EXAMINING SOCIAL ACTOR REPRESENTATION OF TALIBAN REPORTED IN ALJAZEERA AND FOX NEWS REGARDING TALIBAN'S CONTROL OF AFGHANISTAN IN 2021

THESIS

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STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

state that the thesis entitled **"Examining Social Actor Representation of Taliban Reported in Aljazeera and Fox News Regarding Taliban's Control of Afghanistan in 2021"** is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those cited as references and written in the bibliography. Hereby, if there is any objection or claim, I am the only person who is responsible for that.

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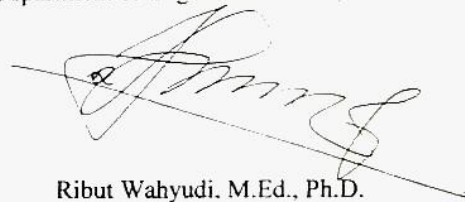
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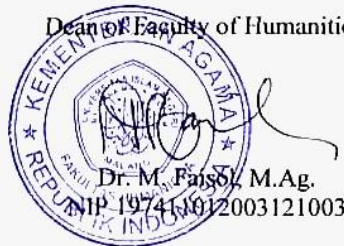NIP 198112052011011007

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MOTTO

"The possibility of all those possibilities being possible is just another possibility that can possibly happen"

Mark Lee of NCT

DEDICATION

This thesis is especially dedicated to:

My beloved parents;

Bapak Muhajir and Ibu Elok Mahmudah

who always give me strength, love, and support everything I do.

And my beloved brother, Muhammad Rofiq Erdiansyah

who always gives me words of encouragement to finish this thesis.

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ABSTRACT

This study discussed the representation of Taliban in Aljazeera and Fox News reports regarding Taliban who have regained control of Afghanistan in 2021, and the controversial policies they implemented. This study aimed to find out how Aljazeera and Fox News represent the Taliban in their reporting by referring to the inclusion-exclusion strategy of van Leeuwen's framework (2008) regarding social actor representation. The method of this study was in the form of descriptive qualitative method. The data used in this study were words and phrases taken from the headlines and the contents of the news as a whole. The results of this study indicated that Aljazeera and Fox News were equally dominant in using the inclusion strategy in presenting Taliban actors. In Aljazeera, the inclusion strategy appeared 22 times, while the exclusion strategy appeared only once. In Fox News, the inclusion strategy appeared 12 times, while the exclusion strategy appeared 3 times. In addition, it is found that Fox News tended to marginalize the Taliban in its reporting. On the other hand, Aljazeera is found to represent the Taliban proportionally, as they are. Aljazeera brought out the positive and negative aspects of the Taliban. Meanwhile, Fox News tended to be sentimental by focusing only on the negative aspects of the Taliban. Even though Fox News sometimes raised positive aspects of the Taliban, Fox News still ended it with a statement refuting the positive aspects.

ABSTRAK

Erdiana, Rery. (2023). *Examining Social Actor Representation of Taliban Reported in Aljazeera and Fox News Regarding Taliban's Control of Afghanistan in 2021*. Skripsi. Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing: Ribut Wahyudi, M.Ed., Ph.D.

Kata Kunci: *Representasi Aktor Sosial, Taliban, Aljazeera, Fox News*

Penelitian ini membahas tentang representasi Taliban pada pemberitaan Aljazeera dan Fox News terkait Taliban yang kembali berhasil menguasai Afghanistan, dan kebijakan-kebijakan kontroversial yang diterapkannya. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui bagaimana Aljazeera dan Fox News merepresentasikan Taliban dalam pemberitaannya dengan mengacu pada strategi inklusi-eksklusi dari kerangka kerja van Leeuwen (2008) mengenai social actor representation. Metode penelitian ini berupa kualitatif deskriptif. Data yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini berupa kata dan frasa yang diambil dari judul dan isi berita secara keseluruhan. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa Aljazeera dan Fox News sama sama dominan menggunakan strategi inklusi dalam menampilkan aktor Taliban. Pada Aljazeera, strategi inklusi ditemukan sebanyak 22 kali, sedangkan strategi eksklusi hanya ditemukan sekali. Pada Fox News, strategi inklusi ditemukan sebanyak 12 kali, sedangkan strategi eksklusi hanya ditemukan 3 kali. Selain itu, diketahui bahwa Fox News cenderung memarjinalkan Taliban dalam pemberitannya. Sebaliknya, Aljazeera diketahui merepresentasikan Taliban secara proporsional, dengan apa adanya. Aljazeera memunculkan aspek positif dan negatif dari Taliban. Sedangkan Fox News cenderung sentimen dengan memfokuskan aspek negatif saja dari Taliban. Meski Fox News terkadang juga memunculkan aspek positif dari Taliban, akan tetapi Fox News tetap mengakhirinya dengan pernyataan sanggahan atas aspek positif yang ditampilkan tadi.

مستخلص البحث

يناقش هذا البحث تمثيل حركة طالبان في الجزيرة وتقارير فوكس نيوز بخصوص طالبان التي استعادت السيطرة على أفغانستان والسياسات المثيرة للجدل التي طبقتها. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى معرفة كيف تمثّل قناة الجزيرة وفوكس نيوز حركة طالبان في تقاريرهما من خلال الإشارة إلى استراتيجية التضمين والاستبعاد لإطار عمل فان ليوين (2008) فيما يتعلّق بتمثيل الممثلين الاجتماعيين. هذا المنهج البحثي هو على شكل وصفي نوعي. البيانات المستخدمة في هذه الدراسة هي كلمات وعبارات مأخوذة من عنوان ومحتوى الخبر ككل. تشير نتائج هذه الدراسة إلى أن الجزيرة وفوكس نيوز تهيمنان بشكل متساوٍ على استخدام استراتيجية الشمول في تقديم عناصر طالبان. في الجزيرة ، تم العثور على استراتيجية الدمج 22 مرة ، بينما تم العثور على ، تم العثور على استراتيجية التضمين 12 مرة ، بينما تم العثور على Fox News استراتيجية الاستبعاد مرة واحدة فقط. في استراتيجية الاستبعاد 3 مرات فقط. بالإضافة إلى ذلك ، من المعروف أن فوكس نيوز تميل إلى تهميش حركة طالبان في تقاريرها. من ناحية أخرى ، من المعروف أن الجزيرة تمثّل طالبان بشكل نسبي ، كما هي. الجزيرة تبرز الجوانب الإيجابية والسلبية لطالبان. في غضون ذلك ، تميل قناة فوكس نيوز إلى أن تكون عاطفية من خلال التركيز فقط على الجوانب السلبية لا تزال Fox News تثير في بعض الأحيان الجوانب الإيجابية لطالبان ، إلا أن Fox News لطالبان. على الرغم من أن قناة تنهيها ببيان يدحض الجوانب الإيجابية الموضحة سابقًا.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains a description of the research background, research question, significance of the study, scope and limitation of the study, definition of key terms, and some previous studies.

A. Background of the Study

Since the United States overthrew the Taliban in 2001, the Taliban issue has received a lot of attention. At its peak on August 15, 2021, people were shocked to hear that the Taliban militia had managed to break through Kabul, the capital and the largest city in Afghanistan, and re-taken control of Afghanistan. Obviously, this has become a trending topic in a number of countries and has not eluded the coverage of online media outlets such as Al Jazeera English and Fox News. In this case, news is a medium that plays a role in shaping the views of readers. According to Eriyanto (2012), the media can create discourse by using discourse strategy that portrays social actors, as either dominating (good image) or marginalized (bad image) individuals or groups. This can be seen from the sentence structure or vocabulary choices made by the media. This critical discourse analysis is referred to social actor representation strategy (SAR) by van Leeuwen (2008).

Social actor representation is one of the theories of critical discourse analysis (CDA) which focuses on how the parties and actors are presented through a discourse. Whereas, critical discourse analysis refers to the study of language units above sentences that focus on grammatical relationships and the

context behind them (Eriyanto, 2012). Critical discourse analysis is frequently used to determine the meaning of discourse that is exactly the same or at least very tight with the meaning intended by the speaker in oral discourse, or by the author in written discourse. It can be used to analyze mass media which has a lot of discourses behind its communication strategy. Eriyanto (2012) stated that one of the critical discourse analysis models presented by the experts is the critical discourse analysis model proposed by van Leeuwen.

Van Leeuwen's (2008) framework of discourse analysis focuses more on Social Actor Representation (SAR) which examines how individuals, groups, or social entities are represented in a discourse. In this case, discourse is closely related to the mass media. The mass media does not only function as a channel for delivering news but also carries out the mission of the media owner who oversees it. In general, the mass media have characteristics and tendencies regarding the dissemination of news and the explanation of events. The news text reflects the ideology of the media, and the media, in turn, reflects the ideology that exists in society. Through news that is continuously disseminated, the mass media can indirectly form an understanding and alignment of the audience regarding the reported events. To find out how the media represents social actors in discourse, van Leeuwen (2008) suggests two things that must be considered in discourse analysis, namely the process of removing the actor (exclusion) and the process of actor appearance (inclusion).

The study of how social actors are represented is deemed necessary due to the significant role of newspaper, which are considered as one of the strongest

media to spread news which can also influence public perception. In addition, the language used by journalists may be used intentionally to achieve certain goals, either to support or marginalize certain people, groups, or ideologies. For this reason, this study aims to analyze how social actors are represented in reporting on the Taliban issue in the Al Jazeera Eastern media and the Fox News western media.

Al Jazeera and Fox News news portals were selected because the researcher hypothesized their portrayal of the social actors of Taliban would differ due to the different backgrounds of these news portals. The Aljazeera news portal represents Eastern media, while the Fox News portal represents Western media. In addition, the need to further analyze the differences between the reports of the Eastern media Aljazeera and the Western media Fox News should be undertaken to determine whether the two media support or contradict the common notion that Eastern and Western media frameworks are usually different and sometimes contradict each other. In addition, according to Porter (2006) Aljazeera is the third largest international news channel after BBC World News and CNN International, which makes Aljazeera widely accessible to national or international readers. Aljazeera also offers news with an Eastern perspective. Meanwhile, Fox News was chosen because according to the Pew Research Center in 2020, Fox News is one of the most popular cable news channels in the United States, and about 43% of American adults trust Fox News.

Many previous studies have been carried out by scholars to increase knowledge about discourse analysis through the lens of social actor representation. Scholars such as Dashti & Mehrpour (2017), Bustam (2018), Abdulkareem (2018), and Sarani & Kord (2018) contributed in this regard.

First, Dashti & Mehrour (2017) discuss the representation of social actors in the philosophical speeches of J. Krishnamurti and Alan Watts using critical discourse analysis within the framework of van Leeuwen (2008). The results of Dashti & Mehrour (2017) study show that in the philosophical speeches of J. Krishnamurti and Alan Watts, there are different representations related to social actors. J. Krishnamurti tends to portray social actors as individuals who are personally responsible and must seek self-understanding and transformation. Meanwhile, Alan Watts tends to portray social actors as an integral part of the universe and conveys messages about connectedness and interdependence.

Then, Bustam (2018) explores SAR in the case of Donald Trump's declaration of Jerusalem as Israel's capital. The data focuses on the news headings of CNN News, The Guardian, and Al Jazeera which were analyzed using van Leeuwen's (2008) SAR theory. The three mass media show that there are several different techniques and strategies in representing the case. This is motivated by the ideology of each media and their belive in framing the case. The researcher categorizes in detail the use of strategies and linguistic realizations used by the three news articles.

In the same year, Abdulkareem (2018) conducted research on the representation of ISIS social actors (The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) in 20 New York Times (NYT) news articles. In line with my current study, Abdukareem employs van Leeuween's (2008) SAR approach as the theoretical knife. The results of his study show that US newspapers represent ISIS as an enemy of the United States and the Western world as a whole. ISIS is portrayed as a violent and fanatical terrorist group, and is associated with violence and crime. Abdukareem concludes that media representation of ISIS can influence people's views about the group and can shape public opinion about the conflict in the Middle East. The strength of this research is that Abdukareem breaks out the exclusion and inclusion categories from twenty news articles one by one. So it is clear that the NYT tends to use an inclusion strategy to marginalize ISIS actors, and tends to use the "Us VS Them" ideology.

The next study was conducted Sarani & Kord (2018) who tried to interrogate the various ways in which social actors are represented through two independent modes of communication (linguistic & visual) in EFL textbooks in relation to the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach using Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) frameworks in Touchstone series. The results of this study indicate that male and female participants are represented differently through visual and linguistic modes of representation.

Scholars such as Aripova (2019), Suprihatin et all (2019), and Evayani & Rido (2019) have both conducted studies that focus on Islamic issues represented by the mass media. Aripova (2019) examines the exploration of

morphological, syntactic and semantic features in social actors – involved in discourse on Internet privacy issues in three news reports; The Guardian, International Business Times, and The Verge. It was found that internet users and subscribers constitute the first group of social actors. They act as aggrieved victims of the actions of internet companies that violate privacy laws. On the other hand, the internet companies have negative representations that are described as illegally spreading consumer personal data entities.

The next study was conducted by Suprihatin et al. (2019) which explores the exclusion of social actors in reporting on the 2019 presidential election on the Mediaindonesia.com and iNews.id sites. Their analysis is based on van Leeuwen's (2008) exclusion strategy (oppression and background). This research concludes that Joko Widodo is still supported to run for the 2019 presidential candidate.

Another scholar, such as Evayani & Ridho (2019) conducted research to reveal how social actors are represented in reporting on sexual violence in The New York Times and The Jakarta Post newspapers. The theory used in this study is the framework of van Leeuwen (2008). The results of his research show that there are differences between The New York Times and The Jakarta Post. The New York Times tends to focus on victims' narratives and portray them as those who need to be protected and supported. On the other hand, The Jakarta Post tends to focus on the perspectives of the perpetrators and the factors that encourage sexual violence, such as the influence of social media and promiscuity.

Scholars such as Surjowati (2020), Utama, Amalia, & Y. (2020), Ahlstrand (2020), Sholihah & Degaf (2020), Betari et all (2020) have also conducted studies that examine the representation of social actors in various political discussions, displayed by the mass media. Surjowati (2020) investigates how the Sydney Morning Herald expresses its ideology through the social actors represented in the news. The findings reveal that there are two groups of social actors: The Outer Group (Indonesian government and military officers), and the Inner Group (Australians and pro-independence activists). Based on the representation framework of Theo van Leeuwen (2008) that she adopted, she categorizes those associated with the Out Group as more prioritized because they emphasize domination over indigenous Papuans. Meanwhile, In Group social actors are indicated as peacemakers. Australia positions itself as a liberal country that values individual freedom

Similarly, Ahlstrand (2020) also conducted studies using news objects on the online news Kompas.com. He applied van Leeuwen's (2008) SAR analysis approach and van Dijk's ideological idea to examine Megawati Soekarnoputri's representation as a symbol of ideological contestation during the 2014 presidential election campaign. The findings suggest that through a subtle strategy of discourse, Megawati is positioned as a threat to the political order because of her excessive ambition for power, her involvement in interpersonal conflicts, and her failure to adhere to the norms of the political realm.

Another scholar, Utama, Amalia, & Yuliawati (2020) investigate the government's and migrant workers' representations in the case of executions of

Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia, as reported by Middle Eastern media. They used van Leeuwen's (2008) theory to analyze actor's social representation, and Richardson's theory of news text analysis. According to their findings, Middle Eastern media journalists tend to portray the Indonesian government and migrant workers in a bad representation. For example, the use of the label 'execution of mentally ill Indonesian workers' used by journalists.

Then, Sholihah and Degaf (2020) studied the representation of social actors in the Jakarta Post online media reporting on the presidential election. They put forward two candidates in the 2019 presidential election; Jokowi-Ma'ruf and Prabowo-Sandi as social actors who will be studied using van Leeuwen's (2008) SAR theory. In his findings, it is said that The Jakarta Post journalists tend to use an inclusion strategy rather than using an exclusion strategy. They conclude that the tendency to use inclusion strategies is because this strategy is considered effective in attracting sympathy and gaining public support. For example, when it was reported that Ma'ruf Amin wore a sarong and a cap when appearing on the presidential debate stage –as a representation of Amin's religion.

Moreover, Betari, Tabiati, & Sahiruddin (2020) examine the representation of Zakir Naik, a controversial Muslim scholar. Their research data was taken from two different mass media, one from the Qatar mass media "Aljazeera" and the other from the United Kingdom mass media "The Independent". Similiar with the current study, Betari et all (2020) also use van Leeuwen's (2008) framework regarding the representation of social actors. The results of the study

show that "Al Jazeera" and "The Independent" have different perspectives in representing Zakir Naik. "Al Jazeera" pays more attention to the viewpoints of free speech and protection of human rights, while "The Independent" focuses more on Zakir Naik's alleged support for terrorism. However, both of them describe Zakir Naik as a controversial figure and have pros and cons.

Furthermore, Purwaningsih & Gulo (2021), Prastika & Suprayogi (2021), and Bahrudin & Bakar (2022) also condacted research about discourse analysis through the lens of social actor representation. Purwaningsih & Gulo (2021) explores the representation of Reynhard Sinaga, a sex offender, in BBC News and The Jakarta Post. Purwaningsih use the van Leeuwen (2008) framework in their analysis. Their finding show that BBC News and The Jakarta Post presented Reynhard Sinaga in different ways. BBC News tends to focus on the sexual crimes he committed, while The Jakarta Post places more emphasis on Reynhard Sinaga's identity and origins as an Indonesian citizen. However, both of BBC News and The Jakarta Post describe Reynhard Sinaga as a sexual predator who is very manipulative and cruel.

Prastika & Suprayogi's (2021) work discusses the representation of social actors in reporting on Indonesian demonstrations in international media using the van Leeuwen (2008) framework. Prastika and Suprayogi (2021) use The Jakarta Post, South China Morning Post, and The New York Times as the data source. It revealed that both protesters and government were represented through exclusion and inclusion strategy. This study also found that the language used in reporting on Indonesian demonstrations in the international

media was often stereotypical, showing that demonstrations in Indonesia were radical, unstable and had the potential to cause violence. Language is also used to show that the Indonesian police are the party that has power and security, while demonstrators are considered as troublemakers and their actions are considered unreasonable.

Lastly, A study by Bahrudin & Bakar (2022) analyzed textual the representation of social actor in protest who express and negotiate feminist ideology through slogans at the 2019 Women's March MY in Kuala Lumpur, specifically through social actor representation used van Leeuwen (2008) framework. The result show activation, classification, nominalisation, and agent deletion as the most prominent categories of social actor representation in the advocacy of women's rights through three main narratives of solidarity and incrimination, generalisation of harmful actions, as well as resistance and reclamation of power by women. Besides, Bahrudin and Bakar (2020) found that in the Women's March MY protest, there is a strong representation of the conflict "us" versus "them" (us vs. them). The protesters divided society into two opposing groups, namely the progressive group (us) and the conservative group (them). This is reflected in the language and symbols used in protest signs.

In contrast to the previous studies mentioned above, this latest study focuses on the social actor representation of the Taliban militia which is reported by two different online media, Aljazeera and Fox News. In addition,

this study tries to use both the inclusion and exclusion strategies of social actor representation as proposed by van Leeuwen (2008).

B. Research Question

Based on the background of the study above, the researcher formulates some research problems. The following are research questions that will be discussed:

1) How do Aljazeera and Fox News portray the social actors of Taliban in news reporting?

C. Significance of the Study

Practically, this research is expected to provide new insight for readers and increase reader sensitivity to the discourse brought by the media. In addition, the researcher also hopes that this research can provide an objective view to the wider community, especially regarding the social actors of the Taliban who are represented in the news articles.

D. Scope and Limitation

This study focuses on investigating the discourse critically about the issue of the Taliban reported by Al Jazeera and Fox News which focuses on the reporting of Taliban who succeeded in taking over power in Afghanistan and the new policies that accompany it. The researcher only chooses news articles published from August to October 2021. This study only analyzed how the image of the Taliban was depicted through the language written in the two news text using the inclusion and exclusion strategies of SAR.

E. Definition of Key Term

In order to provide readers an initial understanding of the subject matter, a few important terms need to be presented and defined as below:

1. **Social Actor Representation:** a discourse analysis model to detect and examine how an actor whether individual or group is marginalized in a discourse by removing actors (exclusion) or displaying actors (inclusion).

2. **Taliban:** an Islamic political and military movement that originated in Afghanistan.

3. **Aljazeera:** a leading news channel in the Middle East based in Doha Qatar.

4. **Fox News:** one of the largest and most influential cable news networks in the United States.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents some reviews of related literature and theories of the study. It discusses the concept of the social actor representation, the explanation of exclusion and inclusion strategies.

A. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a method of linguistic analysis that investigates the connection between language, power and ideology in a social context. According to Wodak (2001), critical discourse analysis focuses on the critical analysis of texts and discourses in order to reveal the political interests, social domination, and power conflicts. Critical Discourse Analysis sees language as a social practice. Social practice in critical discourse analysis is seen as causing a dialectical relationship between certain discursive events and social situations, institutions and structures. This concept is emphasized by Fairclough (1995) who argue that critical discourse analysis looks at how language causes existing social groups to fight and put forward their respective ideologies. Fairclough (1995) also explained critical discourse analysis aims to help understand social problems in the relationship between ideology and power. Furthermore, the purpose of this critical discourse analysis is to reveal hidden aspects of power in language and understand how language is used to maintain or change social structures.

According van Dijk (1997), CDA involves an in-depth analysis of texts and discourse, taking into account the following aspects:

1. Action

The first aspect, discourse is understood as an action in the form of interaction. In order to communicate with and relate to other people, a person speaks, writes, and utilizes language. This understanding raises several consequences. First, discourse is seen as having a specific purpose. Second, discourse is understood as something that is consciously expressed and controlled. In this case, discourse is defined to have certain goals that are carried out consciously, not something that is out of control or is expressed outside of awareness.

2. Context

Critical discourse analysis also considers the context of the discourse such as background, situation, events and conditions. Discourse is viewed, created, understood, interpreted, and analyzed based on a particular context, such as who communicates with whom and why; in what kinds of audiences and situations; and through what medium. This is because the focus of discourse analysis is to describe text and context simultaneously in a communication process.

3. History

To understand a discourse text, it is necessary to have a historical context in which the text was created. In order to understand a discourse, requires understanding why it develops in the manner that it does, why a particular linguistic style is adopted, and why certain words are chosen. In addition, the discourse is also understood through the historical background when the

discourse was created. It can be said that historical value is one of the main factors in determining a discourse that can be easily understood.

4. Power

Critical discourse analysis also considers the element of power. The concept of power is one of the keys to the relationship between discourse and society. Critical discourse analysis does not only limit itself to the details of texts or discourse structures, but also certain social, political, economic and cultural conditions. All forms of discourse, whether written, verbal, or otherwise, are viewed as forms of power struggle. The relationship between power and discourse can be seen from what is called control. A person or group controls another person or group through discourse. Controlling is not always in physical form, but can also be mental or psychological. For example, the power of men over women in the theme of sexism, white power over black people in the theme of racism, the dominance of the upper class over the lower class, and so on.

5. Ideology

One of the classical theories about ideology is the notion that ideology is constructed by more dominant groups to reproduce and legitimize their domination. Discourse is used as a tool by the dominant group to persuade and communicate the power they have to make it look legitimate and right in the eyes of the public. A text, conversation, and others are examples of certain ideological practices. The main strategy is to build public awareness that dominance can be taken for granted. For example, the perception that one

religion is responsible for the unrest is the result of ideological manipulation. In this setting, the goal of critical discourse analysis is to reawaken people's awareness and provide a broader perspective on what has previously lulled or even deceived them.

B. Social Actor as Part of Critical Discourse Analysis

The concept of "social actor" in critical discourse analysis refers to the notion that individuals or groups in society play an active role in production and discursive transformation. Through the use of language and discursive practices, social actors are perceived as agents who shape meaning and influence social construction. One of the most crucial aspects of the meaning-making process is representation. A meaning is produced and exchanged between members of society, so that representation is a way of producing meaning. According to Eriyanto (2012), representation relates to how a person, group, or idea should be presented. In the context of reporting, the phrase representation refers to how a person, a group, or a particular idea or perspective is presented.

Things to examine when it comes to representation, such as whether the actor or idea is depicted as it should be, as it is, or as it isn't. This is in line with van Leeuwen's (2008) opinion, according to which every statement in a news text is a journalist's choice depending on the goal he wants. Language, according to van Leeuwen (2008), is a reflection of ideology, hence ideology may be discovered by studying the language represented in the text. In addition, through actor social analysis as part of critical discourse analysis, it can dismantle power, ideology, and norms that are embedded in language.

C. The Concept of Van Leeuwen's Social Actor Representation Framework

Van Leeuwen (2008) proposes a critical discourse analysis model for detecting and examining how a group or person is marginalized in a discourse, and how a dominant group has more control in interpreting an event and its meaning, while another group with a lower position tends to persist as an object of meaning and is described poorly. Van Leeuwen's (2008) analysis, in general, demonstrates how parties and actors are portrayed in the media. To find this out, van Leeuwen focused his Social Actor Analysis (SAR) on two strategies; Exclusion and Inclusion strategies.

1. Exclusion Strategies

Exclusion strategy is a strategy used to exclude a particular individual or group in the news text. Through removing the actors, this strategy aims to protect those who do not want to be displayed in the news, and can show the media's alignment with a particular group. According to the van Leeuwen's Social Actor Representation (SAR) theory (2008), exclusion can be divided into two subcategories: suppression and backgrounding.

1) Suppression

To exclude the actors, suppression does not mention social actors at all in the news text. This subcategory completely removes the social actors throughout the news texts, leaving no trace at all. Thus, van Leeuwen (2008) occasionally refers to this category as radical exclusion.

Suppression shows several strategies or methods for marginalising or eliminating the actor as follows:

a) Using passive agent deletion

Passive agent deletion refers to the process of changing an active pattern into passive voice, which typically results in the omission of the agent of the process and entirely ignored the agent. This process can marginalize actors in the media by manipulating readers to concentrate more on the object of the news and less on the subject of the news through the use of passive voice.

b) Using non-finite clauses

A non-finite clause is a phrase consisting of a verb without a complete subject or object, and cannot stand alone as a complete sentence. Non-finite clauses are used as part of a larger sentence, which often consists of a main clause and a subordinate clause. According to van Leeuwen (2008) non-finite clauses can select an actor/agent in the media, as in the sentence "to maintain this policy is difficult" (van Leeuwen, 2008:29). It is unclear who the actor or agent is in this statement who upholds the policy.

c) Using nominalizations.

Nominalization is the process of changing verbs, adjectives, or other words into nouns. In nominalization, the word is turned into a noun by adding suffix "-ing", "-tion", "-ment", "-ance", or "-ism" (Huddleston & Pullum, 2007). Van Leeuwen (2008) explained that the use of nouns can

select or marginalize an actor/agent in the media. For instance, in the sentence "the level of support for stopping immigration altogether is at its highest point after the war" it does not mention which actors/agents support stopping immigration (van Leeuwen, 2008:30). So the use of nouns can be used to set aside actors/agents in reporting.

2) Backgrounding

In contrast to Suppression which is considered radical, backgrounding, on the other hand, is called less radical because it does not completely remove social actors from the whole sentence. In the exclusion process, although social actors are not mentioned together with certain actions, social actors are still mentioned elsewhere in the text. Van Leeuwen (2008) explains that there are several ways to create backgrounding in a text as follows:

a) Using nonfinite clause with *–ing* and *–ed* participle

Both non-finite clauses ending in –ing and –ed do not refer to the actor or agent in the statement. As in the example, "by giving some samples, they will test it in the lab"

b) Using infinitive clauses with *to*

An infinitive clause with *to* can be understood as a phrase consisting of the infinitive verb and the word "to". This phrase is used to express the purpose or intent of an action or as the object of a sentence. For example, in the sentence "She promised to pay her debt next week." the infinitive verb "to pay" is followed by other components that function as subordinate

clauses in the main sentence to state the intent or purpose of the act of paying the debt.

c) Using paratactic clause

A paratctic clause is sentences that consist of two clauses with parallel or equivalent meanings. The two clauses are connected by conjunctions or connecting words such as but, and, also, or, either, and usually also use comma. Those clauses also have a strong semantic relationship but do not have a grammatical hierarchy or dependence on each other. For exampe, "He is actually tired of going to sea, but if he doesn't go, he can't eat." In this statement there are two clauses that have parallel meanings. In a sense, the two sentences have their own meaning and are not dependent on each other.

2. **Inclusion Strategies**

The inclusion strategy is the opposite strategy of exclusion, which is concerned with how a certain actor/agent or group is portrayed in the media writing. Compared to the exclusion strategy, inclusion is more frequently found in any texts, which means that social actors are explicitly mentioned in the text and become the focus points.   In his theory of SAR, van Leeuwen (2008) divides inclusion into several types as follow:

1) **Activation – Passivation**

Activation occurs when an actor/agent is represented as an active subject, for example "Until now, North Sumatra Police investigators are still developing

investigations regarding the possibility of a new suspect in the case". In this sentence, it is clearly represented by the district that "North Sumatra Police" plays an important role as it is written in the media. Then for passivation strategy, an example of the sentence above would be "Until now the development of the investigation is still being carried out regarding the possibility of a new suspect". In this passivation, the role of the actor/agent is removed by the media using a passive sentence structure.

2) Genericization – Specification

Genericization takes place when the actor/agent is represented as a groups or classes. While in specification, the actor will be represented individually. Genericization can be formed by the plural without article, for example in "women make up 5.5 percent of India's population". It also may be formed by the singular with a definite article such as "the doctor" or using an indefinite article such as "a doctor". Meanwhile, the specification can be realized by the presence of numerative.

3) Assimilation - Individualization

Assimilation is a strategy to present social actors as a group, while individualization is a strategy to present actors in the form of individuals. Typically, individualization is achieved through singularity, whereas assimilation is achieved through plurality. In addition, assimilation can also be achieved by a noun that indicates a group of people. According to van Leeuwen (2008) assimilation can be classified into two types:

a. Aggregation, which plays a vital role in various contexts by quantifying the actor with "statistics" such as "10% of Americans"

b. Collectivization, which plays on representing actor without non-statistics. It can be represented by first or third-person plural and collective words such as "this tribe," "the society," etc.

4) Association – Dissociation

Associations can be formed when the representation of social actors is associated with other group, for instance "Muslims everywhere are always be the target of massacres. After what happened in Palestine, now it is happening in Myanmar. At least 40 people died in the case of the Rohingya". In contrast, dissociation is more inclined towards individual representation and does not relate to other groups, for instance "As many as 40 Muslims died in the Rohingya case in Myanmar". Associations can generally be realized by parataxis, possessive pronouns and possessive attributive clauses with verbs such as "have" or "belong to".

5) Indetermination – Differentiation

Indetermination takes place when the actor / agent is not mentioned specifically and typically represented anonymously, in order to generalize the social actor. Indetermination is generally realized by indefinite pronouns such as someone, some people, and can also be realized by generalize exophoric references (van Leeuwen, 2008). Meanwhile, differentiation –also called determination, can be achieved by representing the actors/agents specifically,

like creating 'Us' vs 'Them' ideology. Generally, determination distinguishes the social actor in detail from one another.

6) Nomination – Categorization

Social actors can also be featured in the text through nomination and categorization strategies. Nomination is a strategy to represent actors/agents by explaining the unique identity of the mentioned actor. For example "a man was arrested by the police for smuggling drugs in his pocket". According to van Leeuwen (2008) nominations are usually marked with proper nouns, either *formally* (mention surname only) as 'Mr. Widodo / Widodo', *semiformally* (mention given name and surname) such as 'Joko Widodo', or *informally* (mention given name only) such as 'Mr. Joko / Joko'. Whereas categorization is a strategy to represent social actors by showing their specific identity categories. Categorization is also related to news ideology in the presentation of news texts, for example "black people are arrested by the police in drug smuggling cases in their pants pockets".

7) Functionalization – Identification

Actually, functionalization and and identification is still part of categorization strategy, but van Leeuwen (2008) prefer differentiates these strategies further. Functionalization takes place when the social actors are shown along with the activity or what they do, such as their profession. Van Leeuwen (2008) stated that functionalization may be realized by:

- A noun that formed from a verb by adding a suffixes after verb such as –*er, -ian*. For example the word 'dancer', 'comedian', etc

- A noun that indicate place or tool that closely related to an activity, such as the word 'dentist', 'engineer', etc.

- Combining nouns that denote places or tools that are closely related to an activity or very general categorization, such as the word 'boy', 'girls', 'person', 'spacemen', 'chairman', 'chairperson', etc.

In contrast, Identification instead focuses on the actors as who they are. Identification can identify the social actors through:

- Classification, by mentioning their classes, such as age, gender, religion, race, and identity.

- Relational identification, which refers to whether the actors are described by their personal relationship with one another, such as the term 'mother', 'sister', and 'friend'.

- Physical identification that represents physical characteristics and appearance of the actor/agent. For instance, the words 'snub nose', 'tall body', 'short hair, 'red hair', etc.

8) Personalization – Impersonalization

According to van Leeuwen (2008) personalization occured when the social actors are portrayed as having human characteristics and when they are given a meaning that incorporates the word "human". Impersonalization, on the other

hand, referred to the depiction of social actors as abstract or concrete nouns that did not have the feature of human, such as non-human objects.

These ideas were significant to this study since it raised data that was also collected from the mass media, which in the continuous reporting process, the media could indirectly shape or change the minds of the audience regarding a given understanding. In addition, the discourse created by the media could legitimize individuals or groups, and may marginalize other groups. Thus, to find out the characteristics of the media in representing actors in reporting in depth, van Leeuwen's (2008) SAR theory analysis model was considered worthy of being utilized as an analytical knife for this current study.

D. News as Discourse

The existence of the media within society plays an important role in constructing public opinion towards an issue. The mass media as a means of communication and information can disseminate information en masse and can be accessed easily by the public, both in print and through internet technology as online information. As for the mass media as a conveyer of information to the public, one of which can be realized through news products.

Meanwhile, news as discourse refers to the notion of news as a form of communication that builds and conveys meaning in a social and cultural context. This highlights the notion that news is not just an objective report on facts, but also a communication product that involves the construction of meaning, discursive practice, ideological influence, and social representation (Bednarek & Caple, 2012).

News as discourse also recognizes that news reflects certain perspectives and interests. Bednarek and Caple (2012) also explained the choice of language, quotes, and sources used in the news text can reflect the preferences, attitudes, or biases of those who compose the news. In other words, when news is viewed as discourse, it recognizes that news is shaped by decisions of the journalists, editors, and news organizations regarding what to report, how to frame information, and which voices to include or exclude. This decision can be influenced by various factors, such as editorial bias, commercial interests, political ideology and social norms.

1. Aljazeera Media Profile

Al Jazeera is an Arabic and English television station based in Doha, Qatar, and funded by the Qatari government. Aljazeera was founded by Sheikh Emir Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani who is the Emir (president) of Qatar who hopes for a media that is bold and professional, and focuses on issues related to the Arab world as well as Arab perspectives (El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003). This was done by Sheikh Emir Hamad by funding Al Jazeera.

This TV station became popular after the September 11, 2001 attacks, when it broadcast recorded statements by Osama bin Laden and other al-Qaeda leaders (Toumi, 2011). Al Jazeera's program is not only based on television broadcasts but also provides information in the form of written online news. This Middle East media is actively updating the latest news about the Taliban militia in its own version. The researcher selects Aljazeera as a data source for the reason that this

channel focuses a lot on events in the Middle East area, and is claimed to be one of the international news channels that is widely accessed throughout the world.

Qatar directly owns the Al Jazeera Media Network, which includes several news channels, including Al Jazeera Arabic, and Al Jazeera English. According to El-Nawawy & Iskandar (2003) the network is well known for reporting on global events, particularly those related to the Middle East, from viewpoints that are considered independent and at times controversial. El-Nawawy and Iskandar (2003) also explain the relations between Qatar and Al Jazeera are strong because the Qatari government has control and financing of the news network. In some cases, the Qatari government is seen as having editorial influence over Al Jazeera. However, Al Jazeera claims that it runs its operations independently and is not influenced by the Qatari government in determining its news coverage. Qatar and Al Jazeera's relationship is often in the spotlight, especially in the context of regional politics. Several countries such as America and Saudi Arabia have accused Al Jazeera of being a propaganda tool for the Qatari government.

Al Jazeera continues to grow and strive to be the leading news media reporting on events in the Middle East. One of them is the Arab Spring, which became a monumental event in the history of the Middle East. Based on Ghafur (2019), the Arab Spring is a wave of protests and uprisings carried out by pro-democracy communities in the Middle East and North Africa against authoritarian regimes in the region which began around 2010 to 2011. This incident resulted in the fragmentation of Arab countries in the Middle East, which then caused quite serious friction. The friction was mainly related to two actors, namely Saudi Arabia

and Qatar, where the friction culminated into a diplomatic crisis between Saudi Arabia and Qatar in 2017, with Saudi Arabia choosing to sever diplomatic relations with Qatar (Ningtyas, 2019). This termination also resulted in the blocking of the Aljazeera website by the Saudi Arabian government.

2. Fox News Media Profile

Fox News is an American multinational conservative cable news television channel based in New York. Fox News is managed by Fox News Media which is owned by The Fox Corporation. This channel was launched by media mogul, Rupert Murdoch, which is not only spread in America, but also Australia and England. According to Gramlich (2020) Murdoch has a large interest in the ownership of Fox Corporation and is considered a central figure behind this network. Based on the official Fox News website this channel was launched on October 7, 1996 and provides services to 86 overseas countries and territories from all over the world. This website is not only a written news source, but also linked to the Fox News television channel. The tendency of Fox News to report events in the form of spoken, makes researchers want to examine how this media portrays actors in its few written news articles.

As a media institution, Fox News is considered to have political affiliation with the political right. The right politics is a term that refers to a segment of the political spectrum that is usually associated with adherents of conservatism and classical liberalism. As reported in Tribunnews.com in 2020, this is evident in his coverage and commentary, which often takes a pro-Republican viewpoint, and

frequently invites guests who support Republican Party policies and politicians. According to Pew Research Center, Fox News has been criticized by a number of people, including academics, independent media and political critics, for its conservative leaning political affiliations. Some critics argue that Fox News played an active role in shaping the political narrative in favor of the Republican Party, while alternative views or criticism of the party are often ignored or avoided.

E. The Discourse of Afghanistan

1. Internal Context Dynamics in Afghanistan

Afghanistan is a country located in South Asia and Central Asia. Based on the World Population Review in 2023, Afghanistan is the 37th most populous country, with a population of around 42 million. This country is bordered by Pakistan to the south, Iran to the west, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan to the north, and China to the Northeast (CIA World Factbook, April 2023). According to a survey by Pew Research Center in 2012, it is estimated that religion in Afghanistan is 90% dominated by Sunni Islam, 7% Shia Islam, and 3% Hinduism and Sikhism.

Afghanistan's internal conflict is a complex situation and spans decades. The conflict involved a number of different factions, including the communist government, the Mujahidin backed by the US, the Soviet Union, and the Taliban. Initially, in 1978, a communist group known as the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) conducted a coup in Afghanistan (Rashid, 2002). Rashid explained, after the coup, the PDPA took over the government and began a

modernization program aimed at increasing women's rights, eliminating religion, and increasing social equality. However, these programs met resistance from a number of groups, including Islamist factions, traditional tribes, and the Mujahidin.

Then, according to Rashid (2002). in 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan to support the legitimate communist government. The United States and other Western countries began providing assistance to the Mujahidin, including weapons support and training. The conflict between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union ended in 1989, when Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan.

However, Rashid (2010) also explained following the withdrawal of Soviet troops, Afghanistan experienced a long and fierce internal conflict, including a civil war from 1989 to 2001 in which factions vied for control of the country's government. Rashid explained the war continued between the communist government and the Mujahidin who fought against the political faction of the government. In 1992, the communist government finally collapsed and the Mujahidin formed a new government. However, the new government was also unstable, giving rise to clashes between groups.

After this period, the Taliban took power in Afghanistan and established an Islamic state in 1996. The Taliban is a Sunni Islamic militant group in Afghanistan founded by Mullah Mohammed Omar in 1994. Based on a BBC News report in August 2022, the name "Taliban" comes from the Pashto language meaning "student", referring to the fact that the majority of the group's earliest members were students from madrassas or traditional Islamic schools in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

This group took advantage of the chaos that occurred in Afghanistan and rapidly seized control of the eastern and southern regions of Afghanistan. In 1996, the Taliban seized power in Kabul and established a strict and authoritarian Islamic government under the leadership of Mullah Omar. The ideology of the Taliban is extremely conservative and follows a literalist interpretation of Islam (Mashwani, 2017). Mashwani mentioned they adhere to a strict understanding of Islamic sharia, which is typically viewed as a very harsh and authoritarian interpretation. Some of the policies implemented by the Taliban during their rule include banning education for women, prohibiting modern entertainment such as music, television, and cinemas, as well as imposing very harsh punishments such as death penalty, flogging, and amputation.

Although many members of the Taliban hold conservative views, according to Council of Foreign Relation (2021) and Institute for the Study of War (2021) there are also groups or factions that are considered more moderate, and more open to negotiations with the Afghan government and other groups. First, there is a group of Taliban who tend to be more moderate in political views. The group is made up of former Afghan government officials who previously served under the Taliban rule in the 1990s. One of the key figures in this group is Abdul Ghani Baradar, who currently (as of 2023) serves as the new Taliban government's deputy prime minister. Baradar is best known for leading reconciliation efforts with the Afghan and US governments over the past few years. In contrast, other factions within the Taliban are known to be more extremist and unwilling to negotiate with the Afghan government or other groups. The group is led by Sirajuddin Haqqani, who has close

ties to Al-Qaeda and is considered the most violent group within the Taliban (Institute for the Study of War, 2021).

However, important decisions are made by the supreme leader of the Taliban –as of 2021 until now in the hands of Haibatullah Akhunzada, and all Taliban members are expected to support these decisions (Council of Foreign Relation, 2021). Therefore, regardless of the differences between Taliban factions, in general, their ideology and objectives remain the same. Second, there are some members of the Taliban who are more moderate in social views. Although this faction supports the implementation of Sharia law, they are more flexible in applying some rules, such as allowing women to work in the health and education sectors (Institute for the Study of War, 2021).

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the presence of moderates within the Taliban does not change the fact that the Taliban as a whole remains conservative and extreme in their application of Islamic Sharia law. The new Taliban administration in Afghanistan has embarked on a harsh and controversial crackdown, including forcing the closure of schools for girls and banning flights from airports for people wishing to leave Afghanistan. These rules have drawn controversy from many Afghans, especially women, so that in August 2022, Al Jazeera News reported that the Taliban provided guarantees for continuing education for women, but with very strict rules. Girls' schools must be separated from boys' schools, women must wear closed clothes, and the curriculum must focus on teaching religion (Aljazeera News, 2022). However, in December 2022,

Aljazeera also reported that the Taliban had suspended women's access to university education.

The influence of the Taliban in Afghanistan remains quite significant. Despite being deposed in 2001 by the military invasion of the United States and its allies, the Taliban were able to regain power in Afghanistan in 2021. The influence of the Taliban in Afghanistan is complex and controversial. On the one hand, they managed to gain the support of a large portion of the Afghan population who are disillusioned by the corrupt and unstable western-backed government, as well as dissatisfaction with foreign powers who are seen as interfering in domestic affairs. But on the other hand, many people in Afghanistan also criticize the harsh policies of the Taliban which they believe to violate human rights and harm Afghanistan's civil society.

2. External Context in Afghanistan: Afghanistan and United States Conflict

The Afghanistan War, or international conflict between Afghanistan and America in Afghanistan, began in 2001 which was sparked by the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States. The US-claimed the attack was carried out by Osama bin Laden –the leader of the Islamic militant group al-Qaeda, which killed nearly 3,000 people after hijacked planes crashed into the World Trade Center building in New York and the Pentagon in Arlington County, Virginia (Council on Foreign Relations, 2021). Due to the large number of victims that fell

in this incident, making it a terrorist attack with the highest number of victims in history.

The Taliban –an ultraconservative political and religious group that controlled Afghanistan at the time, were suspected of protecting Osama Bin Laden, and preventing American forces from discovering al-Qaeda hideouts in Afghanistan. Mullah Mohammed Omar –the founder and leader of the Taliban at that time refused to cooperate with the United States to hand over al-Qaeda because he doubted that al-Qaeda could plot such a powerful attack from thousands of kilometers away in Afghanistan. In response to the 9/11 attacks and the refusal of the Taliban to cooperate, in October 2001 the then-US president, George W. Bush declared the War on Terrorism by invading Afghanistan to overthrow the Taliban in order to hunt down al-Qaeda.

The attack on Afghanistan by the United States comprises of four phases. The first phase occurred in 2001 which is intended to overthrow the Taliban rule over Afghanistan at that time. The second phase occurred at the end of 2001 to 2008 which was marked by United States forces who succeeded in repelling the Taliban militarily, and then reconstructing the Afghanistan's primary institution with the new American-backed government. As a result of the establishment of a new pro-Western government, public facilities such as schools and hospitals were rebuilt. Afghan women, who were initially banned from going to school during the Taliban era, are finally able to get an education. Afghan women have earned their right to study, work and serve as members of the government's parliament. In addition, in this phase the United States is continously sending more military troops to

Afghanistan. As reported by the Washinton Post in 2007, the US military troops, which initially numbered 19,500 in Afghanistan, grew rapidly to 98,000 troops. This number has not been added to the addition of 50,000 military troops from America's allies in NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and 120,000 Afghan army recruited by America and NATO (Baker, Additional Troop Increase Approved, 2007).

The third phase, was implemented by the transition to traditional counter-insurgency doctrine that began in 2008 and accelerated by President Barack Obama's decision to increase the number of American troops by 30,000 troops in Afghanistan (Baker, 2009). This phase ended with the death of al-Qaeda leader, Osama bin Laden, in 2011.

The fourth phase was marked by the withdrawal of several US troops in Afghanistan in 2014, and the peak occurred in 2021 when the Taliban got the opportunity and re-occupied many areas in Afghanistan, after Joe Biden – the current president of America, announced that America would stop the war in Afghanistan (Smith & Egan, 2021). President Biden also continued the peace talks between the US and the Taliban that were previously initiated under the administration of Donald Trump in 2020.

According to Council on Foreign Relations (2021) the peace negotiations led to an agreement for the total withdrawal of the US military from Afghanistan. In exchange, the Taliban promised to cut ties with terrorist organizations such as al-Qaeda and ISIS, and reduce violence as well as negotiate with the former US-

backed Afghan government. However, the Taliban did not adhere to the US-Taliban agreement. As reported by Fox News in 2021, the Taliban continued to launch attacks against American soldiers who were still left behind in Afghanistan, and former pro-Western Afghan government officials (Blitzer, 2021). Even Ashraf Ghani – the president of Afghanistan at that time, fled Afghanistan a few hours after the Taliban took over the Afghan capital, Kabul, in August 2021 (Latifi, 2021). Thus, since then, the era of Taliban rule in Afghanistan has returned to the present day.

In tandem with the return of the Taliban to power in Afghanistan, the rules that they used to apply before the American invasion in 2001 returned. As a result, Afghan women are no longer allowed to attend school, work, even become government officials. Instead, the Taliban stated that the women could be replaced by male relatives to keep working (Jain, 2021).

The Taliban have also re-implemented strict sharia law in Afghanistan as they had before the US invasion in 2001, including imposing harsh punishments such as public execution, stoning and flogging for wrongdoers. The Taliban state that women should remian at home, and if they have to go out, they should be accompanied by their *mahram* (male relative). In addition, the Taliban also stipulates that Afghan women must wear the *burqa* (head covering). The Taliban have their own and zero tolerance interpretation of what "strict sharia law" means. In a sense, those who does not adhere to their correct definition of Islamic sharia, then they are considered to have disobeyed the sharia law and must be punished. As reported by Mogul (2022) in CNN News report, the image of the Taliban for

their moderate interpretation of sharia law is considered by some to have violated human rights. The return of Afghanistan's strict rules has sparked many cons, especially among Afghan women who are directly affected by this patriarchal order. Of course, as a result of these restrictions, Afghan women's rights acquired under the previous administration from 2001 to 2021 were implicitly removed.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter attempted to present and discuss the research methodology used by the researcher. The researcher divided this chapter into several parts which cover research design, data and data source, data collection, and data analysis.

A. Research Design

Based on the problems and objectives to be achieved, this study is included in qualitative research with a descriptive method that focuses on Taliban issue reported by Aljazeera and Fox News regarding the success of the Taliban taking over Kabul in August 2021, following the withdrawal of American forces from Afghanistan. According to Cresswell (2009), qualitative research is research where the researcher is placed as the key instrument, data collection techniques are combined, and data analysis is inductive. Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (2014) explained that the nature of qualitative methods focuses on data in the form of words –which can be interpreted as language in the form of extended text, as the main research material rather than a series of numbers.

This is in line with this current study which took news texts and reports as the objects. This research is classified as descriptive research because this present study provides a comprehensive and detailed description of the problem, which is in this case focuses on how Al Jazeera and Fox News represent the social actor of the Taliban. In addition, Creswell also stated that qualitative research generates and processes descriptive data which is in line with this study which took news texts as research objects. The collected data were identified

and analyzed using a critical discourse analysis approach by applying the social actor representation strategy proposed by van Leeuwen (2008) to achieve the findings of the research.

B. Data and Data Source

The data source of this study is taken from two online news articles, Al Jazeera and Fox News, which both cover the issue of the Taliban who succeeded in taking power in Afghanistan and the new policies that accompany it. Aljazeera's coverage represented Eastern media, while Fox News's coverage represented Western media. Aljazeera and Fox News were selected because the researcer wanted to know how they represented the Taliban in their reporting. In addition, according to Porter (2006) Aljazeera is the third largest international news channel after BBC World News and CNN International, which makes Aljazeera widely accessible to national or international readers. Aljazeera also offers news with an Eastern perspective.

Meanwhile, Fox News was chosen because according to the Pew Research Center in 2020, Fox News is one of the most popular cable news channels in the United States, and about 43% of American adults trust Fox News. In addition, the need to further analyze the differences between the reports of the Eastern media Aljazeera and the Western media Fox News should be undertaken to determine whether the two media support or contradict the common notion that Eastern and Western media frameworks are usually different and sometimes contradict each other.

The data was collected from news published in the last three months, from August to October 2021. The choice of date was driven by the month when the Taliban's seizure of power in Afghanistan was at its peak, and the policies they re-implemented were increasingly heating up. There were four news articles that were taken as data for this research. The headlines of those articles are 1) "As the Taliban seized cities, they sent women home", 2) "Taliban says will respect women's rights, press freedom", 3) "Taliban take control, promise religious rule amid reports of executions, forced marriages", 4) "Taliban promises to protect women's rights... with a catch".

In order to obtain a balanced result, the researchers took the same amount of news between Al Jazeera and Fox News, two news articles each from the two news portals. The selection of these article headlines from both the Aljazeera and Fox News portals was based on after the researcher read further, the contents of the articles and headlines focused on reporting on Taliban agents. Compared to other articles which focus more on other agents such as American soldiers or Afghans, these four titles are the ones that mostly report on the Taliban, in which the Taliban is the object focus of this study.

The data used was in the form of words and phrases taken from the headline and the entire contents of those selected news articles, which include the use of the inclusion-exclusion strategy. Then the data will be analyzed to find out which inclusion and exclusion strategies are used to represent the social actors of the Taliban.

C. Research Instrument

The main research instrument for this study is the researcher herself because the researcher collected, analyzed, identified, and classified the research data. Simultaneously, Cresswell (2009) also explained that the one who collected and processed the data was the main instrument in the research.

D. Data Collection

During the data collection procedure, the researcher passed several steps as follows. First, the researcher read all the news on the online mass media Al Jazeera and Fox News concerning the issue of the Taliban's successful takeover of Kabul and the series of events that followed. The duration of data collection is specified from news articles published in early August, when the Taliban issue was at its height, until the end of October 2021 as the limit for data collection itself. The selection of the month and date was based on the time span that the Taliban's action which succeeded in retaking Kabul was at its peak, and the event was heavily reported by numerous global media. Then, from the numerous news articles published during the specified period, the researcher selected two news articles on each news portal.

E. Data Analysis

To analyze the data, the researcher used van Leeuwen model of discourse analysis theory regarding the representation of social actors. As stated by Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (2014), there were several stages in processing the data as follow: 1) in data reduction, the researcher reduced any data that is considered less relevant or not related to the formulation of research questions and the

objectives of this study. 2) After selecting the data that is less relevant, the researcher presented the data obtained, which was then analyzed using the theory of social actor representation with an exclusion-inclusion approach. 3) In the last stage, the researcher drew some conclusions based on the data that has been analyzed.

CHAPTER IV

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the findings and discussion of the findings related to the exploration point. The first sub-chapter describes the findings that are analyzed using the theory of van Leeuwen regarding the social actors' representation. The second sub-chapter explains a discussion of the findings that have also been analyzed using van Leeuwen's (2008) theory.

A. Research Findings

The data below was taken from several news articles covered the issue of Taliban which was collected from online media portals Aljazeera and Fox News. The article used in this study were specifically published in early August when the Taliban issue was at its height, until the end of October 2021 as the limit for data collection itself. Four news articles were taken from each Al Jazeera and Fox News as the data.

In this sub-chapter, the researcher discussed the results of data analysis from the strategies used by online media Aljazeera and Fox News in representing the social actors of the Taliban. Two steps of analysis were described. First, the researcher looked at the context of the discourse contained in the quotations analyzed. After that the researcher classified them based on the inclusion and exclusion strategies applied, then explained the reasons why these strategies are used.

1. **Aljazeera Online News**

    a) **Online News 1 (As the Taliban seized cities, they sent women home)**

    The present data was obtained from the online Aljazeera mass media, which was published on August 16, 2021. The article concerned about the Taliban's new policy of prohibiting women from working, which was implemented shortly after the Taliban took control of Kabul. There are several points found in the news that employed of the inclusion-exclusion approach, which will be discussed in detail below.

Excerpt 1

*As the **Taliban** seized cities, they sent **women** home* (Aljazeera, 08/16/2021)

After successfully seizing Kabul, Afghanistan's capital, and taking control of several other cities in Afghanistan, Taliban made the decision to prohibit women from working. They specify work restrictions for female workers who cannot be replaced by males who are permitted to continue working, otherwise, they must return home. The decision to send the women home is a sign that the Taliban have upheld their strict interpretation of Islam. The excerpt above appears during the fourth phase of the political situation in Afghanistan as described in chapter 2 previously.

There are several alternatives that can be applied by a media to display actors in a discourse. In this case, Aljazeera has a preference for presenting social actors through the use of the **indetermination strategy** (van Leeuwen, 2008) found in Al Jazeera's first news headlines. Indetermination in the first news title above is

marked by the use of the word "women". The word "women" is used to indicate ambiguity. Without reading the entire article, the reader cannot be certain which woman is referred to in the text. The word 'women' is not specifically defined in order to obscure the exact number of women and which women are intended. In addition, the usage of the word 'women' also gives a generalization effect that it is addressed to all women as a whole. In fact, if the reader reads the entire news, they will discover the exact number of female employees who have been requested to return home. The vague mention of social actors will certainly affect the reader's perception of the description of women in the text.

In addition, group 2 (women) who are considered less dominant in their position are presented in the text as a comparison from group 1 (Taliban) which is considered to have more power. This construction is included in the **differentiation strategy** (van Leeuwen, 2008), which is part of the inclusion. In the first sentence it is clear that the Taliban have taken control of many cities, while in the second sentence the fact is that female workers have to return home. The construction of these two sentences indirectly marginalizes the position of the Taliban by showing as if their success in capturing the city gave them a higher position. This excerpt appears in the political situation when the Taliban returned to control Afghanistan along with its policies, as explained in chapter 2 previously. On the other hand, group 2 (women) seems to have no other choice, but to obey the more dominant party. It is said to be marginalized because the first preposition (Taliban who control the city) is viewed as the cause of the second preposition (Women should not work).

In the quotation above, it is also found the use of the **activation** strategy that is a branch of the inclusion strategy (van Leeuwen, 2008). This is indicated by the phrase "they sent women home" which is an active sentence structure. Here, it is clearly understand that the subject 'they' which refers to the Taliban, takes an action (predicate) in the form of ordering women to return home (object). This activation construct represented the actor by highlighting the activity or action he is performing. According to van Leeuwen (2008), this strategy is the most widely used method by the media to portray actors in the news scripts.

Excerpt 2

> *The Taliban told female employees at **some banks** to not return to their jobs, raising concerns over their futures.* (Aljazeera, 08/16/2021)

In addition, **indetermination strategy** in (van Leeuwen, 2008) is also found in the excerpt above. The data above is taken from the sub head of the first Aljazeera arcticle. Indetermination here is marked by the use of the quantifier determiner "some" in the phrase "some banks". The media preferred to use the diction "some banks" instead of mentioning the name of the bank explicitly. This construction prompted the reader to ignore the object and focus more on the general number of banks. Of course, this is founded on the media principle which claims that an attractive title is a title that can attract readers to read it. Thus, similiar to the function of the title, the sub-heading likewise influences the reader's decision to stop looking at the many titles offered.

Besides, it was also found the use of **activation** strategies of (van Leeuwen, 2008) in the quotation above. This is shown by the active construction of the phrase "The Taliban told female employees at some banks to not return to their jobs". In this structure, it is evident that the Taliban (as a subject), performs actions (predicates) in the form of words to prohibit women (objects) from working.

Excerpt 3

> *The gunmen* *escorted them to their homes and told them not to return to their jobs. Instead,* *they explained that male relatives could take their place, according to three of the women* *involved and the bank's manager.* (Aljazeera, 08/16/2021)

In the excerpt above, Aljazeera is found to represent social actors using **categorization strategy** which is the part of inclusion strategy (van Leeuwen, 2008). Here Aljazeera media attempts to present actors by giving certain categories. By using the category "the gunmen" which refers to the Taliban entity, the media tries to present the Taliban as a social actor who likes to threaten and use violence. Furthermore, the addition of this category has an impact on the reader's perception that the Taliban is constantly associated with firearms. As a result, whenever the name Taliban is mentioned, it is possible that the reader's imagination will conjure up images of a bunch of men with guns in their hands.

On the other hand, another interesting statement in the article is that Aljazeera is willing to inform the public that the Taliban does not necessarily prohibit women from earning a living income, but rather that their male relatives can replace them. Based on the construction above, this shows that this media is not trying to marginalize the discourse of defending the Taliban. In this context, the

media not only sees the problem from a woman's perspective, but also defends the subject matter, the Taliban fighter.

Excerpt 4

> *"It's really strange to not be allowed to get to work, but now this is what it is,"* **Noor Khatera, a 43-year-old woman who worked in the accounts department of Azizi Bank told Reuters.** (Aljazeera, 08/16/2021)

In response to the Taliban's decision to restrict Afghan women from working, Reuters interviewed one of the female workers, Noor Khatera, who felt aggrieved by the restrictions. In light to her comments to Reuters, it can be understood that preventing women from working is equivalent to suppressing women's rights. Meanwhile, the restrictions on women from working by the Taliban are grounded on their strict interpretations of Islamic sharia law. This excerpt appears in the fourth phase of the Afghan political situation after Joe Biden announced that they would end the US invasion of Afghanistan, as explained in chapter 2 previously.

In the excerpt 4 above, it was found that the **identification strategy** in (van Leeuwen, 2008) was used as indicated by the addition of the clause "a 43-year-old woman who worked in the accounts department of Azizi Bank". This addition is aimed to provide information about who the actor (Noor Khatera) is. This identification is evidenced by the age and gender classification of the actor. In addition, the opposite of identification (**functionalization strategy**) of (van Leeuwen, 2008) is also found in the excerpt above. This is indicated by the representation of the actor (Noor Khatera) which is accompanied by the mention of

her profession (i.e. Bank employee) simultaneously. This kind of sentence construction is able to give the public impression that the speaker is a female resource person who works in the account department of Azizi Bank.

Furthermore, referring to van Leeuwen (2008) regarding the nomination strategy, the excerpt above is also an example of the implementation of the **nomination strategy** which is still the part of inclusion strategies (van Leeuwen, 2008). This is evidenced by the semi-formal mention of the proper noun "Noor Khatera", which mentions her given name and her surname.

Excerpt 5

"I taught myself English and even learned how to operate a computer, but now I will have to look for a place where I can just work with more women around." The incident is an early sign that some of the rights won by **Afghan women** *over the 20 years since the hardline movement was toppled could be reversed.* (Aljazeera, 08/16/2021)

Twenty years ago since the fall of the Taliban in 2001, women's rights in Afghanistan have progressed from the 1996-2001 Taliban leadership, when the Taliban enforced strict rules according to their interpretation of Islamic sharia law (BBC News Indonesia, 2021). After previously Afghan women were freed from several policies that were burdensome and violated their rights, now Afghan women have experienced the same thing again since the Taliban succeeded in reoccupying Kabul in August 2021. The Taliban once again reapplies the rules such as Afghan women are prohibited from attending school and working. Obviously, the re-establishment of the policy resulted in numerous disadvantages, particularly for Afghan women. They oppose reinstituting the patriarchal order. This quote appears

at a phase where the Taliban reap a lot of cons about their interpretation on sharia law, as explained in chapter 2 page 27 previously.

In the excerpt 5 above, it is found the use of **genericization strategy** of (van Leeuwen, 2008). The media mentioned "Afghan women" actors in general and in the plural form without articles. Women in Afghanistan are described in terms of gender categories. In addition, referring back to datum [1.3] on the defense of the Taliban that appeared in the body article, the media also constructed the defense of Afghan women for freedom of work and for other women's rights. First, the frustated remarks of the source (Noor Khatera) was included in the body text by the journalists. Second, the media constructs the defense of Afghan women for freedom of work and other women's rights.

Excerpt 6

> *Three Taliban fighters carrying guns entered the branch, admonishing female employees for showing their faces in public. Women there quit, sending male relatives in their place.*
> (Aljazeera, 08/16/2021)

As an act of re-imposing strict rules by the Taliban on the prohibition of women from working, as explained in chapter 2 earlier, the Taliban fighters control several workplaces, including banks in Afghanistan. In the excerpt above, it is reported that three armed Taliban fighters entered a Milli Bank branch in Herat and ordered the female employees there to return to their respective homes.

Slightly similar to the previous excerpt 3, here the journalist defined the social actors of the Taliban fighters by adding an explanatory sentence (dependent

clause) that displays certain categories, so that it can be seen that there is a **categorization strategy** of (van Leeuwen, 2008) used in the pattern above. In reference to van Leeuwen (2008) which stated that the categorization strategy frequently leads readers to specific interpretation, the construction of this structure is a categorization attached by journalists in order to rise assumption that the use of weapons will be attached to the Taliban. The category of "carrying guns" which is placed after the actors of "Taliban fighters" illustrates that by equipping themselves with weapons, Taliban fighters will succeed to intimidate female employees into returning home and doing their bidding.

In addition, the choice of the word "fighters" in the quotation above also implied **a functionalization strategy** (van Leeuwen, 2008). In this case, the Taliban actor is represented along with the role they play, which is as a group of people who serves as soldiers. Van Leeuwen (2008) explained that functionalization can be identified by the presence of nouns formed from verbs that are affixed (with the suffix) –er, hence it is claimed that the word "fighters" above is included in the functualization strategy.

Furthermore, in the quotation above also found the use of **activation** strategy which is a branch of the inclusion strategy (van Leeuwen, 2008). This is because the arrangement of the quotation above is an active sentence structure. Here, it is clearly understood that the 'Three Taliban fighters carrying guns,' who act as the subject take an action (predicate) in the form of entering a Milli Bank branch and giving a warning to the 'female employees' who act as the object of the sentence.

Excerpt 7

> *Taliban spokesperson Zabihullah Mujahid did not respond to a request for comment about the two incidents. Spokespeople for the two banks did not respond to requests for comment.* (Aljazeera, 08/16/2021)

As explained earlier, Afghanistan is in a heated situation due to the re-imposition of strict interpretations of their Islamic law, such as the rule that women are not allowed to go to work, girls are not allowed to go to school, and women must wear the burqa (head covering) (Zucchino & Akbary, 2022). The climax was when the Taliban began monitoring the two largest banks in Afghanistan, Bank Azizi and Bank Milli, then repatriating female employees there. Of course this has reaped many responses from various circles, especially from Afghan women. Through their social media, several of them have filed complaints and requested international assistance on the rules. Unfortunately, their voices did not get a response, either from a spokesman for the Taliban and a spokesman for Azizi and Milli Bank.

Another way to bring out the actors in the news text is by applying **Functionalization strategy** of (Van Leeuwen, 2008). This strategy deals with naming actors along with what they do. The excerpt above can give exactly an example of how to implement this strategy in news texts. The phrase "Taliban spokesperson" emphasizes that social actors from the Taliban are represented based on the actor's professional status, specifically as a spokesperson. Based on the excerpt above, we can see that the Taliban spokesman referred to here is Zahibullah

Mujahid. In addition, a similar analysis also applies to the phrase "spokespeople" in the following sentence which refers to the spokespersons of Azizi and Milli Bank.

Moreover, in the excerpt above, there is also a semi-formally **nomination** as evidenced by the mention of the actor's name personally. Referring to Van Leeuwen (2008), the first sentence above is considered to be semi-formal nomination because it mentions the given name and the name of the actor being discussed, namely Zahibullah Mujahid.

In addition, in the excerpt above it is also found the use of **activation** strategies (van Leeuwen, 2008). This is marked by the first sentence 'Taliban spokesperson Zabihullah Mujahid did not respond to a request for comment about the two incidents' and the second sentence 'Spokespeople for the two banks did not respond to requests for comment' that using the same active sentence. Here, it is clearly understood that the two subjects of each sentence, which in this case are the 'Taliban spokesperson Zabihullah Mujahid' and 'Spokespeople for the two banks' both do not give a response (predicate) to the incident at Bank Milli and Bank Azizi.

Excerpt 8

> ***The US and other Western powers*** *fear **the Taliban** will roll back many of the freedoms won by women.* (Aljazeera, 08/16/2021)

With the collapse of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan in 2001 at the hands of the United States, their strict laws against women ceased to exist (Garrison, 2021). Under the leadership of the Afghan government backed by the United States, women's rights such as the right to work and receive an education were regained.

However, as a result of the Taliban's return to power in Afghanistan in 2021, the freedom of women's rights is also at risk of being re-frozen.

In the exceprt 8 above, the media tries to bring out actors by using a **differentiation strategy** of (van Leeuwen, 2008). Here the media attempts to corner the Taliban by presenting another group that is perceived as more dominant, which in this case is "the US and Western powers". This is supported by the West's statement in the next quote, which is concerned about the collapse of women's rights in Afghanistan under US leadership since the Taliban's fall in 2001. This construction indirectly distinguishes between the attitude of the Taliban and the US on the freedom of women's rights. The Taliban group is marginalized by presenting as if they do not care about women's rights. On the other hand, the West appears to be perceived as a more humanitarian actor since it defends the rights of Afghan women.

In addition, **assimilation strategy** of (van Leeuwen, 2008) is also used in the excerpt above. Western nations are shown in the form of groups. In this context "Western powers" here refers to The United States, Britain, France, and Germany (Johnston, 2003). The phrase Western powers is considered to be assimilated since those countries are collectivized in the phrase "western", rather than mentioning them one by one. Hence it can be claimed that the excerpt "western powers" above employs assimilation strategy with a collectivization approach to bring out the actors.

b) **Online News 2 (Taliban says will respect women's rights, press freedom)**

The present data was obtained from the online Aljazeera mass media, which was published on August 17, 2021. The article discussed The Taliban's declaration that they will respect women's rights including granting them the ability to work and pursue an education, and guaranteeing freedom of the press in Afghanistan. The statement was made after the Taliban entered the capital Kabul and regained control of government in August 2021. However, despite the Taliban has pledged to uphold women's rights, but the international world is still concerned that they will not keep their word and that women's rights in Afghanistan remain threatened.

Excerpt 9

The group *says it will allow Afghan women to work and study, assures media workers they will be protected.* (Aljazeera, 17/08/2021)

The **assimilation** strategy of (van Leeuwen, 2008), which is part of the inclusion strategy, is mentioned in the preceding excerpt. The assimilation in the excerpt above is indicated by the phrase "the group". Here, Aljazeera represents the Taliban group in the form of a group related to reporting on the promise of the Taliban not to limit the rights of Afghan women. Aljazeera collectivizes the Taliban by using other expressions to present it in the news text. For this reason, it can be said that the quote above uses an assimilation strategy with a collectivization approach in presenting the Taliban actors.

In the excerpt above, it is also found the use of **activation** strategies in (van Leeuwen, 2008). This is because the preceding excerpt is an active sentence structure. In the construction of this sentence, Aljazeera tried to represent the Taliban actor, who acts as the subject of the sentence, by highlighting the activity or action they perform (predicate) in the form of giving a statement to allow Afghan women, who serve as the object subjected to work by the Taliban subject, to keep working and studying.

In addition, in the above excerpt also found the use of **backgrounding** strategies (van Leeuwen, 2008). This strategy removed the actors in some parts of the text but still mentions them in other parts. To be clear, this strategy did not completely remove the actors in the news texts. Backgrounding can be realized by using a paratactic arrangement. Paratactic clauses can be understood as sentences consisting of two or more clauses with parallel or equivalent meanings (Huddleston & Pullum, 2007). Meanwhile the above quotation contained 2 clauses with parallel meanings, those are "The group says it will allow Afghan women to work and study" as the first clause, and "assure media workers they will be protected" as the second clause. Those two sentences are at the same level and are connected by a comma conjunction, so that the subject in the arrangement is adequately represented by the first clause. The quote above is classified as backgrounding because the subject of the Taliban actor is missing from the second clause, but is still mentioned in the first clause. This sentence construction aimed to summarize sentences, so that the meaning to be conveyed is easy to understand.

Excerpt 10

> *Earlier on Tuesday, **Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar, the group's co-founder and now
> deputy leader**, arrived in the country's second-largest city Kandahar from Doha, Qatar
> where he has spent months leading talks with the United States and then Afghan peace
> negotiators.* (Aljazeera, 17/08/2021)

This excerpt can be classified using the **functionalization** strategy in van
Leeuwen (2008) because there are representations of social actors associated with
certain functions or roles in society. In this excerpt, the social actor of Mullah Abdul
Ghani Baradar is represented as an important figure in the Taliban group who plays
a key role or function in negotiations with the United States and Afghanistan's peace
negotiators. This representation provided an overview of Baradar's important role
in the Taliban group and provides information about how Baradar plays a role in
peace efforts in Afghanistan.

In van Leeuwen (2008) framework, functionalization strategies are used to
show how the role of the actors displayed can influence people's views in their
social environment. Therefore, the representation of Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar
by Al Jazeera as an important figure in peace negotiations can influence the views
and attitudes towards the Taliban group and peace efforts in Afghanistan. Baradar's
role in this peace talks shows that there are some parties within the Taliban who are
more open to negotiate with other groups, as the researcher explained in the sub-
chapter 'internal conflict of Afghanistan' in chapter II previously.

In addition, in the excerpt above is also found a semi-formally **nomination**.
This is evidenced by the name of the actor who was mentioned personally.

Referring to van Leeuwen (2008), the quotation above is said to be a semi-formal nomination because the journalist mentions the given name and the surname of the actor being discussed, namely Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar. In this case, Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar is featured in the news text by specifically mentioning his name as the co-founder and deputy leader of the Taliban group. Such representations allow us to distinguish one social actor from another and provide more specific information about who the actor is being reported.

2. **Fox News**

   c) **Online News 3 (Taliban take control, promise religious rule amid reports of executions, forced marriages)**

   The article with the aforementioned title was obtained from the online Fox News media, which was published on August 31, 2021. The article discussed the current condition of Afghanistan after the Taliban took control of the country following the withdrawal of American soldiers. In this article, several points are found using the inclusion and exclusion approach in representing social actors, as in the excerpts below.

Excerpt 11

Taliban take control, promise religious rule amid reports of executions, forced marriages
(Fox News, 08/31/2021)

Since assuming power in Afghanistan on August 15, 2021, the international community –an international network of organizations consisting of world organizations and countries around the world that working together to solve global

issues (Brice, 2011), has exerted pressure on the Taliban to commit upholding the rights of Afghan women. As reported by Fox News on December 3, 2021, the Taliban government issued a decree on women's rights which stated that women have the right to refuse forced marriages in Afghanistan.

Excluding actors in a report can be done using a **backgrounding strategy** (van Leeuwen, 2008). This strategy removes the actor in several sentences and still leaves references to the actor's background. One method to employ this strategy is by using paratactic clause. Paratactic clauses can be understood as sentences consisting of two or more clauses with parallel or equivalent meanings. In this case, the preceding excerpt contains three identical clauses: "Taliban take control" as the first clause, "Taliban promise religious rule amid reports of executions" as the second clause, and "Taliban forced marriages" as the third clause. All three clauses are on the same level as main sentence. Those clauses are combined with an equivalent conjunction 'comma', so that the subject of those clauses is adequately represented in the first clause. The reason why this excerpt is classified as a backgrounding strategy is because the sentence construction above does not necessarily exclude the actor as a whole, but the actor is still mentioned in multiple places throughout the text.

In addition, the excerpt 'Taliban promises religious rule amid reports of executions' above also uses an **activation** strategy of (Van Leeuwen, 2008) in which the actor, in this case the Taliban, is represented as an active subject of the predicate 'promising religious rules amid reports of executions'.

Excerpt 12

> ***Taliban members*** *are reportedly going door to door killing people in Kabul* (Fox News, 08/31/2021)

After the Taliban succeeded in controlling Kabul, the United States immediately withdrew its troops from Afghanistan. Although the Taliban had previously tried to reassure the Afghan people and promised peace, there is still a rising fear that their words do not match their actions. However, the Taliban are reportedly still carrying out acts of revenge by hunting down the remaining American troops in Afghanistan and those who are working for NATO forces. They checked door to door for people with these criteria.

Apart from using backgrounding, removing actors in the news can also be done using a **suppression strategy** of (van Leeuwen, 2008). If the backgrounding still mentions the actor elsewhere in the text, this strategy really excludes the actor completely from the entire text. In the data shown above, suppression is formed by using the passive voice. Because this type of exclusion leaves no trace of who the actor referred to in the text is, this strategy was deliberately implemented so that the reader does not know who the physical perpetrators were who reported the actions of the taliban and to whom the actions of the taliban were reported. By using passive agent deletion, this sentence construction highlights the reader to focus more on the object of the news, rather than the subject of the news, and can manipulates the reader to focus more on the actions taken by the actor. This happens because the nature of the passive sentence which does not bring up the subject actor in the previous active sentence.

Moreover, the term "people" in the excerpt above is used to indicate the adoption of an **indetermination strategy** in (van Leeuwen, 2008). The term "people" here is specifically unknown who the "people" actor is referring to. This is indeed based on the nature of indetermination which mentions actors vaguely and anonymously. However, as stated in news articles published by BBC News, 2021 the term "people" in this context can be understood to specifically refer to those who worked for American troops and the former Afghan government. Therefore, the construction of the sentence above eliminates the main subject and focuses on the object of the Taliban actor, who represents as if the Taliban killed everyone in Afghanistan without exception, from one house to another. Even though the pursuit of the Taliban is only targeting those who oppose the Taliban's power. Besides, the taliban actor in the excerpt above is shown as they are, namely as an actor who committed the murder.

Excerpt 13

Similar actions had already been taken in other parts of the country before the American military even left. (Fox News, 08/31/2021)

The US authorities in Afghanistan claim that the Taliban have been pursuing them long before the withdrawal of American forces. They reported that the Taliban were executing United State allies in other provinces far from the media in Kabul.

Slightly resembling the data in the previous excerpts 10, this present data also uses a **suppression strategy** in (van Leeuwen, 2008) to exclude actors from the news text. Suppression here is characterized by the use of passive sentences

which remove the actor's subject from the excerpt above. It makes sense that the actor excluded here refers to the taliban entity. The elimination of passive agents in news reporting is not always positive in favor of the actor's actions, but can also have a negative meaning with the intention of marginalize the actors who have een removed from the text, which in this case are the Taliban actors. In the excerpt above, Fox News attempted to marginalize the Taliban by removing them from the news, so that the reader's focus solely on the actions of the actor, which in this case is the hunting of American troops who are lagging behind in Afghanistan and their allies, carried out by the Taliban.

Excerpt 14

*"Basically, **they** just put all those Afghans on a kill list," one defense official told Politico.*
(Fox News, 08/31/2021)

In the excerpt above, journalists represent social actors in a vague and non-specific way. The word "they" describes the representation of social actors who include into **indetermination** strategy in (van Leeuwen, 2008) framework. The indetermination above is marked by the presence of an exophoric reference that refers to someone outside the discourse. Exophoric reference is a type of reference in which the meaning or reference of a word or phrase in a text can only be understood through a context outside the text. The exophoric reference in the excerpt above is indicated by the word "they" which does not have a clear meaning and it is not known to whom the word refers, so that the actors involved in the news become obscure. However, by understanding the context of the discourse as a whole, we can understand that the actor referred to by the pronoun "they" refers to

the Taliban entity. This indetermination strategy is one of the ways to present actors in the text which is included in the inclusion strategy, so that even though the actors shown are vague and unspecific, the journalist remains appear the actors in their news texts.

In addition, the above excerpt also found the use of **activation** strategies in (van Leeuwen, 2008). This is indicated by the sentence 'they all those Afghans on a kill list' which uses active sentences. Here, it can be clearly understood that the subject 'they' which refers to the Taliban is taking active action by including (predicate) 'all those Afghans' who act as the object of the composition. Based on a Fox News report in 2021, what is meant by 'all those Afghans' refers to American citizens who are still living in Afghanistan, and allies of Afghanistan.

Excerpt 15

*"We hope that Afghanistan will not be invaded again, that it will be rebuilt, remain independent, and that a holy Islamic system will rule," **Taliban spokesman Zabiullah Mujahid** said according to the Wall Street Journal.* (Fox News, 08/31/2021)

In the excerpt above, journalists represent social actors using inclusion strategies. In the phrase "Taliban spokesman Zabiullah Mujahid said..." journalists present Zabiullah Mujahid as a social actor by clearly stating the actor's status, as a spokesman for the Taliban. Because the actor status of Zabiullah Mujahid is shown clearly in the text, the above excerpt can be classified as using a **functionalization** strategy of (van Leeuwen, 2008) in presenting the actor. This is due to the nature of functionalization which displays social actors together with what they are doing, which in this case is displaying the occupation status of the actor. In addition, as

explained by van Leeuwen (2008), functionalization can also be indicated by the noun "spokesman" which is formed from the verb "speak" by adding the suffix - man.

In addition, by mentioning the profession of the actor shown, the reader will understand who is the identity of the person who gave the statement about the hope for Afghanistan in the future, and how important the person who said it is. The mention of the status of Zabiullah Mujahid also aimed to strengthen the identity of the party being represented. In the quote, the Taliban spokesman Zabiullah Mujahid is shown by the journalist to include words such as "we hope," "Afghanistan," "rebuild," "independent," "holy," and "Islamic system," which have positive meanings or are valued by the Taliban group as well as by many Afghans who embrace Islam. Thus, it is hoped that this statement will strengthen the identity and position of the Taliban in the eyes of readers who are on the same side, as well as attract support from them.

Moreover, the phrase "**Taliban spokesman Zabiullah Mujahid**" in the excerpt above also shows the use of a **nomination** strategy in (van Leeuwen, 2008). This was shown by journalists mentioning the actor's name personally. Referring to van Leeuwen (2008), the above phrase is said to be a semi-formal nomination because he mentions the given name and the surname of the actor being discussed, namely Zahibullah Mujahid.

d) Online News 4 (Taliban promises to protect women's rights... with a catch)

The present data was obtained from the online Fox News mass media, which was published on August 17, 2021. The article concerned about the promise of the Taliban to protect Afghanistan women's rights after taking back power in Afghanistan, but with certain conditions that raise concerns that discrimination and violence against women will continue. The article also discussed the international community reaction to Taliban's promise and their concerns about the protection of women's rights in the future. There are several points found in this article that employed inclusion-exclusion approach in representing social actors, as in the excerpts below.

Excerpt 16

Taliban *promises to protect women's rights... with a catch* (Fox News, 17/08/2021)

After successfully re-occupying power in Afghanistan in 2021 following the withdrawal of the US army, the Taliban are reportedly reinstating the rules they previously applied during their leadership before 2001 –when the US invasion began. These regulations include limiting the rights of Afghan women to get education and get a job. This has attracted the attention of local residents and the outside community so that numerous international mass media have reported on these controversial policies. The many criticisms and cons of this policy finally made the Taliban issue a rebuttal that they promised to respect women's rights and allow Afghan women to get an education. However, what the Taliban promised contradicted what was implemented at the time, as reported by Fox News and The

Guardian in 2021 which reports the Taliban continues to restrict women's rights in several ways, such as closing schools for girls and limiting their mobility under the government previously.

Another alternative that can be used by the media to present actors in discourse is to use an **activation** strategy of (van Leeuwen, 2008). The quote above is taken from the second Fox News headline. Here, Fox News journalists have a preference for presenting social actors through an activation strategy. The phrase "Taliban promises to protect women's rights... with a catch" is considered an activation because it contains an active sentence structure. The use of the active voice here raised a clear understanding of who the actor is –in this case is the Taliban who act as the subject of the sentence, who takes the action (predicate) in the form of a promise (transitive verb) to protect women's rights (the object that receives the action from the transitive verb). In this construction, journalists connect the actions or activities of the Taliban actor with the background of the 'arrest' situation. Here, the Taliban actor is activated or represented by way of circumstantialization because his existence is related to the situation behind it. This is evidenced by the explanation of van Leeuwen (2008) which explains that activation can be realized with a prepositional state with the word "with".

Excerpt 17

Despite the Taliban's history of oppressing women under its strict interpretation of Sharia (Islamic law), ***a Taliban spokesman*** *pledged that* ***the terrorist group*** *would protect the rights of women… "within the limits of Islam."* (Fox News, 17/08/2021)

The excerpt above can be classified using a **categorization** strategy in van Leeuwen (2008) framework. Here, the Fox News media tries to characterise the Taliban actor by giving them a certain category, 'the terrorist group'. By using the category 'the terrorist group' which refers to the Taliban, the news portal Fox News tries to portray the taliban as an actor who likes to commit terror and has a close relationship with acts of terrorism. Besides, the addition of this category may convey the impression that the Taliban are a bad organisation.

In addition, the phrase "a Taliban spokesman" in the excerpt above can be classified using the **indetermination** strategy in van Leeuwen (2008) framework. It is said to be indeterminate because the quote does not provide specific information about the identity or characteristics of who is meant as the spokesperson for the Taliban. However, referring to another Fox News news article, what is meant by the spokesperson for the Taliban here is Zahibullah Mujahid (Fox News, 2021). The non-specific representation of this actor is due to the nature of indetermination which represents social actors in a non-specific and ambiguous manner.

Excerpt 18

*"When world's focus shifts, that's when Afghans will see the real **Taliban** —the one committing rights abuses and rolling back freedoms in cities/provinces outside Kabul," he predicted. (Fox News, 17/08/2021)*

The excerpt above is a statement from Journalist Frud Bezhan on his Twitter which was later picked up by Fox News and then his opinion was included in the news text. The excerpt indicates that Fox News also predicts that if the world's

attention on Afghanistan wanes, then people outside of Kabul will see the real face of Taliban, a group that commits human rights abuses and restricts freedom in areas outside the capital. This shows that although the Taliban issued statements promising protection of women's rights and freedom of the press, Fox News journalists were also skeptical of such claims and warned that the actual actions of the Taliban could differ from their promises. Therefore, the quote reflects distrust of the Taliban's claims.

The excerpt above can be classified using the **specification** strategy in Van Leeuwen (2008) framework. The specifications in the quotation above are marked by the representation of the Taliban actor which is shown by adding information about the Taliban specifically in the clause 'the one committing rights abuses and rolling back freedoms in cities/provinces outside Kabul'. In this construction, Fox News journalists provide a more detailed explanation by specifying the Taliban as a party that has committed human rights violations and restricted freedoms in areas outside Kabul. According to van Leeuwen (2008), **specifications** strategy are used to provide more detailed information about the attributes or characteristics of the social actors that are reported, and also provide an explanation of how these social actors behave or act in a particular context.

Excerpt 19

Some members of the Taliban say they will not deny women and girl's education or the right to work. But given the Taliban's history of violently

*suppressing women's rights, **Afghan women's fears** are real.* (Fox News, 17/08/2021)

The **indetermination** strategy in (van Leeuwen, 2008) is also found in the excerpt above. The excerpt is classified as indeterminate because the construction of the sentence above indicates uncertainty and indeterminacy about how many members of the Taliban will recognize women's rights, including the right to education and employment. In addition, the indetermination in this quote is also marked by the use of the quantifier determiner "some" in the phrase "some members of the Taliban" where the media prefers to use the diction "some members" instead of specifying the exact quantity. The phrase "some members of the Taliban say" implied that not all Taliban members hold the same views and that there is uncertainty about their views on women's rights. This demonstrated that the quotation above employed a strategy of indetermination in presenting the Taliban's position on women's rights.

Apart from indetermination, the preceding excerpt also used a **differentiation** strategy of (van Leeuwen, 2008) framework in representing the actors. In the quote above, Fox News attempted to marginalize the Taliban by presenting another group that is seen as less dominant in its position, which in this case is Afghan Women. Here, 'Afghan Women' is raised as a comparison of the Taliban group which is seen as having more power. Besides, there is a contrast between the first and second sentences in the quotation above. There is a sharp contrast between the claims of some Taliban members that they will not deny women education or work rights, and the historical fact that the Taliban previously

suppressed women's rights. By contrasting statements by members of the Taliban and the group's history of action, these quotes make a clear distinction between expectations and reality regarding women's rights in Afghanistan. This differentiation strategy is generally used to differentiate between related concepts or categories and to create distinctions that clarify the differences between these concepts or categories.

B. **Discussion**

This study used the theory of representation of social actors put forward by van Leeuwen (2008). In the van Leeuwen framework, the representation of social actors is divided into two, exclusion and inclusion strategy. These exclusion-inclusion strategies refer to the way in which an actor is portrayed or represented in a text, either by inclusion or exclusion from the text.

This study employed two different online news media, Aljazeera and Fox News. This study highlighted how the two selected news portals represent the Taliban in writing their news scripts, especially in reporting on the Taliban who have succeeded in taking back power in Afghanistan and applicable rules. In the analysis, this study used a total of four news articles from the two news portals. The selection of these four articles is because the articles focus on reporting the actions of Taliban agents. Based on the findings, this study found the use of inclusion and exclusion strategies in each news portal.

In the Aljazeera news portal, this study found 9 types of appearances by Taliban actors, which are included in the inclusion strategy, including strategies of

indetermination, differentiation, categorization, identification, functionalization, nomination, genericization, assimilation, and activation. Meanwhile, to exclude Taliban actors from the news, this study only found backgrounding strategies on the news portal. In the expenditure of actors only found backgrounding because in reporting on the Taliban, Aljazeera does not necessarily remove the Taliban from the entire text. Aljazeera still mentions it in several parts of the text to clarify the contents of the news and make it easier to understand. While the many inclusions used by Aljazeera show that Aljazeera is trying to present the Taliban as they are, namely the original condition of the Taliban at the time it was reported. As in the quote that mentions the Taliban as 'the gunmen', and 'three Taliban fighters carrying gun' which shows the physical appearance of the Taliban when the news is covered.

On the other side, in the Fox News news portal, the researcher found representations of Taliban social actors portrayed using 7 inclusion strategies, including indetermination, functionalization, nomination, activation, categorization, specification, and differentiation. Then to exclude the Taliban actors from the news text, the researcher found two types of exclusion strategies, namely suppression and backgrounding strategies. Many inclusion strategies are found on Fox News because Fox News tries to present the Taliban by highlighting the actions they have taken. As in quote 12 which mentions highlighting the reported actions of the Taliban targeting and killing American troops who are still left behind in Afghanistan. By presenting the Taliban actor (inclusion), it is clearly understood who was the perpetrator of the killing.

The findings above showed that the inclusion strategy is the most widely used by the two selected media in representing social actors from the Taliban. In Aljazeera's news articles, the most frequently featured Taliban are using the inclusion-activation strategy which amounts to 5 findings, and the inclusion-functionalization strategy which amounts to 4 findings from the two news articles. Whereas on Fox News, most of the Taliban social actors are shown using the indetermination strategy with a total of 4 findings. So it can be concluded that the two news portals are equally dominant in using the inclusion strategy in representing social actors from the Taliban.

Based on the results of research findings, even within the framework of van Leeuwen (2008) regarding the representation of social actors it is explained that just because a media outlet tends to display actors (inclusion) in the news texts, then it does not mean that they are being portrayed negatively or that their goal is to marginalize the social actors they cover. Similarly, it cannot be inferred that a media outlet is more inclined and in favor of the actors excluded if the media tends to eliminate actors (exclusion) from the news texts while reporting on them. In a sense, even though the two mass media portals are both more dominant in using the inclusion strategy, the alignment of the media may also be different.

However, both (inclusion-exclusion) also can provide information about media alignments with the actors being reported through revealing how social actors are represented in the text based on the choice of words and the situation or context that is reported. For example, in excerpt 17, 18, and 19, the inclusion strategy (appearance of Taliban actors in news texts) used by Fox news to represent

the spokesperson for the Taliban, Zahibullah Mujahid, is intended to limit the scope of women's rights in accordance with the Taliban's interpretation of the Islamic Sharia law. For instance, Zahibullah Mujahid stated that Afghan women must live according to Sharia law to be happy. The Taliban's representation of their conservative views on women's rights, such as getting an education and working, is meant to signal that the Taliban has not abandoned their conservative approach to social issues, despite the Taliban's pledge to respect women's rights.

However, the reality on the ground, such as the U.S.News report, which provides a coherent timeline of women's rights in Afghanistan, including the separation of men's and women's universities in September 2021, closing schools for women in March 2022, implementing a strict dress code for women in May 2022, banning women being in public facilities such as parks and gyms in November 2022, banning women from universities and work in December 2022, until the most recent ban on women in government politics in April 2023.

To sum up, as explained earlier, even though the two mass media portals are equally dominant using the inclusion strategy, the results of this study indicate that Aljazeera and Fox News have different perspectives in representing the Taliban. Fox News was found to have sentiments with the Taliban, so that in its reporting, Fox news tends to marginalize the position of the Taliban and portray it in a negative way. Meanwhile, Al Jazeera tends to present the Taliban (inclusion) proportionally, as they are, and according to reality. Al Jazeera still provides wider and more diverse coverage, including involving interviews with members of the

Taliban. Al Jazeera also reports on various aspects of the Taliban, including political developments, peace negotiations and attacks carried out by the group.

In addition, Aljazeera, in some parts of the article is sometimes described in a negative and some are positive ways. As in quote 3 which describes the Taliban (inclusion) as an armed group that orders women workers to return home, and are not allowed to work. On the other hand, Aljazeera still shows a positive side by bringing up the Taliban's offer to replace the women workers who were told to go home by replacing their brothers. In addition, in the second article, Aljazeera also described the Taliban promising to allow women to work and study, and protect media workers. So it can be concluded that Aljazeera represents the Taliban proportionally and as they are (according to reality) by bringing out the negative and positive sides of the Taliban simultaneously.

In contrast, Fox News tends to present the Taliban (inclusion) by presenting only the negative side of the Taliban based on a point of view that is in line with US foreign policy, namely viewing the Taliban as a group that is hostile to women's rights and education. Fox News only highlights the negative aspects of the Taliban. Even though there are several parts that present the Taliban in a positive light, such as in quote 19 which states that the Taliban will respect the freedom of the right of Afghan women to work and study, the statement still ends with a rebuttal statement from Fox News which doubts the Taliban's previous statement by repeating the history of the Taliban opposing the rights of Afghan women.

Inclusion and exclusion in van Leeuwen's theory (2008) play an important role in the analysis of social actors representation because it can help identify how certain actors or groups are represented in a text. This strategy can also help to understand how an actor's representation in a text can influence the actor's perception and judgment.

Furthermore, the researcher found previous studies that had the same conduct of research on the representation of social actors with the van Leeuwen framework such as; Bahrudin & Bakar, (2022), Suprayogi, (2021), and Purwaningsih & Gulo, (2021). Even though they both found the most widely used inclusion strategy, however, the findings of the types of inclusion they found and what I found were different, because the selection of news and the objects were different. My study mostly uses inclusion strategies with the types of activation, functionalization, and indetermination, while Bahrudin and Bakar's (2022) work finds the most activation, classification, nominalization, and agent deletion. My study is different from Purwaningsih & Gulo (2021), who make Reynhard Sinaga the object of research.

My study examines both inclusion and exclusion strategies by van Leeuwen (2008), while Suprihatin's work (2019) only focuses on analyzing inclusion strategies. Suprihatin (2019) found that backgounding and suppression had an effect on mediaindonesia.com and iNews.id which still support Joko Widodo to run for the 2019 presidential candidate.

My study analyzes the headlines and body of Aljazeera and Fox News news articles, while the study conducted by Bustam (2018) is limited to analyzing news headlines. Bustam (2018) analyzes the discourse strategies used in international newspaper headlines in representing social actors regarding the case of Donald Trump's declaration to Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. In selecting news, Bustam's work is the same as my study which uses Aljazeera.

My current study aims to find out first, what strategies are used by Aljazeera and Fox News in representing the Taliban. Second, it aims to find out how Aljazeera and Fox News represent the Taliban in reporting. Meanwhile, Aripova (2019) work aims to exploring morphological, syntactic and semantic features through which social actors, implicated in Internet privacy issues discourse, in news reports are represented van Leeuwen's framework

Similar to my study, scholars such as Sholihah and Degaf (2020), Utama et al (2020), and Ahlstrand (2020) also use the van Leeuwen (2008) framework in their analysis. The difference lies in each object chosen by the scholar. My current study only focused on analyzing one social actor, namely the Taliban, while Utama et al (2020) analyzed two social actors, namely the Indonesian government and Indonesian migrant workers. Furthermore, my study uses two different news portals, namely Aljazeera and Fox News, as the research object, while Sholihah and Degaf (2020) work only analyzes social actors who are reported on one news portal, namely The Jakarta Post.

My study also bears similarities to the work of Ahlstrand (2020) who both found the inclusion strategy to be the most widely used strategy in representing each actor. Ahlstrand (2020) finds that the inclusion strategy is useful for Megawati's strategic depiction of acts of violation to serve as a counterpoint for creating and strengthening boundaries between ideological in-groups and outside groups. Meanwhile, my study found that the inclusion strategy on Fox News aims to highlight the actions of the Taliban by displaying them in the news text (inclusion).

This study only focuses on using one theory, van Leeuwen (2008) framework, in analysis the data, while the study conducted by Surjowati (2020) uses two theories, namely critical discourse analysis by Fairclough and van Dijk, and the van Leeuwen framework. In Surjowati's work (2020) it is revealed that in terms of assimilation, nomination and categorization, functionalization and identification, and impersonalization, newspapers view the Indonesian government, soldiers and military officers as social actors, outside groups, and activists from Australia, Papua and those who support the conflict. Papua as a social actor in a group. Whereas in my research, in terms of activation, indetermination, functionalization, categorization, and genericization, and nomination in Aljazeera it presents the Taliban (inclusion) as it was in its original state, while in fox news it presents the Taliban as a controversial actor who opposes the freedom of women's rights.

The findings in my study found that the inclusion strategy was widely used by the Aljazeera and Fox News media which indicated that the two news portals presented the same actors by highlighting the actions carried out by the reported

Taliban actors. A different thing is found in the work of Abdulkareem (2018) who finds the dominance of the use of the exclusion strategy on the New York Times news portal which represents ISIS. By using suppression and backgrounding, Abdulkareem (2018) found that ISIS was excluded by the NYT and labeled ISIS as a negative social actor. Whereas in my research, the type of inclusion, indetermination on Fox News which displays the Taliban in a subtle way, cornered the position of the Taliban (on the opposite side). Whereas the activation type in Aljazeera highlights the role or activities carried out by the Taliban, depicting the Taliban as they are, in accordance with reality (sometimes portraying it positively, sometimes also negatively).

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This was the final chapter of this study. This chapter presented the conclusion of the findings and the discussion. This chapter also provided suggestions for future researchers who were interested in conducting research on social actor representation.

A. Conclusion

This study examined the social actor representation of the Taliban as reported by online media Aljazeera and Fox News. The study employed descriptive qualitative research method and van Leeuwen (2008) framework. In van Leeuwen's (2008) framework, there are two strategies for representing social actors in a news story, namely inclusion and exclusion strategies. The results of the study show that in Aljazeera and Fox News reports regarding the Taliban who have succeeded in taking over Afghanistan are represented differently.

In online media Aljazeera found 22 times the use of the inclusion strategy, and only once found the exclusion strategy, namely backgrounding. Specifically, indetermination, differentiation, categorization, and assimilation strategies are identified in two excerpt; Identification and genericization strategies are identified in one excerpt; Nomination strategy is identified in three excerpt; Functionalization strategy is identified in four excerpt; Activation strategy is identified in five excerpt. Whereas in the online media Fox News found 12 times the use of inclusion, and only 3 times the use of exclusion, namely backgrounding and suppression.

Specifically, differentiation, specification, categorization, nomination, and functionalization strategy are identified in one excerpt; Activation strategy is identified in three excerpt; Indetermination strategy is identified in four excerpt.

The results of the study show that reports by Aljazeera and Fox News regarding the Taliban that have succeeded in taking over Afghanistan are represented differently. Fox News is known to have sentiments with the Taliban, so in its coverage, Fox News tends to marginalize the Taliban by bringing out the negative side of the Taliban. Al Jazeera, on the other hand, is known to report proportionally on the Taliban. Aljazeera presents the Taliban in reality, as they are, sometimes representing them negatively, and sometimes positively. Even if Al Jazeera reports negatively on the Taliban, it is due to the actions of the Taliban themselves, not because they deliberately created negative coverage. Similarly, if Ajazeera reports it positively, it is not because Aljazeera intentionally improving the Taliban, but that is indeed the case. Meanwhile, Fox News highlighted only the negative aspects of the Taliban. Despite the fact that several sections present the Taliban in a positive light, they still end with a statement rebutting the positive side that is displayed.

B. Suggestion

After analyzing the data thoroughly, some suggestions can be made for future researchers. This research only focuses on the representation of the taliban actor which is reported in two news medias, Aljazeera and Fox News. Future researchers can conduct research using media other than online news, including print media such as newspapers, tabloids, and magazines, as well as electronic news

media such as radio or television. Future researchers also can conduct research with more recent topics and discuss them using more data to strengthen research results. In addition, future researchers also can examine the same subject as research using different theories, such as using Halliday's theory and others. Then the findings can be compared with other studies to enrich the findings on this topic.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Rery Erdiana was born in Gresik on March 27, 1999. She graduated from SMA Darussalamah in 2018. She started her higher education in 2018 at the English Literature Department in UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang and finished in 2023.

During her study at the university, she actively participated in student organizations, such as English Letters Student Association (ELSA), UIN Malang campus radio Simfoni FM, and regional student association. She got a lot of experience in those organization. Throughout her bachelor's degree, she also spent her time exploring the working life through internship programs as a translator and proofreader at several translation agency start-ups.

APPENDIX

A. Representation of Taliban in Aljazeera Online Media

No.	Sentence	Strategy	Types of strategies
1.	As the **Taliban** seized cities, they sent **women** home (Aljazeera, 08/16/2021)	Inclusion	Indetermination
			Differentiation
			Activation
2.	The Taliban told female employees at **some banks** to not return to their jobs, raising concerns over their futures. (Aljazeera, 08/16/2021)	Inclusion	Indetermination
			Activation
3.	**The gunmen** escorted them to their homes and told them not to return to their jobs. Instead, they explained that male relatives could take their place, according to three of the women involved and the bank's manager. (Aljazeera, 08/16/2021)	Inclusion	Categorization
4.	"It's really strange to not be allowed to get to work, but now this is what it is," **Noor Khatera, a 43-year-old woman who worked in the accounts department of Azizi Bank** told Reuters. (Aljazeera, 08/16/2021)	Inclusion	Identification
			Functionalization
			Nomination
5.	"I taught myself English and even learned how to operate a computer, but now I will have to look for a place where I can just work with more women around." The incident is an early sign that some of the rights won by **Afghan women** over the 20 years since the hardline movement was toppled could be reversed. (Aljazeera, 08/16/2021)	Inclusion	Genericization
6.	**Three Taliban fighters carrying guns** entered the branch, admonishing female employees for showing their faces in public. Women there quit, sending male relatives in their place. (Aljazeera, 08/16/2021)	Inclusion	Categorization
			Functionalization
			Activation
7.	**Taliban spokesperson Zabihullah Mujahid** did not respond to a request for comment about the two incidents. Spokespeople for the two banks did not respond to requests for comment. (Aljazeera, 08/16/2021)	Inclusion	Functionalization
			Nomination
			Activation
8.	**The US and other Western powers** fear **the Taliban** will roll back many of the freedoms won by women. (Aljazeera, 08/16/2021)	Inclusion	Differentiation
			Assimilation
9.	**The group** says it will allow Afghan women to work and study, assures media workers they will be protected. (Aljazeera, 17/08/2021)	Inclusion	Assimilation
			Activation
		Exclusion	Backgrounding
10.	Earlier on Tuesday, **Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar, the group's co-founder and now deputy**	Inclusion	Functionalization
			Nomination

	leader, arrived in the country's second-largest city Kandahar from Doha, Qatar where he has spent months leading talks with the United States and then Afghan peace negotiators. (Aljazeera, 17/08/2021)		

B. Representation of Taliban in Fox News Online Media

No.	Sentence	Strategy	Types of strategies
1.	**Taliban take control, promise religious rule amid reports of executions, forced marriages** (Fox News, 08/31/2021)	Exclusion	Backgrounding
		Inclusion	Activation
2.	**Taliban members** are reportedly going door to door killing people in Kabul (Fox News, 08/31/2021)	Exclusion	Suppression
		Inclusion	Indetermination
3.	Similar actions had already been taken in other parts of the country before the American military even left. (Fox News, 08/31/2021)	Exclusion	Suppression
4.	"Basically, **they** just put all those Afghans on a kill list," one defense official told Politico. (Fox News, 08/31/2021)	Inclusion	Indetermination
			Activation
5.	"We hope that Afghanistan will not be invaded again, that it will be rebuilt, remain independent, and that a holy Islamic system will rule," **Taliban spokesman Zabiullah Mujahid** said according to the Wall Street Journal. (Fox News, 08/31/2021)	Inclusion	Functionalization
			Nomination
6.	**Taliban** promises to protect women's rights... with a catch (Fox News, 17/08/2021)	Inclusion	Activation
7.	Despite the Taliban's history of oppressing women under its strict interpretation of Sharia (Islamic law), **a Taliban spokesman** pledged that **the terrorist group** would protect the rights of women… "within the limits of Islam." (Fox News, 17/08/2021)	Inclusion	Categorization
			Indetermination
8.	"When world's focus shifts, that's when Afghans will see the real **Taliban —the one committing rights abuses and rolling back freedoms in cities/provinces outside Kabul**," he predicted. (Fox News, 17/08/2021)	Inclusion	Specification
9.	**Some members of the Taliban** say they will not deny women and girl's education or the right to work. But given the Taliban's history of violently suppressing women's rights, **Afghan women's fears** are real. (Fox News, 17/08/2021)	Inclusion	Indetermination
			Differentiation