”.

East Java police said the lawyer had provoked and inflamed anti-racist riots that have swept across West Papua in recent weeks, and accused of her spreading fake news and provocative material.

Indonesian police say they have also contacted Interpol to seek assistance in locating the Indonesian lawyer, who they believe is abroad.

Indonesia’s National Commission of Human Rights slammed the move, saying Koman had attempted only to provide “necessary information from a different point of view”.

Usman Hamid, the executive director of Amnesty International Indonesia, said the move was deeply misguided. “The root of the real problem is the act of racism by some members of the TNI [Indonesian army] and the excessive use of force by the police in the student dormitory in Surabaya,” Usman told [tirto.id](http://tirto.id).

Since unrest has flared across West Papua – divided into the two Indonesian provinces of Papua and West Papua – in some cases erupting in violent and fatal clashes, Koman has proved a critical source of information, regularly updating her Twitter account with photos and videos that have provided a rare insight into the realities on the ground.

It comes at a time when internet access has been cut for more than two weeks in the remote area, which is restricted to foreign journalists.

Meanwhile in Geneva, Michelle Bachelet, the UN high commissioner for human rights, who until now has been blocked from the visiting West Papua, said on Wednesday that she was concerned about escalating violence.

“There should be no place for such violence in a democratic and diverse Indonesia, and I encourage the authorities to engage in dialogue with the people of Papua and West Papua on their aspirations and concerns, as well as to restore internet services and refrain from any excessive use of force,” she said, “Blanket internet shutdowns are likely to contravene freedom of expression and limiting communications may exacerbate tensions”.

**Datum 4**

## **PAPUAN STUDENTS ON JAVA FACE INCREASED PRESSURES FORM ISLAMIST, NATIONALIST GROUPS**

**By Ivany Atina Arbi, Wahyoe Boediwardhana, and Benny Mawel**

The Jakarta Post Jakarta, Surabaya, and Jayapura | Mon, August 19, 2019 | 07:58 am

Papuan students on Java Island have repeatedly become the target of intimidation by Islamist and nationalist groups as armed conflict between security forces and separatist groups in Papua escalates.

In the latest incident on Friday afternoon, scores of security forces along with civil militias from hard-line group Islam Defenders Front (FPI) and youth organization Pemuda Pancasila (PP) reportedly went to a Papuan student dormitory on Jl. Kalasan in Surabaya, East Java, and launched physical and verbal attacks against the students, following the finding of an Indonesian flag discarded near the dorm.

According to the Surabaya Legal Aid Institute, which cited the account of a student staying in the dormitory, Indonesian Military (TNI) soldiers allegedly banged on the door of the dorm while uttering curse words such as “monkey”, “dogs” and “pigs” aimed at the students inside the dormitory. Dozens of FPI and PP members reportedly came not long after.

Human rights lawyer Veronica Koman, who is also a representative of the National Committee for West Papua (KNPB), said Sunday that the angry mob purportedly damaged the dorm’s gate and threw stones at the building while chanting “Kick out Papuans!” and “Slaughter Papuans!” for hours, restricting the students’ movement.

Two good Samaritan Indonesian students, who at midnight delivered food to the students trapped inside the dorm, claimed to have been assaulted and later arrested by police who were guarding the area.

“This is beyond my comprehension, what could possibly be the crime of delivering food and water? Even prisoners have a right to eat,” Veronica said, adding that the pressure continued on the following day with the police shooting teargas into the dorm and arresting all 43 students inside the building.

“[All the teargas and violence] is totally unnecessary. They are only unarmed, hungry, thirsty and tired students who have been rounded up by hundreds of racist civil militias and security forces for more than 24 hours,” she said.

Tension between local residents and Papuan students also arose in Candi subdistrict, Candisari district, Semarang, as residents were offended by the students’ alleged reluctance to participate in the Independence Day celebrations in the neighborhood.

“We sent an invitation to join the morning march on Sunday, but two students later came to my house saying they couldn’t because they had to attend Sunday service [at the church],” local leader Maryanto told the *Post* on Sunday. “But when we passed by their dorm on Sunday morning, most of them were still there.”

‘Insult against the nation’s symbol’

Surabaya Police deputy chief Adj. Sr. Comr. Leonardus Simarmata said separately that the arrests were made as the police were looking for the person who destroyed an Indonesian flag and dumped it into a ditch.

“We are just enforcing the law regarding an alleged insult against the country’s symbol,” Leonardus said in front of the dorm on Saturday. However, he assured that the police would never deny the students’ right to live in the city.

All of the students have been released after being questioned as witnesses.

Veronica deplored that such an incident had to happen every year in a similar pattern.

A clash also occurred last year on Aug. 15 at the same dormitory, during which some members of mass organizations allegedly forced Papuan students to fly the country's flag in front of their dorm. The students claimed they did not object to the suggestion, but they first needed to inform the dorm's caretaker, who was out of Surabaya at the time.

The initial "refusal" led to a fight between the students and mass organization members, in which one was injured. Surabaya Police officers subsequently visited the dorm and took dozens of boarders to their headquarters for questioning. The students were released hours later.

#### 'Prolonged discrimination against Papuans'

Experts on Papua issues argued that the incidents kept recurring as a result of several factors, including the prolonged discrimination against native Papuans from fellow citizens and security forces, in addition to unresolved past human rights abuses that took place in the easternmost part of Indonesia.

"Papuans are often depicted [by the government and mass media] as anti-nationalists who want to separate themselves from the country. The media, however, fail to present the reason behind such aspiration," said an expert on Papua issues, Darmawan Triwibowo.

"There's a human rights issue behind the desire, which is a political problem that should also be addressed using a political approach instead of a security or economic approach," he added.

His voice was echoed by Papua Peace Network coordinator Adriana Elisabeth, who said various human rights violations that occurred in Papua had not been resolved to this day, despite President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo's 2014 campaign promise to do so.

“Papuan feel like they don’t belong in the country as long as the government doesn’t resolve past human rights abuses. That’s the background we should understand,” Adriana said, urging the government to stop stigmatizing Papuan with the separatist label or treating them like criminals.

The government should also initiate talks with activists and local figures from Papua to address the ongoing tensions and conflicts. “President Jokowi was highly respected in Papua. Therefore, he should start the initiative,” she added.

Representatives from the region have frequently expressed their concerns over the government’s continuous violence in Papua at various international forums. The most recent was at the 50<sup>th</sup> Pacific Islands Forum (PIF), held from Aug. 13 to 16 in Tuvalu, where pro-Papua independence leader Benny Wenda urged state leaders to support the free Papua campaign amid recent escalating violence in Papua, including in Nduga regency.

Dozens of citizens supporting the free-Papua campaign at the Pacific Islands Forum were reportedly arrested by the Jayapura Police on Thursday. The people staged a rally, demanding a “conflict resolution” in Papua.

Papua Police spokesman Sr. Comr. Muhamad M. Kamal confirmed the arrest on Thursday night, saying that the protestors were being questioned at the police headquarters.

*Suherdjoko in Semarang contributed to this article*

*Editor's note: The article has been updated to clarify the political ideology of Pemuda Pancasila.*

**Datum 5**

## **PAPUAN RIOTS, PROTESTS AGAINST RACISM SPREADING BUT CALMING DOWN: POLICE**

**By Benny Mawel** The Jakarta Post Jayapura and Jakarta | Wed, August 21, 2019 |  
04:03 pm

Protesters take to the street to face off with Indonesian police in Manokwari, Papua on August 19, 2019. - Riots broke out in Indonesia's Papua with a local parliament building torched as thousands protested allegations that police tear-gassed and arrested students who supported the restive region's independence. (AFP/Str)

Rampant acts of vandalism have spread to Fakfak regency, West Papua following the racist abuse of Papuan students in Surabaya, East Java over the weekend.

National Police spokesman Brig. Gen. Dedi Prasetyo issued a written statement on Wednesday saying that “the situation in Fakfak is gradually getting calm. Generally the security situation in Jayapura, Manokwari and Sorong has also been calm”.

Protesters earlier set fire to kiosks and stalls in the Fakfak traditional market, laying waste to public facilities along the road into the market.

Siswanto Tigignaweria, who participated in the rally in Fakfak, said rioting broke out in the regency with local people setting fire to tires on the streets and conflicts erupted between a local mass organization and some protesters.

The conflicts began after some protesters allegedly hoisted the Bintang Kejora (Morning Star) flag – a symbol usually used by the Papuan Independence Movement – on the local customary building in the regency.

Police personnel were seen shooting tear gas and firecrackers toward the clashing mobs, he said. “Amid such a chaotic situation, suddenly the customary council’s building was set on fire.”

Papua Police spokesperson Sr. Adj. Comr. Mathias Krey said the police and the Indonesian Military (TNI) had dispatched personnel to diffuse the situation.

“The National Police’s Mobile Brigade [Brimob] has scheduled to deploy its personnel to help secure the region,” he said on Wednesday as quoted by Antara news agency.

The incident in Fakfak is the latest in a growing string of protests that included riots in the neighboring Manokwari and Sorong regencies.

In an effort to curb the spread of misinformation amid the unrest, the Communications and Information Ministry has throttled back internet access in Fakfak since 9 a.m. The ministry plans to restore normal connection speed in the region at 6 p.m.

“The throttling was only implemented in Fakfak; [internet access] in other regions has returned to normal since yesterday,” said the ministry’s acting spokesman Ferdinandus Setu as quoted by *kompas.com*.

Furthermore, he said the ministry had also tracked down and subsequently deactivated social media accounts found to share provocative content amid the chaos in Papua.

“We investigated 50 accounts in the first couple of days. Today we’ve managed to shut down 12 accounts,” Ferdinandus said.

Meanwhile, more than 1,000 residents of Timika in Mimika regency, Papua also took to the streets in an anti-racism strike.

Patricio Wetipo, a human rights activist from Timika, said that thousands of protesters had gathered in the yard of the Timika Regional Legislative Council (DPRD) since Wednesday morning, awaiting the arrival of Mimika Regent Eltinus Omaleng.

The protesters could be seen holding up signs adorned with anti-racism messages, such as ones that read: “We Papuans Love Peace.”

The leader of the rally called on fellow protesters to practice restraint and refrain from committing acts of vandalism.

The regent, however, had yet to show up by 2 p.m. local time and the crowd of protesters were forced to disperse by the authorities who shot tear gas toward them, creating a chaotic situation, Patricio said.

“People who were hurt by the tear gas walked outside the yard to the streets and threw [stones] toward the police and the police cars,” he said.

A Mimika Police officer, Sr. Adj. Comr. Agung Marlianto, instructed protesters to maintain public order and safety.

“I called on locals to maintain order when voicing their aspirations. Chaos will benefit no one,” Agung told the press. (rfa)

*Editor’s note: This article has been updated with comments from local residents who participated in and witnessed the protests in Timika and Fakfak.*

**Datum 6****THOUSANDS OF WAMENA RESIDENTS WISH TO FLEE  
AFTER DEADLY UNREST****By News Desk** The Jakarta Post | Jakarta | Fri, September 27, 2019 | 05:11 pm

Fired up: People react as a building burns after protests broke out in Wamena, Papua, on Monday. Protesters burned down a government office and other buildings in Wamena, according to an AFP report. (AFP/Vina Rumbewas)

Thousands of residents living in Wamena, Papua are seeking to leave the restive city following violent unrest earlier this week that left at least 32 people dead.

Around 1,200 residents have signed up with the Indonesian Air Force to flee Wamena, citing fears over staying in areas around Baliem Valley, said Air Cdre. Triwibowo, the commander of Silas Papare Air Base in Jayapura, Papua. The Air Force has prepared two Hercules aircraft for the evacuation.

“Two Hercules planes have been prepared to transport the residents, especially injured ones,” Triwibowo said as reported by Antara news agency.

He went on to say that the National Police were also set to deploy an additional aircraft for the mission.

The Indonesian Military (TNI) confirmed separately that the death toll of Monday’s incident, which reportedly involved hundreds of Wamena’s schoolchildren and local residents, has risen to 32.

Students in the city staged protests that escalated into violence on Monday, with some reportedly burning government offices and shop-houses. The chaos, the Papua Police said, was triggered by “baseless information” of a teacher who allegedly used a racial slur against a student.

Many of the deceased victims were found trapped inside their burned houses.

(vny)

Datum 7

## **PRESIDENT ORDERS CRACKDOWN ON RIOTING, ANARCHY IN PAPUA | 29th August 2019**

Purworejo, C Java (ANTARA) - President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) has ordered the police and military to take stern measures against those spreading anarchy and racism in Papua. "I am following the case and I have received information on the latest situation in Papua, especially in Jayapura," Jokowi said before a shadow puppet theater in Purworejo, Central Java, late Thursday.

The President has also called on the public to stay calm and refrain from committing anarchy. "It will harm all of us if public facilities are damaged," he said.

The government would remain committed to developing Papua, both in terms of physical and human resource development, Jokowi reiterated.

"Let us keep Papua as a peaceful region, peaceful land. I call on all leaders, customary and religious leaders, as well as Papuan youths to help materialize a peaceful and developed Papua," Jokowi said.

The government has planned to meet Papuan tribal chiefs and is still searching for an appropriate time.

"We have planned it (the meeting) to be conducted this week, but it is not possible. In the near term, we will have the meeting with youth leaders, customary as well as religious leaders," Jokowi said.

Reporter: Agus Salim, Sri Haryati Editor: Rahmad Nasution

## Datum 8

### TWO NAMED IN RACIST SPEECH CASE AGAINST

PAPUANS | 2nd September 2019

*We have named two suspects Tri Susanti and Saiful. Both were charged with multiple cases*

Jakarta (ANTARA) - The government has named two suspects and suspended five military personnel for the racist speech against Papuan students in Surabaya and Malang, East Java, Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs Wiranto stated. "We have named two suspects Tri Susanti and Saiful. Both were charged with multiple cases," Wiranto said here Monday.

The two suspects were charged under Article 45A and Article 28 Law no. 19/2016 for electronic information and transaction.

The authorities have also suspended five personnel of the East Java Military Command for allegedly violating military discipline.

Meanwhile, in some regions of Papua, the police has named suspects in the unrest in the easternmost provinces that consist of 28 suspects in Jayapura, 10 suspects in Manokwari, seven suspects in Sorong, and one suspect in Fakfak.

Demonstrations were held in several parts of Papua and West Papua in the past week against alleged racist slurs targeting Papuan students in Surabaya, East Java, on August 16.

Thousands of people took to the streets in the West Papua provincial capital of Manokwari and the Papua provincial capital of Jayapura in protest.

The rallies took a violent turn, with some demonstrators damaging and setting ablaze several government buildings. (INE)

EDITED BY INE

Reporter: Rangga Pandu AJ, Sri Haryati<sup>8</sup>

Editor: Fardah Assegaf

COPYRIGHT © ANTARA 2019

**Datum 9**

## **PROVOCATION TO CAUSE ANARCHY CONTINUES IN PAPUA: WIRANTO | 5th September 2019**

Jakarta (ANTARA) - Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs Wiranto said some parties are still trying to provoke people in Papua and West Papua to continue their anarchic actions in the regions.

“There is still provocation, incitement of the people to create anarchy,” Wiranto said at a press conference here on Thursday.

The military and police conducted a meeting with local leaders and some elements of the society in Biak Numfor, Papua, on Wednesday (September 4), where all the parties agreed to prevent provocation by certain parties to commit violence.

“So, if you have heard about plans of anarchic actions, that is part of the provocation,” he added.

However, he continued saying that security personnel and the local governments have called on people to maintain restraint from such actions.

The situation in Papua and West Papua has been under control and people have returned to their daily activities.

“Yesterday, I said that shops and traditional markets, offices, gas stations have all reopened, telecommunication, electricity have returned to normal, although we have to distribute water to some areas,” he said.

Schools have resumed activities and Internet access has been recovered, Wiranto said.

Reporter: Zuhdiar Laeis, Sri Haryati

Editor: Rahmad Nasution | COPYRIGHT © ANTARA 2019