

**EXCLUSION AND INCLUSION STRATEGIES
ON UKRAINE VS RUSSIA'S HOAX NEWS ON TWITTER**

THESIS

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UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM
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2023**

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THESIS

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I state that the thesis entitled “**Exclusion and Inclusion Strategies on Ukraine Vs Russia's Hoax News on Twitter**” 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.

Malang, 15 December 2023

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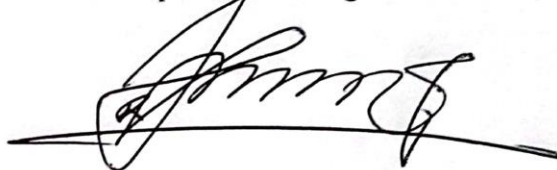
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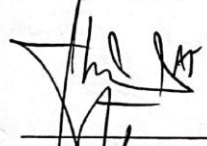
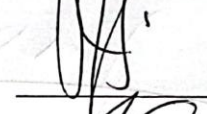
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MOTTO

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِنْ جَاءَكُمْ فَاسِقٌ بِنَبَأٍ فَتَبَيَّنُوا أَنْ تُصِيبُوا قَوْمًا بِجَهَالَةٍ فَتُصْحَبُوا عَلَىٰ مَا فَعَلْتُمْ لَادِمِينَ

“O believers, if an evildoer brings you any news, verify it so you do not harm people unknowingly, becoming regretful for what you have done.”

(49: 6)

DEDICATION

This thesis is proudly dedicated to the most precious people in my life, my mother and my father; as well as my best motivators, my sister and my brother; also, my teachers and my friends who sincerely gave their best support.

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I would like to extend my sincere gratitude and adoration to Allah SWT, the Almighty, the Most Gracious, and the Most Merciful, for giving me His favors and advantages, which enabled me to complete this undergraduate thesis. Furthermore, may Allah grant everlasting *sholawat* and *salam* upon our esteemed Prophet Muhammad SAW, who distributes goodhearted beliefs and guides us along the straight path.

This thesis is the requirement to obtain the degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S.). Throughout my research, I have received valuable support from numerous people, which has greatly contributed to the successful completion of this thesis. First of all, I would like to thank Dr. Meinarni Susilowati, M.Ed., my thesis supervisor, who provided invaluable guidance with outstanding advice during the stages of my thesis. Bu Mei also has an extraordinary passion in the field of education that amazes me.

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Last but not least, I am grateful for all the blessings, which make me never give up and always try my best for this thesis. I do realize that my thesis was less than perfect. Therefore, I hope that all readers and other researchers will provide suggestions and constructive criticism for better research in the future. Thank you very much.

Malang, 15 December 2023
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ABSTRACT

Chariroh, Nihaya. (2023). *Exclusion and Inclusion Strategies on Ukraine vs Russia's Hoax News on Twitter*. Undergraduate Thesis. Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Advisor: Dr. Meinarni Susilowati, M.Ed.

Key word: Critical Discourse Analysis, Social Actor Representation, Hoax News

Various hoax news related to the Russia and Ukraine war circulated massively on social media. This phenomenon is specifically discussed by the @Shayan86 Twitter account along with its validity to ensure the truth of the news. There are various videos, photos, and even false and misleading claims about the war between the two countries. This conflict is inseparable from the interests of the group that wants to be imaged and represented through the strategy of social actor representation, where individuals or groups are depicted in the text. This study examines social actor representation strategies and how social actors are represented in hoax news related to Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

To find the strategy of social actor representation in hoax news, the researcher used the theory of Social Actor Representation by van Leeuwen (2008) with a constructivist approach as a philosophical worldview (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This approach positioned critical discourse analysis as a method aimed at uncovering the specific intent and meaning that news writers wanted to convey, as well as interpreting the strategies underlying the intended meaning. The researcher observed directly the subjective reality of the object of study followed by the formulation of theories that explained interpretation through the use of linguistic constructions such as words, phrases, and sentences. This approach guided the researcher in explaining social actors' representation of hoax news about Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

The research findings found 53 representation strategies, including 6 exclusion and 47 inclusion strategies to represent Russia and Ukraine as social actors. Specifically, 4 exclusions strategies for Russia, including 1 backgrounding and 3 suppressions, and 2 exclusions strategies for Ukraine, including 1 backgrounding and 1 suppression. In addition, there also 34 inclusion strategies for Ukraine, including 5 specifications, 5 activations, 4 genericizations, 2 categorizations, 6 nominations, 7 identifications, 2 assimilations, 1 individualization, 1 functionalization, and 1 differentiation. It also found 13 inclusion strategies for Russia, including 1 individualization, 5 specifications, 2 activations, 3 genericizations, and 2 nominations. Such representation of social actors gave rise to a positive image for Russia and a negative image for Ukraine. The impact of these representations suggested that hoax writers took sides with Russia rather than Ukraine.

Further research is suggested to examine hoax news related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on Tik-Tok through van Dijk's CDA theory (1980), which includes macrostructure, meso structure, and microstructure. Then further research can reveal the author's background and synopsis, interpret the production-discourse context relationship, and examine the local meaning of the text through word choice, syntactic aspects, and semantic features. Thus, the analysis of the reproduction of social forces of hoax news discourse on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can produce new findings and be relevant to current phenomenon.

مستخلص البحث

حريرة، نهائية. (٢٠٢٣). استراتيجيات الاستبعاد والإدماج في أوكرانيا مقابل أخبار روسيا الخادعة على تويتر. أطروحة البكالوريوس. قسم الأدب الإنجليزي، كلية العلوم الإنسانية، جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانج. المستشار: د. مينارني سوسيلواتي، دكتور في الطب

الكلمات الأساسية: تحليل الخطاب النقدي، تمثيل الفاعل الاجتماعي، أخبار الخدعة

تم تداول العديد من الأخبار الخادعة المتعلقة بحرب روسيا وأوكرانيا على نطاق واسع على وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي. تتم مناقشة هذه الظاهرة على وجه التحديد من قبل حساب تويتر @Shayan86 جنباً إلى جنب مع صلاحيتها لضمان صحة الأخبار. هناك العديد من مقاطع الفيديو والصور وحتى الادعاءات الكاذبة والمضللة حول الحرب بين البلدين. لا يمكن فصل هذا الصراع عن مصالح المجموعة التي تريد أن يتم تصويرها وتمثيلها من خلال استراتيجيات تمثيل الجهات الفاعلة الاجتماعية، حيث يتم تصوير الأفراد أو الجماعات في النص. تبحث هذه الدراسة في استراتيجيات تمثيل الجهات الفاعلة الاجتماعية وكيف يتم تمثيل الجهات الفاعلة الاجتماعية في الأخبار الخادعة المتعلقة بغزو روسيا لأوكرانيا.

للتغور على استراتيجيات تمثيل الجهات الفاعلة الاجتماعية في الأخبار الخادعة، يستخدم الباحثون نظرية تمثيل الممثل الاجتماعي بواسطة فان ليوين (٢٠٠٨) مع نهج بنائي كنظرية فلسفية للعالم (كريسويل و كريسويل، ٢٠١٨). يضع هذا النهج تحليل الخطاب كطريقة للكشف عن النية والمعنى المحددين للذين يريد كتاب الأخبار نقلهما، بالإضافة إلى تفسير الاستراتيجيات الكامنة وراء المعنى المقصود. يلاحظ الباحث مباشرة الواقع الذاتي لموضوع الدراسة ويتبع ذلك صياغة النظريات التي تفسر التفسير من خلال استخدام التراكيب اللغوية مثل الكلمات والعبارات والجمل. سيوجه هذا النهج الباحثين في شرح تصوير الجهات الفاعلة الاجتماعية للأخبار الخادعة حول غزو روسيا لأوكرانيا.

تظهر نتائج البحث أن هناك ٥٣ استراتيجية تمثيل، بما في ذلك ٦ استراتيجيات استبعاد و ٤٧ استراتيجية إدماج لتمثيل روسيا وأوكرانيا كجهات فاعلة اجتماعية. هناك ٤ استراتيجيات استبعاد لروسيا، بما في ذلك ١ خلفية و ٣ قمع، و ٢ استراتيجيات استبعاد لأوكرانيا، بما في ذلك ١ خلفية و ١ قمع. هناك ٣٤ استراتيجية إدراج لأوكرانيا، بما في ذلك ٥ مواصفات، و ٥ عمليات تنشيط، و ٤ عمليات جنسية، و ٢ تصنيف، و ٦ ترشيحات، و ٧ تعريفات، و ٢ استبعاد، و ١ تفرد، و ١ وظيفي، و ١ تمايز. هناك ١٣ استراتيجية إدراج لروسيا، بما في ذلك ١ تفرد، و ٥ مواصفات، و ٢ تنشيط، و ٣ جينات، و ٢ ترشيحات. مثل هذا التمثيل على الجهات الفاعلة الاجتماعية يؤدي إلى صورة إيجابية لروسيا وصورة سلبية لأوكرانيا. يشير تأثير هذه التمثيلات إلى أن كتاب الخدعة ينحازون إلى روسيا أكثر من أوكرانيا.

يقترح إجراء مزيد من الأبحاث لفحص الأخبار الخادعة المتعلقة بالصراع الإسرائيلي الفلسطيني على تيك توك من خلال نظرية CDA فان ديك (١٩٨٠)، والتي تشمل البنية الكلية والبنية المتوسطة والبنية المجهرية. ثم يمكن لمزيد من البحث الكشف عن خلفية المؤلف وملخصه، وتفسير العلاقة بين سياق الإنتاج والخطاب، وفحص المعنى المحلي للنص من خلال اختيار الكلمات، والجوانب النحوية، والميزات الدلالية. وهكذا، فإن تحليل إعادة إنتاج القوى الاجتماعية للخطاب الإخباري الخادع حول الصراع الإسرائيلي الفلسطيني يمكن أن يسفر عن نتائج جديدة ويكون ذا صلة بالظواهر الحالية.

ABSTRAK

Chariroh, Nihaya. (2023). *Exclusion and Inclusion Strategies on Ukraine vs Russia's Hoax News on Twitter*. Undergraduate Thesis. Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Advisor: Dr. Meinarni Susilowati, M.Ed.

Kata Kunci: Analisis Wacana Kritis, Representasi Aktor Sosial, Berita Hoax

Berbagai berita hoax terkait perang Rusia dan Ukraina beredar masif di media sosial. Fenomena ini dibahas khusus oleh akun Twitter @Shayan86 disertai validitasnya untuk memastikan kebenaran berita tersebut. Terdapat berbagai video, foto, bahkan klaim palsu dan menyesatkan mengenai perang antara kedua negara tersebut. Konflik ini tidak terlepas dari kepentingan kelompok yang ingin dicitrakan dan direpresentasikan melalui strategi representasi aktor sosial, di mana individu atau kelompok digambarkan dalam teks. Penelitian ini mengkaji strategi representasi aktor sosial dan bagaimana aktor sosial direpresentasikan pada berita *hoax* terkait invasi Rusia ke Ukraina.

Untuk mengungkap strategi representasi aktor sosial pada berita *hoax*, peneliti menggunakan teori Representasi Aktor Sosial oleh van Leeuwen (2008) dengan pendekatan konstruktivisme sebagai pandangan dunia filosofis (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Pendekatan ini memposisikan analisis wacana sebagai metode untuk mengungkap maksud dan makna tertentu yang ingin disampaikan penulis berita, serta menafsirkan strategi yang mendasari makna yang dimaksudkan. Peneliti mengamati langsung realitas subjektif dari objek penelitian, serta diikuti oleh perumusan teori yang menjelaskan interpretasi melalui penggunaan konstruksi linguistik seperti kata, frasa, dan kalimat. Pendekatan ini memandu peneliti dalam menjelaskan representasi aktor sosial pada berita *hoax* tentang invasi Rusia ke Ukraina.

Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa terdapat 53 strategi representasi, diantaranya 6 *exclusion* dan 47 *inclusion* untuk merepresentasikan Rusia dan Ukraina sebagai aktor sosial. Spesifiknya, 4 strategi *exclusions* untuk Rusia, diantaranya 1 *backgrounding* and 3 *suppressions*, serta 2 strategi *exclusions* untuk Ukraina, diantaranya 1 *backgrounding* dan 1 *suppression*. Selain itu, terdapat juga 34 strategi *inclusions* untuk Ukraina, diantaranya 5 *specifications*, 5 *activations*, 4 *genericizations*, 2 *categorizations*, 6 *nominations*, 7 *identifications*, 2 *assimilations*, 1 *individualization*, 1 *functionalization*, dan 1 *differentiation*. Sedangkan 13 strategi *inclusions* untuk Rusia, diantaranya 1 *individualization*, 5 *specifications*, 2 *activations*, 3 *genericizations*, dan 2 *nominations*. Representasi pada aktor sosial tersebut menimbulkan citra positif untuk Rusia dan citra negatif untuk Ukraina. Dampak dari representasi tersebut menunjukkan bahwa para penulis berita *hoax* lebih berpihak kepada Rusia daripada Ukraina.

Penelitian selanjutnya disarankan untuk mengkaji berita *hoax* terkait konflik Israel-Palestina di Tik-Tok melalui teori CDA van Dijk (1980), yang meliputi struktur makro, struktur meso, dan struktur mikro. Dengan ini penelitian selanjutnya dapat mengungkap latar belakang dan sinopsis penulis, menafsirkan hubungan konteks produksi-wacana, dan memeriksa makna lokal teks melalui pilihan kata, aspek sintaksis, dan fitur semantik. Dengan demikian analisis reproduksi kekuatan sosial wacana berita *hoax* pada konflik Israel-Palestina dapat menghasilkan temuan baru dan relevan dengan fenomena saat ini.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives general explanations of the topics the researcher covers in this research. There are multiple subheadings in the introduction, including background of the study, research question, significance of the study, scope, and limitation, and definition of key terms.

A. Background of the Research

Information and communication technology is developing rapidly to this day. This phenomenon has a major impact on people's culture, both positive and negative impacts. One of the most pronounced positive impacts is the information accessibility. The information can be accessed by anyone from various generations, ranging from gen busts (X), millennials (Y), and even zoomers (Z). Unfortunately, as a consequence of the speed of access, information is often circulated without going through a clear process of editing and verifying the truth. Correspondingly, this situation has been widely used by irresponsible people to spread hoax news. Hoax is information that is contrary to the truth (Nadzir et al., 2019). The purpose of hoax news is to make changes and affect the image of a person or group in the public view (Widiyanti, 2020 & Juditha, 2018). Hoax news is often used to deceive and provoke readers (Pangesti, 2018 & Putri et al., 2020). Consequently, many people can be provoked and trigger various other harmful actions.

The spread of hoax news in various media can no longer be avoided. According to Zulfadhli et al. (2021), the percentage of hoax news spread through various media can be seen as follows: websites at 34.90%, chatting applications

(WhatsApp, Line, and Telegram) at 62.80%, and social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and Path) at 92.40%, which is the most often used media to spread hoax news. Moreover, Twitter is a social media site that is frequently used to distribute hoax news (Samad, 2020). This platform gives a character limit for a single tweet, which is 280 characters. This limit includes all text, symbols, links, and spaces (Boot et al., 2019). At the end of the tweet, the author can also include a video. The video is advantageous for explaining tweets in more detail due to character limitations. In addition, the video encourages followers to read and comment on tweets because it is more interesting to watch videos than just to read tweets (Zakiyah & Wahyudi, 2022). These limitations have a significant impact on sentence structure, content, word form, and even the number of audiences. It shows how the character limit affects language usage (Boot et al., 2019; Zakiyah & Wahyudi, 2022).

The phenomenon that is currently being discussed on Twitter is the conflict between neighboring countries, Russia and Ukraine. Russia and Ukraine used to have a very long historical relationship. In the 18th century, Ukraine was incorporated into the Russian Empire. Then, in the 1920s, Ukraine and Russia became part of the Soviet Union along with Kazakhstan, Belarus, Moldova, Uzbekistan, and many other countries. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia and Ukraine became independent states. The two countries recognize each other's sovereignty between each other. On February 14, 1992, Russia and Ukraine established diplomatic relations with the signing of a protocol establishing diplomatic relations between them.

Unlike the previous president, Volodymyr Zelensky, who used to be a comedian actor and was elected president of Ukraine in 2019, did not become a leader who bowed to Russia like Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich did. In contrast, Zelensky tended to forge close ties with the United States as a fairly powerful country. Zelensky prefers to be in Biden's camp over Putin (Claes et al, 2019). Zelensky also saw a tendency for his society to favor close ties with the European Union compared to Russia. Ukraine's situation with EU relations was more promising than what would happen if its citizens sided with Russia. Thus, Zelensky insisted he was not a part of Russia and sought to invite Ukraine to join NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), along with several other former Soviet Union countries, such as Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Romania, and Albania.

The joining of the former Soviet Union countries with NATO affected other countries, including Ukraine under Zelensky's leadership. This increases Zelensky's appeal in the eyes of Ukrainians (Rimapradesi et al., 2023). Zelensky's changed in security strategy by joining NATO could be both an advantage and a threat to their national security because Zelensky dares to take a different step from the previous leader who sided with Russia. During his reign, Zelensky preferred to join NATO with some calculations that were considered capable of guaranteeing his country's national security. On the other hand, rivalry between Russia and NATO could threaten the national security of surrounding countries (Rimapradesi et al., 2023). The reason is that Russia which wants to reclaim hegemony in the Eastern European

region is constrained by NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) intervention dominated by the United States.

Ukraine was a former Soviet Union bordering Russia and the European Union. If Ukraine joined NATO, then geopolitically Russia's position was threatened. Russia and Ukraine had a long border. If Ukraine joined NATO, it could become the first and foremost country to attack Russia. In addition, Russia considered it as the strategy of the United States to weaken Russia. Moreover, NATO had a principle of collective defense, where when one NATO member was attacked, it was considered to attack all NATO members including the United States, Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Canada, Italy, Portugal, Iceland, Denmark and Norway (Rohman et al., 2021). In addition, countries that had joined NATO got state defense and sophisticated weapons from the United States, without thinking about economic or political burdens, while contractors and the United States also liked it because it is more political than military. This also made Russia increasingly worried about the expansion of NATO power in Eastern Europe, therefore Russian President Vladimir Putin was very worried about seeing the continued increase of NATO allies around the area of his country.

Russia has balked at Ukraine joining NATO, which would add to NATO's influence and power in Eastern Europe. Russia has made formal demands to western countries that Ukraine not enter NATO, as well as stop all military activity in Eastern Europe. Russia's request did not seem to be responded well by western countries, so in February 2022 Russia sent military forces to invade Ukraine. Then

Russia began a full-scale invasion of Ukraine. This attack sent stun waves all through the worldwide community because of its brazen nature but also due to its effect on neighboring sovereign states (Ratten, 2022). Moreover, the conflict has also intensified with the massive spread of disinformation and hoaxes surrounding Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

The spread of hoaxes between Russia and Ukraine has been going on since the beginning of the invasion. Various fake and misleading news discuss the issue of Russia's invasion of Ukraine. The news is classified as hoax news because some claims are proven false and there is a discrepancy between the image or video and the narrative or content of the news (Zulfadhli, 2021 & Fatmawati et al., 2019). Bachtiar (2018) considers that such media is not just a simple mechanism for disseminating information, but the media is a complex organization that forms important social institutions of society. According to Irham & Wahyudi (2012), the authors may convey the content not only to inform the audience but also to dominate the audience to keep the main beliefs or interests. This is because the media plays an important role in the ideological struggles. Ideology in media can be studied using CDA.

One of the models of CDA that can be used is Theo van Leeuwen's CDA. Van Leeuwen introduced the CDA approach to detecting and recognizing a group present as a marginalized group. It is described as how the social actors are portrayed in the discourse field (van Leeuwen, 2008). This democratic approach can criticize inequality, both social and political. It aims to decode, deconstruct, and expose ideology and power in a particular text, especially about finding a very

significant device in discourse for manipulating language use (Fairclough, 2014; Van Dijk, 1993; Laaguid, 2022). As a recontextualization of social practice, discourse shows social differences between rich and poor, strong and weak, and majority and minority, through how people are represented. In this case, the analysis of representations of social actors plays an important role in representing how agents are portrayed in the media, especially to reflect the characteristics of hoax news through the dictions, prepositions, depictions of events, and representations of individuals or groups referred to as social actors (Fatmawati et al., 2019).

Van Leeuwen's social actor representation is about how social actors are raised in discourse. This approach is divided into two strategies, namely exclusion and inclusion. The exclusion process shows that some groups or actors are not featured in the news, that is, by not showing or disguising actors, so that attention can be focused on the aggrieved party. On the other hand, inclusion is the opposite of the exclusion process. Inclusion is the process of introducing a certain person or group in the discourse. The strategies of exclusion and inclusion are the ways of presenting social actors within a discourse by utilizing puns or dictions, sentences, stylistics, and certain ways to display the desired social actors in a discourse (Masitoh, 2020). The author may convey the content not only to inform the audience, but also to dominate the audience in order to keep the main beliefs or interest. This strategy shows a choice of whether the actor is presented or categorized (religion, politics, status, or physical form). By giving certain categories, readers can interpret who the actors or groups reported in the hoax news are (Savitri & Taher, 2018).

The following are several studies that have conducted CDA studies on online news. Mubasyira et al. (2021) analyzed the use of language in a news discourse on Liputan6.com about the dissolution of the BSNP, the National Standards Board for Education. By analyzing the exclusion and inclusion strategies in the discourse, the audience can comprehend how actors, actor marginalization, and power relations emphasize processes that marginalize or fight these aspects. Jendeya (2022) compared Arab and British newspaper articles that reported the March of Return in Gaza and analyzed how linguistic exclusion variation strategies describe social actors. Irawanto (2022) examined how strategies are used for social actor representation and how they were represented on the issue of Ukraine and Russia in CNBC news. The researcher found both exclusion and inclusion strategies used in the text.

In addition, various previous studies have also conducted analyses on newspapers. Irhamdi & Rosanti (2020) analyzed Van Dijk's approach to observing news is synonymous with several items: context, social cognition, and text. The researcher found mastery given by Lombok Post journalists to several groups. Agustina & Inawati (2022) conducted a critical discourse of opinion in the print mass media of the October 2020 edition of the Harian Sumatera Ekspres. This research found that there are three dimensions of mass communication effects, namely cognitive, affective, and behavioral or conative. Pramitasari & Clarasida (2022) analyzed the structure of news texts according to Van Dijk's and the characteristics of the CDA in the news text. The results show that the Suara Merdeka newspaper has been in line with the structures of Van Dijk's theory,

namely macrostructure, supra-text structure, and microstructure. Meanwhile, based on CDA's characteristics, namely action, context, history, power, and ideology can influence opinion in writing a newspaper.

Research on hoax news has been carried out on various social media. Savitri & Taher, (2018) analyzed the phenomenon of hoax reporting related to religious issues in Instagram. Zulfadhli (2021) analyzed hoax news on Facebook posts with the models of CDA and linguistic rule. Then, some research on hoax news is mostly done with Linguistic Forensics models on audio and visual media (Asfar, 2020; Handayani et al., 2021; Saputro, 2019). Research that focuses on hoax news and spread on Twitter with the theory of social actor representation by Theo van Leeuwen is still limited. Therefore, the researcher assumes that this topic is important and needs further study.

Based on the previous research mentioned, there are significant differences with this study. The object of this study is hoax news spread on Twitter, while previous research used a lot of online news articles, newspapers, and other social media sources that were different from this study. In addition, this study examines the representation of social actors in hoax news against the Russia vs Ukraine war spread on Twitter. Sholihah (2019) mentioned that journalists represent social actors by using their identities such as age, gender, background, wealth, ethnicity, or religion. The strategy of identification is often used to obtain support from the community because it is easier to recognize. This identification is practical in describing social actors. The portrayal of social actors through their innate identity certainly invites more attention to the reader.

This research departs from the assumption that social media is often misused as a spread of hoax news to influence and provoke the public. For instance, the act of displaying wrong or bad representations on social actors. Hoaxes are also used as a medium for fighting, spreading slander, defaming, creating panic and bringing down certain people or groups. This is what triggers the emergence of commotion, unrest, disputes and even hate speech. Thus, the purpose of this study is to describe the strategies used by hoax news writers in representing social actors related to the Russian invasion of Ukraine on Twitter.

B. Research Questions

1. How are exclusion strategies used to represent the social actor in the hoax news of Ukraine vs. Russia on Twitter?
2. How are inclusion strategies used to represent the social actor in the hoax news of Ukraine vs. Russia on Twitter?

C. Significance of the Study

This research is expected to provide comprehension of how strategies are used by hoax news writers in representing the social actors. Through the social actor representation, people are expected to be more aware of the patterns or orders expressed by news, interpreting a language unit that can be known including the message to be conveyed, why it must be delivered, and how the message is delivered. Social actor representation shows how the image represented by news affects readers. Considering the direct involvement of the reader is an original strategy related to the overall persuasive purpose of the discourse. Thus, readers are expected to be more careful in responding to all forms

of information spread on social media as a form of prevention against the spread of hoax news and its adverse impacts.

D. Scope and Limitation

To avoid out-of-context analysis, the researcher creates boundaries to reach writing criteria that are under the topic and theory that has been chosen. This research focused on the social actor representation, both Russian and Ukrainian hoax news spread on Twitter. This study emphasizes that phrases and sentences become incentives in the representation of social actors in hoax news using the social actor representation theory by van Leeuwen (2008). This research explained exclusion and inclusion strategies used to represent the social actors in Ukraine vs Russia's hoax news on Twitter. As a limitation of the study, some data did not include news sources, such as the Twitter accounts that were blurred. This is a characteristic of hoax news that makes it difficult for the researcher to find the original writing of the news.

E. Definition of Key Terms

1. Inclusion is a discourse strategy that includes social actors or how groups are displayed in the discourse text.
2. Exclusion describes how there are actors or groups in discourse who are not portrayed in the news.
3. Hoax news is information that is deliberately created as if it were proper to cover up accurate information.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter analyses some relevant ideas concerning the current investigation and discusses the fundamental framework. Theo van Leeuwen's CDA and the discourses of exclusion and inclusion have been reviewed for this research.

A. Theo van Leeuwen's Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis was developed by Theo van Leeuwen. He stated that discourse is the semantic construction of specific elements of reality that serve the goals of a given historical or social context. Van Leeuwen (2008) then embraced the recontextualization philosophy by Bernstein (2000) that all discourse recontextualizes social actions and that all knowledge has its roots in practice. During the recontextualization process, there are significant elements of social practice that are inextricably linked to the reasons and motives behind the activity.

Discourse as a part of rationalization is defined as a social practice that has been given a new context. When studying discourse, it is essential to see the text as a representation based on practice, or "what people do," because it can be challenging to comprehend how to read text without employing experience. By focusing on representation, CDA identifies the "others" about whom socially dominant individuals produce and distribute information to provide ideological justification for the unequal social behaviors themselves (van Leeuwen, 1993). At this stage, it is important to stress the difference between social practices and representations of social practices. To put it clearly, it should be comparable to the obvious difference between "talking something" and "doing something." Discourse,

which is social cognition and socially specific methods of knowing social practices, can be incorporated into textual representations of social practices (van Leeuwen, 2008).

The difference between social practices and representations of social practices must be emphasized at this stage. To make sense, it should be comparable to the clear difference between "talking something" and "doing something." Textual depictions of social activities can integrate discourse, which is social cognition and socially particular ways of knowing social actions. Furthermore, actors can be displayed either intentionally or inadvertently through the use of two strategies known as exclusion and inclusion (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

B. Discourses of Exclusion and Inclusion

Discourse strategies on the process of exclusion and the inclusion of social actors are based on van Leeuwen (2008). Van Leeuwen explained exclusion—the process by which social actors are kept out of the discourse domain. However, inclusion is connected to how each group of people is represented (included) in a discourse.

a. Exclusion

Van Leeuwen (2008) asserts that a key strategy in critical discourse analysis is exclusion. Eliminating an actor (a person or group) from the text can be done in a few different ways. Discourse analysis raises the topic of exclusion in the discussion. It has to do with how a particular individual or group gets left out of a conversation. Van Leeuwen (2008) separated exclusion into two groups: backgrounding and suppression.

1. Backgrounding

Backgrounding is one of the strategies that Van Leeuwen (2008) uses to eliminate media actors and agents from their study. Backgrounding is somewhat distinct from suppression in cases where the remark in question provides no hints at all. Even after the background check, an actor or agent can continue to be a part of the sentence. When it comes to excluding actors and/or agents from a piece of text, backgrounding can be utilized in several different ways, including the following:

1) Nonfinite clauses with the participles -ing and -ed

Since the phrase contains both finite and non-finite sentences that end in -ing and -ed, neither the actor nor the agency can be stated. For instance, “by providing some samples, they will test it in the laboratory”.

2) Infinitive clauses with the -to

Because these clauses do not require a subject, they can be used to emphasize or diminish the actor or agent in a sentence by using infinitival clauses with -to. For instance, “to maintain his health, he must do exercise”.

3) Paratactic clauses

When one sentence is followed by another that makes use of a coordinating device such as or, also, either, typically employ a comma, etc., this is an example of a paratactic clause. As in “they do sports, and feel more fit and healthy”.

2. Suppression

Van Leeuwen (2008) introduced the sub-strategy of suppression in this exclusion strategy. The performer remains anonymous throughout suppression. A few strategies, such as the passive agent deletion, non-finite clause, and nominalizations, can be used to render actors meaningless or nonexistent.

1) Passive agent deletion

Passive agent deletion is a strategy employed to marginalize or selectively highlight individuals or entities in media discourse. This strategy aims to persuade readers to focus primarily on the object of the news rather than the topic, as active sentences inherently do not necessitate the explicit mention of actors or agents. Van Leeuwen (2008) presents an example of suppression through the use of passive agent deletion:

*“In Japan, similar concerns are being expressed
about a mere trickle of Third World immigrants”*

(van Leeuwen, 2008)

This statement draws attention to certain issues that are being expressed in Japan. Nevertheless, the source of the issue is not mentioned in the given text. Therefore, this strategy is employed to conceal the identity of a prominent entity.

2) Non-finite clause

According to Van Leeuwen (2008), non-finite clauses possess the ability to select a media actor or agency. The actor or agency appears to be non-compliant with the policy as outlined in this particular section. The provided illustration is presented as follows:

“To maintain this policy is hard”

(van Leeuwen, 2008)

3) Nominalization

According to Van Leeuwen (2008), the selection or marginalization of a media actor or agent can be influenced by how nouns are used. The provided illustration is as follows:

“The level of support for stopping immigration altogether was at a post-war high”

(van Leeuwen, 2008)

In its original use, the word "support" referred to an action or a verb. However, through the process of nominalization, the verbs "support" and "stopping" are converted into the nominal forms of their respective nouns. In addition, the terms support and stopping serve as the subject of the sentence, and the addition of other noun phrases, which made it possible for the social actor to be omitted, allows for the absence of the social actor.

b. Inclusion

In contrast to the strategy of exclusion, the inclusion strategy seeks to bring attention to a specific actor/agent or group that is to be portrayed in media writing. This strategy was developed as part of social actor representation. According to Van Leeuwen (2008), inclusion strategy can be broken down into the following categories:

1. Activation-Passivation

Social actors are activated when they engage in an activity through active

participation, but they become passivated when they are perceived solely as the recipients of activities. The author could highlight or hide the actor by changing the form of a statement, such as making it active or passive. Another strategy to represent members of the in-group or out-group is to present the action rather than the occurrence (Irham & Wahyudi, 2012). The implementation of activation and passivation can be facilitated through the utilization of grammatical roles inside the transitivity system. According to Halliday (2014) as cited in van Leeuwen (2008), the concept of transitivity pertains to the characterization of active social participants in various types of processes. Specifically, these participants are identified as actors in material processes, behavers in behavioral processes, senses in mental processes, sayers in verbal processes, and assigners in relational processes. The provided illustration is presented below:

“They felt “besieged” by immigration”
(van Leeuwen, 2008).

The word "they" is used in the example as an actor, more particularly a sensor, who is involved in the process of feeling something.

Passivated social actors, on the other hand, are referred to as subjected when they are viewed as an object or as someone who benefits from the activity. It might have a beneficial or negative impact. The following is an example:

“Australia was bringing in about 70,000 migrants a year”
(van Leeuwen, 2008).

The social actor "about 70,000 migrants" exemplifies passivation since, rather than being the object of action, they are its "bringing in" object. In addition to active and passive roles, there are several possibilities to consider when depicting social

actors in a text as specific individuals or large groups.

2. Genericization and Specification

The process of genericization and specification is responsible for determining whether social actors should be represented in singular or plural form. One strategy of describing a generic specification involves utilizing the plural form without the inclusion of a definite article, as exemplified in the following instance:

*“Non-European immigrants make up 6.5
percent of the population”*
(van Leeuwen, 2008)

Nevertheless, the utilization of the singular form accompanied by the definite article (the) or indefinite articles (a/an) may also lead to the process of genericization. On the contrary, a specific reference establishes a direct association between a particular label and the individuals involved in social interactions. The statement aligns with Bernstein's (1971) claim that designations, such as limited codes, refer to “particularistic orders of meaning”, as stated in van Leeuwen (2008). The subsequent sub-point provides additional elaboration on the topic of specification.

3. Assimilation-Individualization

The subsequent strategy, known as assimilation-individualization, pertains to the portrayal of social actors, specifically in terms of whether they are depicted as a cohesive collective or as distinct individuals. Assimilation refers to the process of treating social actors as a cohesive entity, which can be accomplished through either aggregation or collectivization. Aggregation involves the act of grouping quantifiers, whether they are definite or indefinite, based on their role as either the

numerative or the head of the nominal group. In essence, the quantifiable groups of participants, being perceived as statistical entities, often assume a crucial role in many situations, as exemplified by the following instance (van Leeuwen, 2008).

“This concern, the report noted, was reflected in surveys which showed that the level of support for stopping migration altogether was at a post-war high”
(van Leeuwen, 2008).

Collectivization is observed when the utilization of first-person plural or third-person plural pronouns, such as "we" and "they," is evident within the text. In contrast to aggregation, collectivization does not perceive groups as just statistical entities. In the present article, the concept of individualization is employed to depict social actors in their singular manifestations. In the text "Race Odyssey," the author employs the inclusive pronoun "we" to exemplify Australians.

4. Association-Dissociation

The following strategy is association-dissociation, which is described as the construction of social actors—both general and specific—into groups that are never referred to as a single entity in the text. The association makes use of parataxis and situations involving accompaniment, such as in the following sentence:

“They believed that the immigration program existed for the benefit of politicians, bureaucrats, and the ethnic minorities, not for Australians as a whole”
(van Leeuwen, 2008)

The three aforementioned categories, namely the “politicians, bureaucrats, and ethnic minorities” as illustrated in example 1.9, represent the opposing faction. However, it is important to note that none of these entities are shown as individual

entities, but rather as a collective alliance. Moreover, van Leeuwen argues that the use of possessive pronouns and possessive attributive clauses, particularly in conjunction with verbs such as “have” and “belong,” can establish a clear and explicit link without explicitly defining the resulting social grouping.

Dissociation is a concept that refers to the process of disintegration or dissolution of a relationship. Van Leeuwen (2008) provides an example involving a pair of children referred to as “Mark and Mandy.” These two individuals were among a group of two children who shared the same residential area. The affiliation between the two individuals was dissolved upon their entry into the classroom, resulting in their subsequent individual references or inclusion as part of the classroom in the text.

5. Indetermination-Differentiation

Indetermination arises when social actors are depicted as an unidentifiable or anonymous entity, whether it be an individual or a collective. To depict social actors uncertainly, it is customary to utilize indefinite pronouns, such as “anybody,” within a sentence. The concept of aggregation in assimilation also encompasses the notion of indeterminacy.

“Someone had put flowers on the teacher’s desk”
(van Leeuwen, 2008).

On the contrary, differentiation refers to a scenario wherein the identities of social actors are established, distinguishing them from other similar actors or groups. This process highlights the separation between the concepts of “self” and “other” or “us” and “them”. The subsequent illustration demonstrates the inclination of middle-class adolescents in the novel to differentiate themselves from

their peers.

“Mummy, did you know there is another Mary in my class?”
(van Leeuwen, 2008)

The illustration provided implies the presence of two individuals named Mary within the classroom setting. Nevertheless, the individuals inside the social circle commonly designate their friends as “another Mary”. The actor intends to emphasize her distinctiveness from her pal.

6. Nomination-Categorization

The examination of social actors, either through individual identities (nomination) or the collective roles they fulfill alongside others (classification), constitutes the focal points of nomination and categorization. According to van Leeuwen, a proper noun is a commonly observed characteristic of the process of naming. There are three distinct categories of proper nouns: formal, semiformal, and informal. Nevertheless, under some conditions, entities other than proper names can be deemed eligible for candidacy, particularly when there is just a single social actor associated with that particular designation, as exemplified by the character “the Giant” in many children's narratives. The provided illustration of a nomination is as follows:

“Dwight Harris aged 32 . . . his wife, Beverley, aged 33”
(van Leeuwen, 2008)

The author's inclusion of Mr. Harris' first and last name in the nomination serves as a semi-formal representation of the actor. The utilization of solely the given names to denote the presence of Mrs. Harris in the text portrays an informal strategy. Van Leeuwen (2008) further emphasizes that the act of nomination

encompasses the attribution of honorifics, such as the inclusion of conventional titles like “Dr.,” alongside the utilization of terms that connote personal relationships, such as “Auntie.” On the contrary, classification comprises the processes of functionalization and identification.

7. Functionalization-Identification

Functionalization refers to the portrayal of social actors engaging in behaviors that align with their inherent functions. According to Van Leeuwen's (2008) research, the process of functionalization can be implemented by:

- a. A noun that took the place of a verb by appending a suffix. For instance, "dancer," "singer," and other words.
- b. A noun that designates a thing or a location. Among others, "pianist" and "drummer" come to mind.
- c. The combining of names for objects or locations. Take the word "businessman" as an example.

While categorization emphasizes the actors as they are. Three classes were developed. Classification pertains to the portrayal of social actors concerning the various groups they are affiliated with, including but not limited to age, gender, religion, and other pertinent variables. Relational identification, the second sort of identification, pertains to the portrayal of participants concerning one another. This is achieved by the use of phrases such as “friend” or “brother.” The third kind of identification, referred to as physical identification, characterizes social individuals based on their bodily attributes and visual characteristics, such as “long hair” or “sharp nose” among others.

8. Personalization/Impersonalization

Van Leeuwen (2008) posits that personalization is the portrayal of social actors as possessing human attributes and imbuing them with a sense of humanity through the incorporation of the term “human”. Impersonalization, in the context of social actor representations, pertains to the utilization of abstract nouns without explicit reference to the concept of “human” within their definitions.

9. Overdetermination

The Socio-Semantic Approach is influenced by two key elements that determine how social actors are represented: overdetermination and single determination. Overdetermination refers to the situation in which social actors are depicted as participants in many social practices. The subsequent statement exemplifies the application of the overdetermination strategy.

“A little girl with a long, fair pigtail came and stood next to Mary Kate”

(van Leeuwen, 2008).

In the previously given depiction, the individual engaged in social activities is a young female child who partakes in a diverse range of communal behaviors. The social actor is initially seen as approaching Mary Kate, then subsequently in the same context, she is portrayed as positioning herself adjacent to Mary Kate. The reference to two discrete social actions executed by a singular social actor signifies a state of overdetermination. The use of overdetermination, however, is not limited to a singular pattern.

Van Leeuwen (2008) categorizes overdetermination into four distinct categories: inversion, symbolization, connotation, and distillation. Inversion refers

to a scenario wherein social actors are involved in two contrasting practices: symbolization pertains to the use of fictional social figures that embody actual social norms, while connotation arises when a specific determination, such as a nomination or physical identification, represents a classification or functionalization. Distillation is achieved through the amalgamation of generalization and abstraction. The text producer can utilize various categories of overdetermination to accomplish their objectives.

C. Previous Studies

Several studies have been conducted on critical discourse analysis in online news, newspapers, and social media. Mubasyira et al. (2021) conducted a study on language use in the dissolution of the BSNP (National Education Standards Agency), which reported on Liputan6.com. By adopting Theo van Leeuwen's CDA, this study found the category of exclusion including passivation, nominalization, and replacement of sentence clauses. Then inclusion strategies, such as differentiation-inference, objectivation-abstraction, nomination-categorization, nomination-identification, determination-indetermination, assimilation-individualization and association-dissociation. These strategies allow the audience to understand how marginalized actors are emphasized.

Putriani and Juita (2021) used Theo van Leeuwen's CDA to investigate the confrontation between Asmat residents and Fayit Military Regional Command, which was covered by CNN Indonesia online news. The strategies found in the exclusion strategies are passivation and nomination, whereas the strategies present in the inclusion are differentiation, abstraction, and identification. According to the

study, the media excluded Asmat residents by utilizing the passive voice such as “who were shot”. This passive form is used to change the meaning of news.

Jendeya (2022) highlighted his research on the return of the marches to Gaza in 10 newspaper articles. This study found that linguistic exclusion strategies like nominalization, passivation, non-finite clauses, infinitival clauses, and ellipses occur at various frequency. The stark variations in how exclusionary measures are implemented illustrate how injustice and abuse of power are rooted in political discourse. In an English essay, for example, readers can simply infer and locate Palestinians because they face less oppression than Israeli forces. However, they are more censored in Arabic newspapers than the Israeli Forces, making identification impossible. There numerous potential tasks achieved, including as drawing the reader's attention to other social players, whether as victims or as parties that misuse power, and hiding or protecting excluded social actors. It draws the reader's attention away from the action and toward the event.

Irawanto (2022) analyzed factual news covering the Russia-Ukraine conflict from CNBC news uses Theo van Leeuwen's CDA. The researcher found that CNBC media used 35 inclusion strategies for Ukraine as the most important strategies, 3 inclusion strategies for Russia such as genericization, activation, and personalization. Besides, 6 exclusion strategies for Ukraine such as 2 times non-finite clause with ed, 2 times passive agent deletion, paratactic clause, non-finite clause with -ing. However, this study did not find exclusion strategy for Russia. Research shows that CNBC media favors Ukraine by reporting positively and saying that Russia is the mastermind behind the invasion of Ukraine. The United

Ukraine group, like the United States and other European countries, is considered the defender of Ukraine. Considering that Irawanto (2022) only focuses on factual news, this study needs more research from different perspectives (hoax news) that talk about the same topic. Thus, the results may show similarities, or even contradict the previous research.

Irhamdi & Rosanti (2020) focused on social conflicts in the construction of Lombok Post news and how journalists' mental cognition in reporting conflicts. Through van Dijk's perspective, by analyzing context, social cognition, and text, researchers found an element of partiality towards several groups as news sources, such as police officers, mayors, and several other related parties. Meanwhile, in the context of social cognition, it was found that journalists are more focused on anarchist things. Such conditions indicate that the journalist's mental cognition is more interested in anarchist matters.

Agustina and Inawati (2022) conducted a study analyzing the critical opinion discourse of the Sumatra Ekspres published in October 2020. Researchers emphasize their focus on cognitive effects (consequences of an information medium); affective effects (inviting the audience to share sympathy, joy, etc.); and conative (consequences that manifest in the behavior, actions, or actions of the audience). The results showed that cognitive effects were the most dominant, including increased awareness, learning, and additional knowledge. For instance, the cognitive effect of dynastic politics is a series of political strategies aimed at gaining power.

Pramitasari & Clarasida (2022) conducted a critical discourse analysis using Teun A. van Dijk's model to describe the structure and characteristics of news texts in Suara Merdeka's print media reporting on Covid-19. The findings show that in packaging news, the media has been in line with macro structures, meso structures, and micro structures. Besides, the characteristics found, namely action, such as invite, prohibit, apply, and obey. Second, context, includes settings, situations, events, and conditions. Third, the history, which is an understanding of text discourse is obtained if it can provide the historical context in which the text was created. Fourth, power, such as the key relationships between discourse and society including writers, listeners, or readers who are part of a particular social group. Last, ideology, which is the high number of deaths due to Covid-19 is increasingly concerning and can be prevented by implementing health protocols. Those character of news text can influence opinions in writing newspaper texts.

Zulfadhli (2021) analyzed hoax news content on Facebook by focusing on aspects of representation, relationships, identity, and language. The results show that in the aspect of representation, the image does not indicate the suitability of the representation with the text written in the news. Meanwhile, in the relationship aspect, hoax news content does not show a relationship that is under the content of the news. As for the identity aspect, hoax news content does not have a complete identity. In addition, the linguistic aspect shows that the majority of hoax news content uses non-standard language. Thus, these findings can be a marker for news readers to recognize news as a hoax or not. Good news is certainly written with good linguistic rules so that the truth of the content can also be trusted.

Some studies on hoax news are mostly done with linguistic forensics models (Asfar, 2020; Handayani et al., 2021; Saputro, 2019). These studies show the urgency of research on hoax news. For instance, the study of hoax news from various perspectives educated the public about the importance of preventing hoax news, its impact, and legal sanctions on its dissemination. Thus, the study of hoax news can increase awareness of the importance of verifying the truth of information as a form of resistance to hoaxes. Such as by utilizing the perspective of social actor representation to unpacking how social actor representation strategies are used by writers in packaging hoax news.

Those previous studies and this recent study have similarities and differences in theories and objects. This research has the same theory used with previous research, namely van Leeuwen's Critical Discourse Analysis. The object of this study is hoax news spread on Twitter, while previous studies used other hoax news and factual news from various online news, newspapers, and other social media such as Instagram and Facebook. Therefore, this study is a novelty in the realm of CDA, as well as a response to previous research (Irawanto, 2022) which examines the conflict between Russia and Ukraine from the factual news perspective. On the other hand, this present study focuses on hoax news covering the Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Thus, through a different perspective, this study aims to examine the social actor representation strategies on Ukraine vs Russia's hoax news on Twitter.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter details the procedures for data collection as well as data analysis. It involves research design, research instrument, data source, data collection, and data analysis.

A. Research Design

This research used a qualitative approach. According to Creswell (2002), this approach focused on a research process that highlighted human or social problems. The researcher built complex and holistic images, analyzed words, reported on informants' views in detail, and conducted research in a natural setting. Moreover, the researcher also adopted constructivism as a philosophical worldview to ascertain the social context. It involved direct observation of the subjective reality of the object of investigation, followed by the formulation of theories that described the interpretation through the use of linguistic constructs such as words, phrases, and sentences. This perspective positioned critical discourse analysis as a method for uncovering specific intentions and meanings by adopting the perspective of the speaker and interpreting the underlying structure of their intended meaning (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

Besides, the application of the CDA methodology aimed at assessing the significance of textual elements, linguistic aspects, content, and contextual factors. In CDA, discourse was not understood solely as the study of language. CDA used language in the text to analyze. The result was not to get an overview of the linguistic aspect but to relate it to the context. It indicated that language was used

for certain purposes and practices, including the practice of power. Therefore, this paradigm was necessary to guide the researcher in explaining the representation of social actors in hoax news about the Russian invasion of Ukraine in depth.

B. Research Instrument

In this study, I as the researcher played a crucial role as the primary instrument (Wa-Mbaleka, 2020), who was responsible for a series of research on hoax news discussed on @Shayan86 Twitter account. Therefore, the researcher collected the data, analyzed, interpreted, reported the research findings, and drew conclusions based on the research findings.

C. Data and Data Source

The data used in the study consisted of hoax news about Russia's invasion of Ukraine spread on Twitter. The news was categorized as a hoax because the videos, photos, and claims of the news were proven false by being labeled "hoax", "misleading", or "fake". In addition, the researcher used turnbackhoax.id sites to check whether the data was indeed hoax news or not. Some videos and photos are manipulated, even sourced from past events that were not relevant at all to the events discussed. The hoax news was published in written format and delivered in English. Thus, news excerpts were carefully selected to ensure that the data provided results in appropriate and understandable. The data utilized in this study was sourced from the official Twitter account of Shayan Sardarizadeh, the senior journalist at BBC Verify, who specialized in areas such as disinformation,

conspiracy theories, verification, AI, open-source investigations, and extremism. This reason ensured that the data provided could be accounted for.

D. Data Collection

The data was gathered from August 25, 2023 to September 10, 2023 through a series of sequential procedures. First, the researcher conducted a comprehensive search for hoax news on Russia's invasion of Ukraine on various social media platforms. Second, the data obtained from the verified Twitter account of Shayan Sardarizadeh encompassed the period from February 24, 2022 to November 27, 2022. Third, the researcher gathered textual news content that was produced and provided in English. A total of 33 data were selected based on their compatibility with the specified criteria to obtain in-depth analysis.

E. Data Analysis

Data analysis was carried out by analyzing data, organizing, and dividing it into units so that they could be managed which later found the true meaning of the research focus. The unit of analysis in the form of hoax news was analyzed as a whole using the CDA model by Theo van Leeuwen (2008), which was an analysis that examined how a person or group marginalized the position of another person or group. From this analysis, it could be seen how the use of exclusion and inclusion as the focal points of Theo van Leeuwen's CDA.

To determine the exclusion strategy, systematic ways are carried out: (1) after reading and reviewing the news, the focus of the analysis was emphasized on sentences or words in the text to exclude actors or events from the news, (2)

determined whether any social actors were eliminated or hidden, and (3) explained how strategies were being implemented to hide or eliminate those social actors.

Besides, to identify the inclusion strategy, the following steps were undertaken: (1) after reading and reviewing the news, the researcher focused on sentences or words in a text to include social actors or events in the news, (2) determined whether any social actors are presented or included, and (3) explained how strategies were being implemented to present those social actors through what strategies the marginalization was carried out.

Through the process of data analysis, a conclusion could be drawn about the views, alignments, and strategies of each hoax news reflected through discourse.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents an analysis of the research findings, which is subsequently followed by a comprehensive discussion. The initial sub-chapter provides an exposition of the findings that describe the process of data analysis to answer the research questions, drawing upon the theoretical framework developed by Theo van Leeuwen of the representation of social actors. The subsequent subsection provides an examination of the examined findings utilizing Theo van Leeuwen's Social Actor Representation theory (2008).

A. Findings

The research findings have been incorporated into this section. The primary research questions were into the various strategies employed by hoax news in facilitating exclusion. Additionally, the paper outlined the inclusion strategies that were implemented to meet the second research question.

There were 33 hoax news excerpts found related to Russia's invasion of Ukraine from February 24, 2022, which was the beginning of the conflict, until November 27, 2022, as a limit for data collection. The data found have the potential for different social actor representation strategies, either through exclusion or inclusion as explained below.

1. Exclusion strategies used to represent the social actor in the hoax news of Ukraine vs. Russia on Twitter

This section analyzed the data gathered from multiple news sources to address the initial study topic. This section examined the strategies employed by news

writers in representing social actors while producing hoax news about Russia and Ukraine matters. The analysis consisted of a total of five data points, which then resulted in six exclusion strategies. These strategies are discussed further in the next discussion.

Datum 1.1

“The moment a Russian pilot was ejected and landed in Ukrainian territory.”

The sentence in datum 1.1 reveals that the author used 2 exclusion strategies. First, the exclusion with **backgrounding** strategy is utilized. According to the article's author, "a Russian pilot" was ejected and landed in Ukrainian territory. This line just referenced the social actor in passing, without elaborating on what "a Russian pilot" means. In this context, social actors are excluded by performing roles to limit appearance in the text.

The author employed a **suppression** strategy that involved passive-agent deletion. The actor's marginalization is evident in the utilization of the passive voice construction "was ejected," wherein the subject responsible for the action remains ambiguous. Passive phrases are employed to depict the actions of agents. The reader's understanding of the actions performed by the agent in the presentation can be affected. The occurrence of representation can be attributed to the presence of elements derived from social practices. The aforementioned remark indicates that the agent/subject is portrayed through the utilization of a passivation strategy, wherein the social actors are depicted as the recipients or those enduring the action in the text.

The dissemination of hoax news is facilitated through the implementation of strategies such as backgrounding and passive agent deletion. This particular strategy is employed to marginalize social agents within news coverage. As a result, social actors are marginalized, leading to a shift in focus from social actors to events.

The news presented in datum 1.1 incorporates video as supplementary proof in the form of visual content. The video allegedly presents an incident in which a Russian pilot was ejected from a plane and then landed on Ukrainian territory. The video was recorded in Rio de Janeiro and uploaded onto the social media platform TikTok in the previous year. Indeed, it should be noted that the video depicting a paratrooper does not land on Ukrainian territory. The hoax news above follows the claim that a Russian pilot who defected to Ukraine with a Mi-8 helicopter would be rewarded with a big sum of money for switching sides and taking Russian military equipment with him. Andriy Yusov, a spokesman for Ukrainian military intelligence, said the money will be given in the national currency, the hryvna, and urged more Russian military members to follow his lead and defect to Kyiv.

Datum 1.2

“Attentive people mentioned a problem w/ today's video of Zelenskiy visiting a hospital.”

Datum 1.2 demonstrates the utilization of the exclusion strategy in conjunction with the **backgrounding** strategy. According to the author of the article, the phrase "attentive people" was explicitly removed and omitted from the

text. This line lacks explicit identification of the social actor represented by the term "attentive people". In this particular instance, social actors are deliberately omitted by assuming specific roles to decrease the frequency of their presence within the text.

The author of this hoax news seeks to deliberately omit social actors. The reference to "attentive people" remains very vague, without clarity regarding the specific individual being referred to. The author uses this strategy as a strategic means to exclude genuine social actors. To enhance inclusivity, news outlets must employ strategies that ensure a more precise and comprehensive representation of social actors. This phenomenon directs the reader's attention exclusively towards the individual social actors that are explicitly portrayed, whereas the broad representation of social players fails to capture the reader's interest.

A Russian political commentator, Maria Dubovikova claims a woman accompanying President Zelensky during a hospital visit is combat doctor Inna Derusova, who died from Russian shelling on day one of the war. A simple search shows she's actually military doctor Tetiana Ostashchenko, not dead. This news emerged after Zelensky shared a video of his visit on Telegram on March 13, accompanied by a picture of battlefield doctor who had been sent in during the early stages of the Russian invasion.

Datum 1.3

"Vladimir Putin has faced another blow after Russia's new flagship naval vessel reportedly burst into flames off the coast of Snake Island after it was struck by Ukrainian missiles."

The aforementioned data point of 1.3 indicates the utilization of the

passivation strategy within the text. Through this strategy, the social actor known as "Ukrainian missiles" is being targeted. This implies that the social actor is regarded as an object within the context of its depiction. In this particular setting, those who engage in social activities are referred to as "passivation-participation" actors. The concept of the passivated social actor refers to an objective inside a material process.

The spread of false information is facilitated by using a passivation strategy to portray social actors. This strategy facilitates the reader's ability to concentrate on the emphasized occurrences while concealing the individual responsible. This action is undertaken to safeguard the individual responsible for the act.

The news spread was accompanied by video, stating false statements that the Russian destroyer Admiral Makarov was engulfed in flames as a result of being targeted by Ukrainian missiles. This misleading content has garnered a huge number of views on many platforms. The news comes after former minister and adviser to the Ukrainian government Anton Gerashchenko declared on Twitter that "the Russian ship is on fire." Unverified local media reports suggest the ship caught fire, but a Russian rescue ship was sent to its last known location, according to a navy tracking website. Indeed, it has been established that the source material in question came from a computer game, indicating that Admiral Makarov was not injured.

Datum 1.4

"A Russian Kinzhal missile at 12.000 kilometers per hour, 10 times faster than sound, was used today to destroy a Ukrainian weapons depot 136 meters underground. The video

shows the amazement of an American reporter who witnessed this."

In datum 1.4, the author employs an exclusion strategy to depict social actors, as evidenced by the statement "was used today to destroy a Ukrainian weapon". The strategy employed in the portrayal of social actors is a **suppression** strategy involving passive-agent deletion. The actor has experienced marginalization through the utilization of the passive voice, wherein the subject is placed after the verb, resulting in ambiguity regarding the identity of the social actor being referred to.

News narrative uses a strategy known as passive agent deletion to portray social actors. The implementation of this particular strategy implies the exclusion of social actors, since the individuals responsible for the destruction of Ukraine's weapons stockpiles, located 136 meters below the surface, are not depicted. The author's statement relates solely to the utilization of Russian Kinzhal missiles in the execution of the disgusting incident, which reportedly occurred at a speed of 2000 kilometers per hour, exceeding the speed of sound by a factor of ten. Notably, the authors refrained from explicitly identifying the individuals responsible for operating the aforementioned missiles. Therefore, it means that the use of passive agent deletion strategies in the spread of false information has the capacity to incite relevant stakeholders and may exacerbate existing divisions.

The spread of a video purporting to depict a Russian Kinzhal missile obliterating an arms store in Ukraine is currently being widely circulated on various online platforms. The video was produced by computer-generated imagery (CGI) artists. This video was posted in February with the caption "What if Russia starts a

nuclear conflict?". The hoax erupted after Russia claimed to have fired its latest Kinzhal hypersonic missile in Ukraine for the first time to strike a weapons storage site in the west of the country. Then came the video with the narration that Russia had fired a Kinzhal missile for the first time in combat. At the time, the Pentagon stated that the US could not verify whether Russia used hypersonic missiles.

Datum 1.5

"Ukrainian soldier has just suffered a chemical attack."

In Datum 1.5, the authors employ suppression with a **passive agent deletion** strategy to remove social actors. The occurrence of a chemical attack on a Ukrainian soldier is indicated in the statement, wherein the passive voice is employed and the identity of the actor responsible for carrying out this attack is omitted by the author.

The utilization of passive-agent deletion strategies reinforces the narrative presented in the news. Hoax authors employ this particular strategy to accomplish their objectives, namely concealing social players within the tale. The attention of readers is directed toward the objects that have been targeted by the "Ukrainian soldier," diverting their focus from the social actors responsible for carrying out the attack. The omission of the actor's name by the author can be attributed to the intention of inciting pro-Kremlin sentiments. The portrayal of "Ukrainian soldiers" as victims implies that the responsibility for the attack is attributed to the "Ukrainian people."

The composition of the manipulated news narrative in datum 1.5 is supported by a widely circulated video that has gained significant traction among individuals supporting the Kremlin and proponents of conspiracy theories. This video purports

to depict a Ukrainian soldier engaging in the act of attacking a Russian assault, garnering approximately 11,000 retweets and 26,000 likes. The hoax news emerged after the convention which has been signed by the US and Ukraine, practically forbids the creation, production, acquisition, transfer, stockpiling, and use of biological and chemical weapons. The video is a segment extracted from the production set of a music video featuring Ukrainian vocalist Anna Khanina.

2. Inclusion strategies used to represent the social actor in the hoax news of Ukraine vs. Russia on Twitter

In this section, the data from several hoax news answer the first research question. This section analyzes the strategies of social actor representation used by the author in writing hoax news on Russia and Ukraine issues. In the analysis, there are 29 data with 47 inclusion strategies used that can be described in detail as follows:

Datum 2.1

“The U.S. imperial prophecy has finally come true, and Putin the Great (Russia) has still attacked Ukraine.”

In datum 2.1, the author references the continued aggression of Putin, also known as Putin the Great, towards Ukraine. The sentence demonstrates how social actors are portrayed in the literature. The author deliberately includes the social actor in the text through 2 inclusion strategies to direct the readers' attention toward the entity responsible for the attack on Ukraine. The implementation of such a strategy is referred to as **individualization** within the context of the **specification** strategy. Through the implementation of this particular strategy, the author aims to

direct the reader's attention towards the agent responsible for carrying out the actions.

Furthermore, the dissemination of hoax news is facilitated by employing inclusion strategies such as individualization and specification, which might potentially influence readers' perceptions. The use of an individualization strategy facilitates alignment between the intended participants and their respective roles in an event, particularly when supported by supplementary descriptions through specification strategies that render a social actor or event more tangible.

The act of hoax news involves the deliberate manipulation of the entire news content by establishing a connection between the textual information and an accompanying video. The purported false information alleges that based on the United States' imperial prophecies, Russian President Vladimir Putin continues to be involved in military incursions into Ukraine. However, it should be noted that the video in question depicts the tragic event of the Beirut bombing in 2020, which lacks any discernible connection to Russia's invasion of Ukraine. This hoax emerged after the tragedy of the explosion in Beirut. According to Samir Madani, co-founder of ship tracking website Tanker Trackers, it is believed that two Ukrainian ships, MERO STAR and RAOUF H, were in Beirut port. The explosion certainly injured Ukrainian ships, but the ships had nothing to do with the tragedy beginning of Russia's invasion.

Datum 2.2

“Crazy footage of a MiG-29 of the Ukrainian Air Force shooting down a Su-35 fighter jet of Russia’s air force over Ukraine’s capital, Kyiv today.”

In datum 2.2, the author uses 2 representation strategies. First, in representing “Ukraine’s capital, Kyiv”, the author uses the inclusion strategy of **specification** because it provides detailed information about the identities of Ukraine’s capital, Kyiv.

Second, the author represents a social actor using inclusion in a strategy of **activation**. The clause “Ukrainian Air Force shooting down a Su-35 jet of Russia’s air force...” shows that the Ukrainian Air Force as the social actor is included as an active participant who is involved in shooting down “a Su-35 fighter jet of Russia’s air force”.

The author employs the deliberate inclusion of social actors and their behaviors to effectively convey to the reader the tragic nature of the Ukrainian shooting incident with a Russian fighter plane in Kyiv. How this portrayal is given has the potential to shape the reader's perspective, leading them to place greater emphasis on the Ukrainian individual who is seen as the actor of the shooting, while the Russian individual is portrayed as the victim, who is the recipient of Ukraine’s action.

The utilization of inclusion strategies in datum 2.2 demonstrated the author's intention, in the context of making hoax news, to disclose or incorporate social players. The author employs manipulative strategies in the presentation of news by using a previously recorded video. According to the provided news excerpt, it is stated that the Ukrainian air force has successfully intercepted and downed a Russian fighter aircraft within the vicinity of Kyiv, the capital city of Ukraine. Contrary to popular belief, the media did not present actual footage of the Ukrainian

air force engaging and downing a Russian fighter jet. Instead, what was shown was a video from the Digital Combat Simulator (DCS) platform. The hoax emerged after Ukraine's military said it managed to shoot down three Russian fighter-bombers over the southern state.

Datum 2.3

“Ukrainians wrecking Russian motorized infantry with motolov cocktails at improvised roadblocks on the outskirts of Kyiv.”

In datum 2.3 above, the author represents the social actor using 2 inclusion strategy in the phrase "Ukrainians wrecking Russian...", the author used a **genericization** strategy in which actors are represented in broad terms and it is unclear who wrecked Russian motorized infantry because Russian forces are made up of many people and stations. Using this strategy, the subject is described in general, with the result that the readers only understand the agent's acts without knowing the precise identity of the agent. Such representation occurs as a result of social practice aspects. A participant with the subject "Ukrainians" and the object "Russia" showed an incident in Kyiv, Ukraine. According to the aforementioned strategy, "Ukrainians" symbolize innumerable residents, civilians, and specific groups or organizations in Ukraine.

Additionally, the aforementioned data also indicates that an **activation-participation** strategy can effectively illustrate job allocation. The representation of "Ukrainians" in this context demonstrates their portrayal as proactive agents, indicating their engagement in specific actions. In this instance, the author aims to incorporate social players into the text through the utilization of activation. This

strategy serves to depict the social actors involved and effectively highlight the individuals responsible for the actions attributed to the "wrecking Russian motorized infantry" for the readers' comprehension.

The author incorporates social actors into the discourse by employing inclusion strategies such as genericization and activation, which include generalizing the actors. While the precise statement of the generalization strategy is absent, its inclusion can impact the reader's understanding. The portrayal of social actors in a broad sense conveys the notion that Ukrainians encompass a diverse range of individuals, encompassing both their population and government entities, who are primarily responsible for the destruction of Russian motorized infantry.

The author of the hoax news (datum 2.3) employs outdated video footage depicting the Euromaidan protests of 2014, which is unrelated to the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Subsequently, the aforementioned video was employed by the author of hoax news as a visual representation of purported incidents depicting the destruction of Russian motorized infantry allegedly carried out by Ukraine. This news emerged because according to Western intelligence sources, Ukrainian opposition was far greater than Moscow anticipated, then leading Russia's progress to slow significantly.

Datum 2.4

"Russia began with airstrike on Ukraine that caused a chain reaction at the Luhansk power plant, Ukraine."

Datum 2.4 illustrates the implementation of 2 inclusion strategies used. First, the **Activation-participation** strategy can effectively showcase the allocation of

roles. The analysis demonstrates that the term "Russia" is shown as an agentive entity, denoting an actor engaged in the execution of specific actions. In this instance, the author seeks to incorporate social players into the text through the utilization of activation, elucidating to the readers the individuals or entities responsible for the "airstrike on Ukraine." The term "Ukraine" is depicted as a passive entity. The passive actor in this statement pertains to an individual or collective entity that is engaged in the aforementioned action. Passive actors are commonly characterized as social actors who ultimately serve as recipients of acts. Furthermore, the author employs an additional strategy to depict the "Luhansk power plant, Ukraine". The author also employs the inclusion **specification** to furnish comprehensive details on the precise location of the chain reaction occurrence at the Luhansk power plant.

Hoax news writer employs inclusion strategies, such as activation and specification to expose the social actors involved. The utilization of both strategies possesses the capacity to impact reader impression. The attention of the reader is directed towards perceiving "Russia" as a social entity that is actively engaged in conducting airstrikes against Ukraine. Furthermore, this strategy positions the "Ukraine" in the role of victims. Consequently, the reader's attention can be directed towards the actor that already exists.

Datum 2.4 uses archival video footage to model various incidents. The author deliberately shared a video within hours of Russia's invasion, depicting the 2015 Tianjin tragic explosion in China and then changing the accompanying news content to include visuals of Russian airstrikes in Ukraine.

Datum 2.5

“Zelensky drinking coffee and chatting with this fellow Kyiv defenders this morning. Imagine what a moral president fighting next to you.”

In datum 2.5, the author demonstrates the portrayal of social actors within the text through 2 strategies. The social actor in this line is the phrase "what a moral president fighting next to you." The representation of the social actor is achieved by the utilization of the social actor's category. This case exemplifies the classification of individuals based on fundamental attributes, including religion, socioeconomic standing, social position, and physical appearance. The utilization of this particular strategy is commonly referred to as the **categorization** strategy.

Moreover, the utilization of the term "Zelensky" can be referred to as a **nomination** strategy. The author employs a certain naming convention, referring to the social actor as "Zelensky," without employing honorifics or formal language. This choice of strategies serves to reinforce and align with the acts described in the preceding paragraph. The author aimed to establish a sense of connection between the social players and the readers to enhance persuasiveness.

The individual responsible for the dissemination of hoax news in datum 2.5 employs archival video footage as a means of depicting a recent event. As indicated in the preceding passage, the dissemination of hoax news encompassed the purported occurrence of President Zelensky engaging in a tea-drinking session with Ukrainian military personnel. The news comes because of President Zelensky's closeness to the Ukrainian people. The author presents the news in a manner that suggests its occurrence during the war, although, in reality, the video footage

predates the commencement of the war. The news writer employs inclusive strategies, such as categorization and nomination, to highlight social actors. The utilization of both strategies possesses the capacity to influence the reader's comprehension and analysis. The act of categorizing social actors enhances readers' attention towards the exhibited categorization. Within the present framework, President Zelensky might be classified as a head of state who maintains a strong rapport with the general populace. This is substantiated by the implementation of a nomination strategy in a casual manner, wherein the name of a president is mentioned at the outset of the text without including his honorific.

Datum 2.6

"Ukrainian pilot shoots down Russian attack aircraft near Kharkiv."

Datum 2.6 illustrates that the use of an **activation-participation** strategy can effectively showcase the process of role allocation. The representation of the "Ukrainian pilot" in the given context demonstrates an active agency, implying their engagement in specific actions. In this instance, the author intends to incorporate social actors, specifically referred to as the "Ukrainian pilot," within the text through the utilization of activation. This strategy aims to effectively demonstrate the involvement of social actors and underscore to the readers the identity of the individual responsible for downing the Russian assault aircraft. The phrase "Russian attack aircraft" is depicted as a passive entity. In this line, the passive agent pertains to the "Russian attack aircraft" that participated in the activity as the affected party. The text generally characterizes the passive actor as a social actor who ultimately serves as a recipient of the action of shooting.

In the composition of deceptive news on datum 2.6, the author engaged in the manipulation of information by incorporating elements from the military tactical shooter video game Arma 3. According to the video, it was asserted that a Ukrainian pilot had successfully downed a Russian combat aircraft. According to Oleg Sinegubov, president of the Kharkiv regional government, the hoax news emerged because the Ukrainian Air Force shot down a Russian Su-25 fighter plane near Kharkiv. The author's intention is evident in their use of a video that lacks any meaningful relation, serving to showcase the manipulated incident. Furthermore, the author employs activation-participation strategies to incorporate social actors. These strategies emphasize the portrayal of Ukrainian pilots as active agents responsible for the shooting incident, while Russians are depicted as passive participants who is the recipient of the action. The implementation of these strategies can direct the reader's attention toward comprehending the author's intended message, which primarily emphasizes the portrayal of social actors.

Datum 2.7

“Go back to your country”: brave little girl confronts invading Putin’s Army.”

In Datum 2.7, the author demonstrates the portrayal of social actors within the text through 2 strategies. The social agent identified in this line is the "brave little girl." The representation of the social actor is conveyed through the utilization of the social actor category. In this particular scenario, the type can be discerned based on fundamental attributes of an individual, such as their religious affiliation, socioeconomic standing, social position, and physical appearance, among others. The application of this particular strategy is referred to as a **categorization** strategy.

Furthermore, the aforementioned line illustrates how the **activation-participation** strategy can effectively showcase the process of role allocation. The representation of the "brave little girl" in the text demonstrates an embodiment of agency, as she assumes an active role in doing specific actions. In this instance, the author seeks to incorporate social actors into the text through the use of activation, elucidating to readers the identities of those who are opposing the encroaching forces of Putin's Army. The phrase "Putin's Army" is depicted as passive agents. In this line, the passive agent pertains to an individual or collective entity that is engaged in the aforementioned action. Passive actors are commonly characterized as social actors who ultimately serve as recipients of acts.

Datum 2.7 employs a previously recorded video as a means of exemplifying recent occurrences. The video is subsequently accompanied by a news extract, which reports an incident involving Ukrainian children approaching a Russian soldier. The hoax comes as Ukrainian casualties, such as 352 civilians, including 14 children, have been killed since Russia launched a massive offensive against Ukraine on Feb. 24. A total of 1,684 people were injured, sparking the courage of the little girl to expel Putin's Army. The girl depicted in the video is Ahed Tamimi, a Palestinian girl, who engaged in a confrontation with an Israeli soldier in 2012. The implementation of inclusion strategies, such as categorization and activation, can effectively incorporate social actors into the textual context. These strategies have an impact on shaping the reader's perspective. Categorizing a group of individuals within a social context might enhance the clarity of the specific social actors implicated in a given incident. Furthermore, the activation-participation

strategy elucidates how social actors perceive passive actors as depicted by the passivation-participation strategies and interact with them as recipients of actions.

Datum 2.8

“Intelligence agencies around the world have spotted American actor Steven Seagal among Russian special forces positioned around the outskirts of Gostomel airfield near Kyiv captured by Russian airborne troops.”

In datum 2.8, the author represents social actors with 2 inclusion strategies. First, the phrase "intelligence agencies" used is **genericization**, in which actors are represented in general terms, and it is not specific who makes the statement because intelligence agencies around the world are made up of many people/stations. Second, the term "American actor Steven Seagal" indicates that the author intended to particularly reference the social actor. The application of such a strategy can be classified as a **specification** strategy.

The author of the hoax news on datum 2.8 uses CNN's Twitter account as a news source. The hoax CNN reports actor Steven Seagal, a dual US-Russian citizen, fighting alongside Russian forces in Ukraine. This hoax news emerged considering the fact that Seagal does have strong ties to Vladimir Putin. The actor has been granted Russian citizenship and spent time with the Russian president. However, the news never actually existed and CNN claims to have never published the news on any platform. The author also includes social actors with genericization strategies that refer to "intelligence agencies" and specification strategies to represent Steven Seagal. The use of both inclusion strategies gives two interpretations to the text. Although both strategies work and can reveal the social actors, in this case, the reader's focus can be directed to the specifically described

social actor. This strategy makes it easier for readers to find the main focus of the text, thus further ruling out the generally described social actors.

Datum 2.9

“A FIRST LADY TRAINED TO HANDLE A GUN. Ukrainian first lady Olena Zelenska is on the frontline fighting Russian forces. She is 44 yo.”

In Datum 2.9, the author employs the concept of inclusion to represent social actors through 3 strategies. First, the use of formal **nomination**. The author appeared to depict the Ukrainian government by referring to Olena Zelenska, the first lady of Ukraine, using her full name and employing the honorific "Ukrainian first lady." The utilization of the term suggests that the author of the piece intended to establish a sense of detachment between the actors and the readers, enhancing the persuasiveness of their argument.

Concerning this issue, the social actor "Olena Zelenska" likewise employed an **identification** strategy. The term "Ukrainian first lady" pertains to the nationality of the individual fulfilling the role of the first lady. The strategy of identification is also evident in sentence 3, where the statement "she is 44 yo" serves to identify the age of the individual in question. The use of precise age references in the descriptions enhances clarity by providing explicit information about the age of the social actor.

Furthermore, the inclusion of the term "Ukrainian first lady Olena Zelenska" indicates the author's intention to highlight social players. The utilization of this particular strategy can be classified as a **specification** strategy. Therefore, the inclusion of descriptors associated with a social actor enables readers to readily

articulate the descriptions of the depicted social actor.

Datum 2.9 uses a picture of a woman illustrated as the first lady of Ukraine, Olena Zelenska. The news is a hoax and the picture attached is of a woman who had participated in a Ukrainian military parade in 2021, and it's not Ukrainian first lady, Olena Zelenska. The hoax comes as Zelenska is the wife of Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky. This fact allows the spread of hoaxes using the name Zelenska, which has the potential to have a major influence on Ukraine. The photo was used to illustrate a 44-year-old first lady of Ukraine fighting Russian forces. The author tries to convince readers by including social actors through nomination, identification, and specification strategies. As a result, those strategies impact the reader's interpretations. With illustrations clearly identified and specifically explained, readers focus more on social actors and their criteria for being represented in the news and then direct readers' opinions to believe what is conveyed in the news.

Datum 2.10

“Ukrainians are throwing occupiers, but now with flowers! We are the bravest people!”

In datum 2.10, the author employed the strategy of inclusion in their portrayal through 2 strategies. The sentence demonstrates the author's portrayal of social actors inside the text. The sentence demonstrates the utilization of many inclusion strategies by the author. The author employs the plural third-person pronoun "we" to refer to social actors. The author does not provide explicit details regarding the specific individuals or groups encompassed by the social actor referred to as "we." The utilization of this particular strategy is commonly referred

to as the **assimilation** strategy within the context of collectivization.

The author employs the strategy of nomination in the aforementioned case, wherein objects that are not proper names can be considered as **nomination**. This is particularly relevant in situations where a specific social actor is identified solely by that designation, such as the use of "occupiers" as mentioned in the preceding text. In this particular instance, the utilization of a nomination strategy is evident in the use of the term "occupiers," which designates Russian individuals without explicitly specifying the object through the use of a proper noun.

In datum 2.10, the author uses an old video with the claim that a Ukrainian man has thrown explosives at a Russian tank. The news is very far from the context of the video. The verification results show that the video is from an Airsoft video uploaded to YouTube in January. The hoax news emerged as the bravery and tenacity of the Ukrainian people have amazed the entire globe. Thousands of civilians took up guns and joined Ukrainian troops to protect their country against an undeniably stronger military force as soon as the first Russian soldier set foot in Ukraine. Brave warriors and the residents who supported them made it plain that they would fight to the very end for their country's freedom even when shells began to rain down on Ukrainian cities, destroying both residential areas and military equipment. The author includes social actors through assimilation and nomination strategies. Both strategies affect readers' opinions. Because the impact of those strategies attract readers's attention, regarding the group's members of the social actor "we" in the text. Meanwhile, with the nomination strategy, the term "occupier" in the news also indicates the action carried out by the actors.

Datum 2.11

“Miracle! death ukrainians coming to life after dying on social media but caught on live camera. The entire PR disaster is falling apart very fast.”

In datum 2.11, the author used an inclusive strategy to describe social actors, exemplified by the phrase "death Ukrainians" in the initial sentence. The employed strategy entails the utilization of **genericization**, whereby actors are portrayed in broad and non-specific terms, thereby obscuring the identity of the deceased party. The author employed the genericization strategy, which involves utilizing the plural form without the inclusion of the definite article, to convey a general specification.

The author posited in their narrative that the movement of Ukrainian corpses serves as evidence supporting the idea that the conflict in Ukraine is merely a fabrication. The video achieved viral status across several platforms and was extensively disseminated by accounts aligned with the Kremlin. According to social media posts, the film was shot in Ukraine and demonstrated the war was a fake or the result of "Western propaganda." However, this assertion is false. The Austrian daily *Osterreich* said that the video clip is from early February protests in Wina against climate change. The "Friday for Future" climate activists organized the body bag illustration with the goal of drawing attention to the risks that carbon emissions pose to human life. Last month, a conspiracy organization released the same film, falsely claiming that it featured Covid "crisis actors." The author employs genericization strategies in an attempt to incorporate social actors within the news narrative. This strategy influences the reader's interpretation, directing their attention toward the social players depicted in a broader sense. Consequently, social

actors exhibit a pluralistic and non-specific nature. The potential actors in this context encompass the citizens of Ukraine, including individuals of various age groups such as children, teens, and even governmental entities.

Datum 2.12

“Breaking: Zelensky, after saying he would not abandon Ukraine, has fled the country”

In the given data point 2.12, the author presents the social actors through 2 strategies. The term "Zelensky" is used to elucidate the incorporation of actors' social representation into the inclusion strategy, namely through **individualization**. This entails describing the subject's representation on an individual basis, as exemplified by Zelensky. Through the implementation of an individualization strategy, the agent carries out an activity in a manner that is specific to each individual. The concept of individualization might be understood as a form of singularity, exemplified by the reference to "Zelensky" in the aforementioned passage. This implies that the news presentation effectively conveys that the activity undertaken by the actor is personal. Consequently, this portrayal engenders a negative perception of the social agent due to the behaviors exhibited within the framework of the individualization strategy.

Furthermore, the inclusion of social actors can be classified as part of the **identification** strategy, as indicated by the author's reference to social actors through an explanatory sentence that seeks to elucidate or depict the first position, namely "Zelensky", while the descriptive sentence in this passage reads as "after stating his commitment to Ukraine."

This hoax news came from George Papadopoulos, a former foreign policy

adviser to President Trump. On Twitter, George Papadopoulos said President Zelensky had fled Ukraine. These fake tweets have been repeatedly spread by pro-Russian media. The hoax news surfaced as Zelensky was starting a tour of Western nations to ask for increased political and military backing as the Russian invasion near its February two-year anniversary. This news is also accompanied by the use of individualization and identification strategies to include social actors. The use of these two strategies can influence readers' perceptions of social actors and the events represented. As shown in the text, social actors are represented as appearing to perform actions individually, so the reader can immediately focus on the actor. Moreover, it is clarified by the use of identification strategies for actions taken by social actors. Thus, it is very likely that there is an element of leading opinion against the public.

Datum 2.13

"Ukrainian president Volodymyr Zelenskyy has arrived in Poland, TASS news agency reported Friday."

In datum 2.13, the news covered the departure of Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy to Poland. The author of this news appears to have portrayed the Ukrainian government by the utilization of the term "Ukrainian president Volodymyr Zelenskyy" suggests that the author of the piece sought to establish a sense of detachment between the actors involved and the readership, enhancing the persuasiveness of their argument. The use of specific nouns is a **nomination** strategy.

Datum 2.13 was sourced from the official Twitter account of CGTN, which

stands for CGTN. According to media sources on Twitter, it has been claimed that President Zelensky has departed from Kyiv and is his route to Poland. However, the information presented is false. In the data visualizations, the author alone employs nomination strategies to incorporate social actors, manipulating the substance of the news. The utilization of the nomination strategy in datum 2.13 has the potential to influence the perspectives of readers. Individuals are forced to place greater trust in the veracity of datum 2.13. In the context of providing substantiating evidence, the strategy of specification, as seen in datum 2.13, presents the social actor in a distinctive manner, namely as "Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy." This particular representation is employed to highlight his reprehensible actions towards Ukraine (datum 2.12) and his intended destination of Poland (datum 2.13). The research conducted above focused on the explicit representation of the actor involved in the action. The writing formally portrays social players, emphasizing respect to convey the notion that these individuals featured in the news possess significant influence over their acts and their impact on others.

Datum 2.14

“Attentive people mentioned a problem w/ today's video of Zelenskiy visiting a hospital. There is physician Inna Derusova in the video, but she is dead since Feb, 26. Ukr media reported that she died on February 26. Zelenskiy awarded her the title of Hero of Ukraine posthumously.”

In data point 2.14, the author used 2 inclusion strategies. First, the news documented the existence of a medical professional named Inna Derusoya. Rumors were circulating regarding her demise; nevertheless, video footage emerged

depicting her presence beside President Zelensky during a hospital visit. **Functionalization** is employed to portray the social actor in the second sentence. The implementation of the functionalization strategy is denoted by the incorporation of the suffix "-ian" into the field of physics.

Moreover, the data provided above is derived from the second and third phrases of the article. The author of the article appears to have portrayed the physician, Inna Derusova, by referring to her with the honorific title "Hero of Ukraine," employing a more formal language. The utilization of specific nouns of a proper nature is classified as a **nomination** strategy.

The datum 2.14 is sourced from Maria Dubovikova, a Russian political commentator. The user shared on the social media platform Twitter a photograph depicting a woman who accompanied President Zelensky during his visit to a medical facility. This woman was identified as combat doctor Inna Derusova, who died as a result of Russian bombardment on the initial day of the conflict. However, the woman was Tetiana Ostashchenko, a military physician, was presently alive and not dead. The news uses functionalization and nomination strategies to depict social actors. Both strategies are employed to incorporate social actors into news coverage, thus enhancing their prominence. Readers' attention can be enhanced by providing unambiguous representations of social actors through the depiction of their behaviors, particularly through the employment of special honorific labels.

Datum 2.15

"The ghost of Kyiv, a real legend in a real air battle."

In datum 2.15, the author portrays social actors through 2 strategies in a

generic and unspecific manner. The term "the ghost of Kyiv" refers to the portrayal of social actors within the inclusion strategy, specifically through the use of **genericization**. The strategy does not explicitly mention the subject, as evidenced by the singular form with a definite article used to represent social actors in this particular text.

Furthermore, the inclusion of social actors is classified as the strategy of **identification**, as indicated by the author's mention of social actors through an explanatory sentence that seeks to elucidate or depict the first position, referred to as "the ghost of Kyiv." Meanwhile, the descriptive sentence in this passage reads as "a real legend in a real air battle."

In the composition about the events of datum 2.15, the author furthermore incorporated a reported visual recording showcasing said observations of the apparition associated with Kyiv, a genuine tale within the realm of aerial warfare. Indeed, the video in question does not depict the alleged phenomenon of the "ghost of Kyiv" intercepting and then downing a Russian fighter aircraft. In fact, the video was the software of Digital Combat Simulator (DCS). The hoax news emerged after the Ukrainian jet pilot shot down many Russian planes and was hailed as a war hero on social media. The dissemination of this fraudulent news is facilitated by two strategies, namely genericization and identification, which are employed to highlight social players. The social actors depicted in the text tend to capture the reader's attention due to the deliberate omission of explicit reference to the subject. In this instance, the text is constructed individually, employing a specific article and employing identification strategy to provide greater clarity on the portrayal of social

actors. Consequently, the reader's attention is directed towards the social actors.

Datum 2.16

“At 28 Natalia flew fighter jets. First woman pilot in the Ukraine Air Force. She gave her life for Ukraine. A true Ukrainian Super Woman.”

In datum 2.16, the author represents social actors through 4 types of inclusion strategies. First, **identification** with the type of classification. This strategy pertains to the delineation of the attributes associated with each social participant. Concerning this issue, the author depicted the social actor "Natalia" by providing her age as "at 28."

The essay employed additional strategies to effectively depict the social actor and her actions within the text. The categorization of the definition of the social actor in the text aligns with the **activation** strategy. The aforementioned strategy is explicitly articulated in the following sentence: "at 28 Natalia flew fighter jets." The objective of this strategy was to effectively present and highlight social actors, hence enhancing reader comprehension.

Furthermore, the inclusion of the term "first woman pilot" indicates the author's intention to especially highlight social actors. The implementation of this particular strategy can be classified as a **specification** strategy. The aforementioned sentence pertains to Natalia, who is denoted with greater specificity by the inclusion of the title "first woman pilot" within the text. Therefore, the descriptions associated with a social actor enable readers to readily articulate the qualities of the depicted social actor.

The author of the article appeared to depict the social actress by referencing

her surname "Natalia" and the honorific "Ukrainian Super Woman," employing a more formal language choice. The utilization of certain proper nouns is classified as a **nomination** strategy.

Datum 2.16 presents a viral tweet attributed to Lesia Vasylenko, a Ukrainian member of Parliament, asserting that it depicts the late fighter pilot Natalia, aged 28, who purportedly perished in combat. Nevertheless, the image in question depicts Olesya Vorobey, a Ukrainian soldier who achieved success in a beauty pageant held in Luhansk during the year 2016. The inclusion of social players in the news is facilitated through the utilization of identification, activation, specification, and nomination strategies. The implementation of these various strategies has the potential to shift readers' perspectives towards a greater emphasis on social actors. While it is true that news writers engage in the manipulation of photographs, the tales presented are carefully crafted to align with the descriptions of social players. This alignment is achieved through several means, including the use of age identification, specification, and unique labeling strategies, which are employed to effectively convey the intended narrative. The author's intention in crafting hoax news is likely to exert an influence on the general public's perception and acceptance of the information being given.

Datum 2.17

"Russian helicopters patrolling in the direction of Kyiv."

In datum 2.17, the author employed 2 strategies to effectively depict the social actor and the action in the text. The categorization of the social actor's definition in the text aligns with an **activation** strategy. The objective of this strategy was to

effectively present and highlight social actors, hence enhancing reader comprehension. The utilization of this inclusion strategy demonstrated the author's intention to disclose or incorporate social actors within the narrative.

Additionally, the author employs alternative strategies in the portrayal of "Russian helicopters." The author employs an inclusion strategy of **specification** as a strategy to furnish comprehensive details regarding the helicopters utilized, which are under the ownership and operation of Russian pilots. The author intended to present the Russian helicopters, which have been engaged in patrols towards Kyiv, to the audience by emphasizing the presence and actions of social actors.

Data 2.17 presents a viral tweet attributed to Lesia Vasylenko, a Ukrainian member of Parliament, wherein she asserts that the tweet depicts. The video claiming to show "Russian helicopters patrolling in the direction of Kyiv" has been viewed 250,000 times on Twitter. In fact, the video first surfaced online before the Ukraine war. Hoax news emerged when Russian helicopters over the Ukrainian capital and military vehicles crossed into Ukraine. The news is further reinforced through the implementation of activation and specification strategies aimed at representing social actors. The application of these strategies has the potential to shift the reader's perspective towards a greater emphasis on social actors and actions taken. News writers engage in the manipulation of pictures, wherein the tales presented are carefully crafted to align with the descriptions of social players. This alignment is achieved through several means, including the utilization of specification, and labeling strategies, all of which contribute to the overall portrayal

of these characters. The author's objective in crafting hoax news is to potentially sway public opinion and foster belief in the information presented.

Datum 2.18

“FM Lavrov: the goal of Russia’s special military operation is to stop any war that could take place on Ukrainian territory or that could start from there.”

In datum 2.18, the author employs a **differentiation** strategy by presenting two distinct events that exhibit opposing characteristics. Initially, the author references Lavrov, a representative of the Russian government, who asserts that the Russian military action is intended to bring an end to the conflict in Ukraine. In the second occurrence, the author posits that the war in question originated within Ukraine itself. Based on the juxtaposition of these two events, it can be inferred that the author intends to highlight the distinctiveness of each occasion by comparatively presenting them within a single sentence.

The news report in 2.18 featured a video purporting to depict Russian helicopters engaged in patrols towards the direction of Kyiv. However, it can be observed that the online appearance of the information predates the commencement of the Ukraine war. The hoax news emerged after President Vladimir Putin stated at his first year-end press conference since the start of the attack that Russia's objectives in Ukraine are still unaltered and that there won't be peace until they are met. The inclusion of social actors is further substantiated by the implementation of differentiation strategies. The utilization of a certain strategy might significantly influence the reader's interpretation. However, the attention of the reader may be divided when confronted with this news. The delivery of news through a

differentiation strategy creates a perception of comparison, wherein one entity is portrayed as superior while another is dismissed. In this particular instance, the social actors originating from Russia are prominently featured, portraying a favorable impression, but the social actors from Ukraine are depicted less favorably.

Datum 2.19

“Valeriy Zaluzhny, the Commander in Chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, has announced that this morning in the direction of Kherson, Ukrainian forces skillfully shot down four Russian K-52 ZS helicopters during an aerial defense mission.”

In the given datum 2.19, it can be observed that the author used inclusion strategies to depict social actors. The initial clue is seen in the introductory phrase "Valeriy Zaluzhny, the Commander in Chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces." The author intended to explicitly highlight social actors. The utilization of such a strategic strategy might be classified as a **specification** strategy.

Datum 2.19 employs the utilization of video as a means to substantiate and reinforce the dissemination of news content. The film was employed as a visual aid to depict the incident involving the downing of four Russian helicopters by Ukraine. Indeed, the source of the film may be traced back to the military-themed video game known as Arma 3. Hoax news began to circulate after Valery Zaluzhny acknowledged that the conflict was approaching a dead end. In order to overcome the impasse, the general determined that a significant technological advancement would be required. The author uses a specification strategy to incorporate social players within the representation. The explicit reference to a social actor possesses

a significant ability to direct the reader's attention towards the specific details being recounted.

Datum 2.20

“When Ukrainian troops reentered Bucha on April 1, they carried out foot patrols throughout the town and observed it from the air with the help of drones. Videos are available in the public domain. No corpses in the streets were found and reported. The reports came 2 days later.”

In the given datum, 2.20, the author demonstrates the portrayal of social actors within the book. The social actor is referred to by the use of the third-person plural pronoun "they". The initial clause of the first sentence in the article designates the term "they" as denoting the involvement of "Ukrainian troops". The author employs a collectivization strategy by utilizing the **assimilation** strategy, as evidenced by the inclusion of third-person plural pronouns to refer to social actors.

Data 2.20 presents a tweet authored by Mikhail Ulyanov, a representative of the Russian government. Mikhail Ulyanov reiterated an unsubstantiated assertion on the social media platform Twitter, asserting that the discovery of deceased individuals in Bucha, Ukraine did not occur until April 3. However, it has been seen that satellite imagery depicting human remains on Yablunska Street was shared on the evening of April 1st. The hoax news emerged after photo and video evidence of the Bucha massacre on April 1 2022 after Russian troops withdrew from the city. The utilization of strategies to represent social actors in hoax news pieces can influence the perspective of readers. It aims to represent social players into the

realm of hoax news by employing assimilation strategies through the process of collectivization. This strategy directs readers' attention towards the "Ukrainian troops" who are portrayed as collective units responsible for monitoring the entirety of the city.

Datum 2.21

“Volodymyr Zelensky is a cousin of George Soros. Pentagon official says.”

In the given data point 2.21, the author used the strategy of relational **identification** to depict social actors. The performer is shown based on their interpersonal relationships, such as the term "cousin" mentioned in the text.

The dissemination of false information regarding this data can be attributed to the source @OsintUpdates. According to the account, there have been assertions made by certain individuals associated with the Pentagon, suggesting a familial relationship between President Zelensky and George Soros. Nevertheless, the aforementioned account has been disseminating false information and Zelenskyy and Soros are not related. Indeed, there is no record of any official from the Pentagon making such assertions in any form of media. The hoax news comes as social media users promote unfounded rumors that Soros is closely linked to Ukraine's president as fighting in the country approaches its sixth week, relying on age-old beliefs about Soros and his relationship. Furthermore, the dissemination of false information is executed using a deliberate strategy that incorporates relational identification to encompass various social players. The employment of these strategies has the potential to influence readers' faith in the dissemination of news.

The inclusion of the term "cousin" provides more elucidation regarding the familial relationship among individuals within the social sphere. Consequently, the attention of readers leads to the interactions among social entities.

Datum 2.22

“Russian forces arrest US Army Lieutenant-General “Roger L. Cloutier” in Ukraine, and reports say he was assisting the Azov Battalion in Mariupolei.”

In datum 2.22, the author employs a strategy of social actor representation, exemplified by the use of the phrase "Lieutenant-General 'Roger L. Cloutier'." This strategy may instead be referred to as a **nomination**. The author employs a formal strategy by using an honorific and the full name "Lieutenant-General Roger L. Cloutier" when referring to the social actor. In this particular instance, the author seeks to create a sense of separation between the social players and the readers to enhance persuasiveness.

The news on datum 2.22 is false, as stories supportive of the Kremlin assert that a video purportedly depicts the apprehension of United States General Roger Cloutier, who serves as the Chief of the NATO Allied Land Command, by Russian forces in Mariupol during the initial days of April. The head of NATO's Allied Land Command, Cloutier, denied any knowledge of the claim, calling it "completely false" and stating that he had not visited Ukraine since July 2021. When the untrue rumors about Cloutier's whereabouts started to surface online, he was in Turkey. Nevertheless, according to Gen Cloutier's LinkedIn profile, he was present in Turkey for a NATO summit concurrently with the aforementioned time.

Furthermore, the employment of nomination strategy is also observed in the realm of hoax news. This strategy is employed to incorporate social actors to enhance readers' attention towards the portrayed social actors. The portrayal of social actors is increasingly characterized by the inclusion of titles, which serves to enhance the perception of honor.

Datum 2.23

“@BBC story about Ukrainian missile Tocghka-U at the railway station in Kramatorsk, where killed dozens of civilians.”

In the given datum, 2.23, the author describes how social actors are portrayed inside the book. The social actor in question is an individual of Ukrainian nationality who has been responsible for the deaths of several victims. The categorization of the involvement of social actors is referred to as the **identification** strategy, as indicated by the author's mention of social actors in the explanatory sentence that seeks to clarify or describe the initial position, namely "Ukrainian." Additionally, the descriptive sentence in this text pertains to the occurrence of numerous civilian casualties.

The dissemination of false information regarding the datum has been attributed to the Twitter account @abunin. The dissemination of a manipulated video by a Pro-Kremlin account purporting to be sourced from BBC News, to substantiate the assertion that the rocket strike on Kramatorsk Station was executed by Ukraine, is taking place. The video can be classified as a complete fraud. There is no video produced by BBC that corresponds to the aforementioned statement.

The dissemination of this deceptive news is accompanied by the deliberate utilization of strategic identification to incorporate various social players. There was no report from the BBC that the shelling of Kramatorsk was orchestrated by Ukraine. The video that is being shown as such has been altered. In addition, there are other stylistic inconsistencies in the video, such as the lengthy captions that take the role of background discussion. This particular strategy has the potential to shape the perspectives of readers regarding the acts undertaken by the social actors that are implicated. The implementation of the inclusion strategy enhances readers' conviction on the alleged involvement of Ukrainian Tochka-U missiles, purportedly stationed at the railway station in Kramatorsk, in the loss of civilian lives. Consequently, social actors from Ukraine are portrayed as individuals who are potentially responsible for committing criminal acts.

Datum 2.24

“Ukrainian ATGM operators are almost supernaturally good.”

In the given datum, specifically datum 2.24, the author describes the portrayal of social actors. In the provided passage, the author employs an inclusion strategy by utilizing the phrase "Ukrainian ATGM operators." This strategy is characterized by the use of **genericization**, whereby the social actor mentioned in the phrase is presented anonymously, and the specific identity of the actual subject remains ambiguous, as it serves as a general representation of the actor.

When composing a news article on the date 2.24, the author used a video that purportedly depicted the destruction of a Russian tank by a Ukrainian anti-tank

missile. The actual video, which has garnered a total of 330,000 views, was recorded in Syria during the year 2017. It depicts opposition fighters engaged in the act of demolishing a tank belonging to the Syrian military in the northern region of Hama. The hoax news was initiated by the tragedy of numerous Russian tanks were destroyed by Ukrainian ATGMs. The use of Anti-Tank Guided Missiles, or ATGMs, has come to represent the Ukrainian resistance to Russian invasion. They have destroyed innumerable armored cars and given rise to a never-ending supply of content for social media videos gone viral.

The concept of hoax news is substantiated by a representation strategy that involves making generalizations about social actors. This strategy elicits two distinct consequences on the reader's interpretation of the text. Initially, it is imperative to acknowledge that readers are unable to get a comprehensive understanding of individual social actors. Furthermore, the representation of social actors in general aims to portray Ukrainian ATGM operators as exceptionally skilled, without providing detailed details about individual players. This strategy is employed to convey a sense of professionalism among all members.

Datum 2.25

“France’s President Macron tells re-election audience, “Europe needs to be prepared to take up to 60 million refugees, over the next 20 years, from Affrica and the Middle East,” as he warns that sanctions on the Russia are leading to economic collapse in Africa, which imports vast amounts of Russian wheat.”

In datum 2.25, the author of the article appeared to depict the French government by referencing the individual's surname "Macron" with the honorific, with the more formal phrase "France's President Macron." The utilization of the phrase employed in the article suggests that the author aimed to establish a certain level of detachment between the players and the readers to enhance the persuasiveness of their argument. The utilization of specific nouns of a proper nature falls within the classification of a **nomination** strategy.

The information regarding datum 2.25 has been disseminated by a reputable media outlet, accompanied by the distinctive emblem of the BBC. According to media reports, President Macron allegedly made a statement suggesting that the imposition of sanctions on Russia may potentially result in the distribution of 60 million refugees across Europe. There was never a genuine BBC Twitter account where this occurred. A fake image appeared that appeared to be a screenshot of the post. Additionally, the British broadcaster verified that the post was fraudulent. Macron has not stated that the 67 million people nation of France must get ready for 60 million refugees. In addition, social media users are spreading a picture posing as a tweet from the BBC in an attempt to disseminate misleading information about the current contender as French voters get ready to cast their ballots in the runoff election on April 24 that will determine the nation's next president.

The production of deceptive news articles is often followed by the implementation of a nomination strategy. The primary objective of this representation strategy is to incorporate social actors within the textual content. The

efficacy of this strategy has the potential to shape the perspectives of its readers. Consumers of hoax news are inclined to direct their attention toward the prominent figure of "France President Macron". This is achieved by the deliberate use of representation strategies, such as including his honorary title, which enhances the perceived credibility of the said individual. Therefore, it can be argued that readers are more likely to place greater faith in the information communicated by social actors.

Datum 2.26

“Easter on Russian State TV. Putin was too much of a coward to be present in the church during the actual event. Pre-recorded footage of him added in, and quite poorly. He is missing next to the painting of a crown on a red table on the wall.”

In Datum 2.26, the author effectively portrays a social actor by explicitly mentioning and providing particular details about this social player. In the context of social actor representation theory, an inclusion strategy referred to as **specification** is employed to convey a particular agent to the reader. This strategy enhances the credibility of the subject by providing explicit details about the identity of the actor.

The TV report highlights a widely circulated Twitter thread that inaccurately asserts that the footage depicting President Putin's presence at the orthodox Easter mass was prerecorded and manipulated, suggesting his absence from the event. There have been doubts about whether Russian President Vladimir Putin was present at an Easter service in Russia on Sunday when a video of the event was

released. Putin once made the sign of the cross while clutching a candle. Igor Sushko, a race car driver from Ukraine, shared the video on Twitter and charged Russia with disinformation.

The false news in the 11-second film employed a strategic strategy to represent social actors through the use of specification. By employing this strategy, readers show high attention towards the social agents being portrayed. This strategy involves explicitly mentioning the topic in the quotation, enabling readers to accurately identify the actor participating in the action. Based on the aforementioned strategies, it may be inferred that the individual referred to as Putin holds the position of the President of Russia. Therefore, this particular strategy of portraying social players creates the perception that the foremost individual in Russia is only a timid individual who, during the observance of orthodox Easter, is absent from the vicinity of a depiction of a crown placed upon a red table affixed to the wall.

Datum 2.27

“Russian military forces set fire to compound outside Kiev occupied by women and children, burning them alive.”

In datum 2.27, the author represents social actors with an inclusion strategy in the phrase "Russian military forces". The strategy used is **genericization** which actors are represented in general terms and it is not specific who was involved in the arson of the complex that killed women and children.

The news on datum 2.27 shows CNN publishing hoax news stories claiming that there has been a burning of a compound outside Kyiv and killed women and

children. However, the news was a hoax since CNN never published the news. The photo was taken from the Waco siege incident in 1993. No such article was found on CNN's website for the news. The headline released by the publication was not found using an advanced Google search. This hoax news is spread and supported by a strategy of representation of social actors in the form of genericization. The use of this strategy gives the impression that the actors of piracy were carried out by all Russian military forces. Without naming specific actors, this could lead to the opinion that large-scale arson that killed many people must have been carried out by many people. By using the genericization strategy, social actors can be represented appropriately.

Datum 2.28

"In the occupied areas there are now reports and pictures of Russian occupiers burning the books about Ukraine's history they can find. And Putin has been clear that he wants to erase the Ukraine nation."

In datum 2.28, the portrayal of social actors is depicted through 2 strategies. The author used the utilization of **genericization** and **specification** strategies. The process of genericization is employed to depict the phrase "Russian occupiers" as a social entity that engages in the act of burning historical texts related to Russian history. The specification strategy is employed in the second sentence to depict the social actor "Putin" who harbors intentions of eradicating the Ukrainian nation.

The dissemination of false information originated from the Twitter account belonging to @carlbidt, who served as the former Prime Minister of Sweden. According to the individual's assertion, the depicted photograph purportedly illustrates the act of incinerating books on Ukrainian history within the regions of

eastern Ukraine currently under Russian authority. According to the source provided by @Shyaan86, the photograph was captured in 2014 at a demonstration in Crimea that expressed support for Moscow. The hoax news emerged as Russia keeps destroying the cultural legacy of Ukraine in areas that it has temporarily seized. They set fire to Ukrainian literature in schools and libraries and pillaged museums. According to information provided by Ukrainian intelligence personnel and people living in temporarily seized territory, textbooks published in the language can be altered. Furthermore, textbooks on Ukrainian history and books about the Maidan were destroyed by the Russian soldiers. The names of a number of other prominent Ukrainian political and cultural personalities, including Mazepa, Petlyura, Chernovil, Shukhevych, and Stus, were also forbidden from being mentioned.

The dissemination of the news was facilitated through the use of strategies involving the depiction of social actors, as well as the processes of genericization and specification. The portrayal of social actors engaging in acts of arson is achieved through the implementation of genericization strategies. Actors are commonly depicted extensively, as no single agent is explicitly mentioned. The specification strategy involves the particular representation of social actors, wherein it is suggested that a Russian president orchestrated the arson incident and directed Russian occupiers to carry out the act as an initial measure to eradicate the Ukrainian country. The amalgamation of these two strategies exerts an influence on the reader's interpretation. Through the process of marginalization and specification, readers' attention can be directed towards the social actors present in

the text. Therefore, the dissemination of false information has a greater impact on the reader's perception of Russia as a negative actor.

Datum 2.29

"This is how the supported by Western media Kiev propaganda is staged."

The categorization of social actors' involvement is attributed to the **identification** strategy, as indicated by the author's mention of social actors through an explanatory sentence that aims to elucidate or describe the initial position, namely "Kiev," while the descriptive sentence in this text reads as "supported by the Western media."

The spread of this hoax news originated from the official Twitter account of @RussianEmbassy, an entity representing the government of Russia. The Russian embassy located in the United Kingdom is once again disseminating inaccurate information. The presented video footage does not serve as substantiated proof of a premeditated attack in Ukraine. It is evident that the video in question originates from the production set of a Ukrainian film titled "Region of Heroes," which centers around the theme of battle. The utilization of identification strategy within hoax news narratives possesses the capacity to impact the interpretation of readers. This strategy of representation entails the concept of hoax news, which refers to the dissemination of false or misleading information by the social actor "Kiev," leveraging the endorsement of Western media. Without the backing of Western media, probably, Kiev's propaganda efforts would not have been effectively disseminated. This manipulated news can engage social participants as agents who are inadequately portrayed for their undertaken acts.

B. Discussion

This study highlights the strategy of social actor representation on hoax news reporting Russia's invasion of Ukraine. To clarify and answer the research questions, the researcher discusses them in this section after presenting the findings in the previous section.

The researcher has analyzed 33 excerpts of hoax news sourced from the @Shayan86 Twitter account, starting from February 24, 2022, to November 27, 2022. This study found both types of social actor representation strategies on Ukraine vs Russia's Hoax News on Twitter. The researcher first discusses the exclusion strategy used by hoax news writers to exclude Ukraine and Russia as social actors in hoax news discourse. 2 exclusion strategies were found to exclude Ukraine, including 1 background and 1 suppression with passivation type. In line with Irawanto (2022), exclusion strategies are also found in research on factual news discussing Russia's invasion of Ukraine. The difference is the strategy of 6 exclusions for Ukraine, including 2 suppression and 4 backgrounding. Another significant difference is seen in the number of strategies used. Irawanto (2022) found more exclusion strategies for Ukraine through 4 backgrounding and 2 suppressions. Both findings point to the marginalization of Ukraine. As a result, Ukraine's role as a social actor is excluded or hidden and the reader's focus leads to other events or even other social actors that are also implicitly discussed as targets.

In this recent study, exclusion strategies were also found for Russia through 1 backgrounding and 3 suppressions. Suppression occurs when social actors are completely removed from the text, whereas backgrounding occurs when social

players are not explicitly stated but can be deduced from the language or context (Jendeya, 2022). In contrast to Irawanto (2022), although it has the same object of study which focused on factual news, did not find an exclusion strategy to exclude Russia. This difference has a significant impact on the social actors represented. Because the use of exclusion strategies is a very important part of the representation of social actors (van Leeuwen, 2008 & Jendeya, 2022). This strategy can exclude groups or actors from the news. In this case, by excluding a person or actor from the news, such as by excluding Russia from the discourse of hoax news, the reader's focus leads to other events or Ukraine as a social actor that is also discussed implicitly. The difference with Irawanto (2022) is quite influential on the image displayed in two types of news, both factual and hoax. Although not using many exclusion strategies, hoax news writers still try to exclude Russia. This means that the author may want to show his partiality by deliberately excluding Russians from the news through exclusion strategies, such as passive social actors or omitting them from discourse.

There are marked differences in how Ukrainian and Russian social actors are excluded or hidden from hoax discourse. The researcher found the use of exclusion strategies for Russia with the type of suppression strategy, especially the passive agent deletion as the most dominant strategy for marginalizing social actors. The use of passive agent deletion tends to have an impact on the target focus (van Leeuwen, 2008). Deleting the passive agent (Russia) possibly make the readers more focused on the target or object than the actor, whose intended target is Ukraine. It means Ukraine is in prime focus due to its significant role as a victim of

the Russian invasion. This pattern can also make readers more focused on the target rather than knowing who the social actor who triggered or carried out the invasion is, in other words, the hidden social actor (Jendeya, 2022). Focus on targets can also be interpreted as a good image for social actors, so suppressing social actors can be interpreted as marginalizing Russia to eliminate the negative image that should exist.

Furthermore, the recent study also discussed inclusion strategies to represent Ukraine through 34 inclusion strategies, including 5 specifications, 5 activations, 4 genericizations, 2 categorizations, 6 nominations, 7 identifications, 2 assimilations, 1 individualization, 1 functionalization, and 1 differentiation. As a social actor, Ukraine is included in hoax news discourse negatively by providing descriptions that show Ukraine's role in the discourse, such as the image of a person or group carrying out the shooting. On the other hand, Irawanto (2022) also shows the use of inclusion strategies to represent Ukraine, mostly through specification strategies. The difference is, in the factual news, Ukraine is portrayed positively. The author mentions specifically the actors/agents who are making efforts to defend the country and its civilians from invasion, this assumes that Ukraine gets a positive image in the eyes of readers. The significant difference in findings on the two types of news (hoax and factual) shows that there are images displayed differently. As stated by Savitri & Taher (2018), in representing social actors, the author includes images of social actors based on certain intentions to instill certain perspectives in readers.

On the other hand, this recent study found 13 strategies to represent Russia negatively, including 1 individualization, 5 specification, 2 activation, 3 genericization, and 2 nominations. The number of inclusion strategies with a negative image for Russia is less than for Ukraine. This shows that the majority of hoax news writers are far more negatively concerned about Ukraine than Russia. On the contrary, Irawanto (2022) shows that the inclusion strategy for Russia was found only 3, such as genericization, activation, and personalization. The difference in findings also shows differences in the intent of the authors of the two types of news. Hoax news represents Russia's role positively, while factual news (Irawanto, 2022) includes Russia negatively as the perpetrator of the invasion of Ukraine. The difference between the two points of view can influence the audience, especially on the message received and the perception given.

In addition, inclusion strategies also prominently featured in Putriani & Juita (2021). These particular strategies enable the analysis of how an actor, whether an individual or a collective, is portrayed inside the textual representation of reported speech on Instagram. The concept of inclusion strategies pertains to how various parties or groups are represented in news coverage. Hence, the utilization of strategies for the portrayal of social actors is contingent upon the author's production of value or meaning. The portrayal of reality in media serves as a manifestation of the conflicting ideologies or value systems that possess divergent interests. For instance, social media in publishing news texts gives the impression of conveying information as it is. Thus, it is not surprising if information is not reported in a balanced manner and does not apply the principle of two-sided

reporting (Putriani & Juita, 2021; Agustina & Inawati, 2022; and Zulfadhli, 2021).

Another significant difference was found in how inclusion strategies were used to include Ukrainian and Russian social actors in hoax discourse. Researchers found more use of inclusion strategies for Ukraine with the most widely used type of strategy being identification. The use of identification strategies indicates an emphasis on the social actors that are the focus of the conversation. This inclusion strategy shows the author's efforts to emphasize an event that occurred, especially regarding the perpetrators of the event. According to van Leeuwen (2008), identification happens when social actors are identified not by what they do, but by what they are, more or less permanently or inevitably. In this case, the intended social actor is Ukraine. The concept of identification strategy here relates to how Ukraine is included by being identified in hoax discourse. The use of this strategy for depicting social actors depends on the production of values or meanings intended by the author. Ukraine is poorly represented in hoax discourse with an accompanying negative image as an invading social actor.

If viewed from the aspect of representation of social actors, hoax news tends to have a poor representation. This is because, in the preparation of hoax news, the author creates, changes, adds, and then disseminates it as widely as possible (Zulfadhli et al., 2021 & Fatmawati et al., 2019). Through the strategy of representation of social actors, the researcher can determine the characteristics and format of hoax news. Based on this research, the news is categorized as hoax news because false claims are found and discrepancies between images or videos with the content or context conveyed. Thus, hoax news has the potential to provoke

readers, change and affect the image of a person or group, and cause division and dissension in society (Bachtiar, 2018).

This study examines the suitability of several academic publications (Mubasyira et al., 2021; Irawanto, 2022; Putriani & Juita, 2021; Jendeya, 2022). In addition, Irawanto (2022) explores the portrayal of social actors in Ukraine and Russia on factual news. The results of this study suggest that the presence of social practices is a contributing factor to the development of representation. Previous studies ruled out hoaxes appearing on the same topic. This underlies this research to enrich previous research by utilizing hoax news as the object of the study. Therefore, it can be a new finding, additional reference, as well as a complement the findings of previous research by discussing the same news from different angles.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This section represents the concluding segment of the present investigation. A complete exposition of the overarching results and a meticulous examination of the implications can be undertaken. In addition, this study offers suggestions for future research, particularly for persons who are interested in investigating social actor representations.

A. Conclusion

The present study has found the use of exclusion and inclusion strategies to represent social actors in hoaxes reporting on Russia's invasion of Ukraine. There are 53 representation strategies, including 6 exclusions and 47 inclusions. In particular, exclusion strategies are used to represent both social actors, Ukraine and Russia. Ukraine is represented through 2 exclusion strategies, including 1 background and 1 suppression. While Russia is represented through 4 strategies, including 1 backgrounding and 3 suppressions. Thus, the exclusion strategy is more dominant in excluding Russia than Ukraine. This exclusion strategy in hoax discourse shows that the delivery of non-specific and anonymous actors makes readers suspect that it may even cause a generalizing effect. In the hoax news text that is studied further criticized the actor or who is behind the actor in the text is not conveyed, so the identity of the actor is unknown.

On the other hand, inclusion strategies are also used to show or display each party on hoax news. There were 34 inclusion strategies for Ukraine, including 5 specifications, 5 activations, 4 genericizations, 2 categorizations, 6 nominations, 7

identifications, 2 assimilations, 1 individualization, 1 functionalization, and 1 differentiation. Besides, Russia was represented through 13 strategies, including 1 individualization, 5 specification, 2 activation, 3 genericization, and 2 nominations. The inclusion representation strategy shows that Ukraine is more highlighted or featured in the news. However, because of the representation variations, not all social actors are depicted clearly and specifically. Substantially, the interests of the media make the actor disappear, hidden, vague, and even abstract. This causes errors and misunderstandings in the meaning because the information received is unclear and ambiguous.

Furthermore, social actor representation strategies used are based on the perspective or meaning intended by the authors, thus potentially altering the reader's impression of the entity that serves as the focal point in each news. There is a common assumption among individuals that an agent shows support or alignment with Russia, which is well portrayed, as a victim of an invasion by Ukraine. Therefore, the poor portrayal of Ukraine provokes the reader to conclude that Ukraine is the main instigator of unrest and the trigger of disintegration between the two countries. It is widely believed that Ukraine's coalition parties, including the United States and several European countries, are considered to be Ukraine's defenders in attacking Russia.

In conclusion, this study shows that most of the hoax exposed is pro-Russian content. It can be seen from hoax news spread on Twitter sourced from pro-Kremlin teams and the Russian government such as Sergey Lavrov and Mikhail Ivanovich Ulyanov. The disinformation became a massive war propaganda strategy by Russia

as a form of anger over geopolitical dynamics with Ukraine that caused global socio-political disruptions, which ultimately impacted global trade in energy commodities. On the other hand, Ukraine's accession to NATO could pose a direct threat to them because Ukraine's geographical position is close to Russia, so there are security concerns for the Kremlin. This ignited Russia's emotions and resulted in Russia carrying out an invasion along with massive disinformation campaign on social media. Such propaganda strategies are supported by news narratives that are dropping, cornering, provoking, and inciting. Thus, the spread of hoax news on social media has the potential to enliven conversations that support the Russian narrative and delegitimize Ukrainian nationalism.

B. Suggestion

Critical discourse analysis of hoax news can be expanded. Researchers can further explore other hoax news, such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on other platforms such as Tik-Tok using van Dijk's CDA theory, which encompasses macrostructure, meso-structure, and microstructure. It enables the next researchers to have more complex findings, involve the news writer's background and synopsis that can be exposed, researchers also can interpret production-discourse context relationships, and examine a text's local meaning through word choice, syntactic aspects, and semantic features. Thus, studying the reproduction of the social power of hoax news discourse produces new findings that are more related to current phenomenon. Moreover, the researcher suggests further researchers use hoax news accompanied by clarity of news sources, such as social media accounts or other news media networks so that researchers can detect the news writers' background.

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CURRICULUM VITAE



Nihaya Chariroh was born in Lamongan, November 7, 2001. She graduated from MAN 2 Lamongan in 2019. She began her higher study in 2019 at Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, majoring in English Literature. During her education at the university, she also joined Lingua Institute, The Daffodils, and participated in PAKPT Hasyim Asy'ari Faculty of Humanities UIN Malang. She prioritized her Islamic education by studying at Pondok Pesantren Daruzzahra Arrifa'i Malang and teaching at Pondok Pesantren Bumi Damai Sokolimo Lamongan. She is also experienced as a master of ceremony in several events.

APPENDIX

A. Types of exclusion strategies for Ukraine

No.	Excerpts	Type of Strategies	Verification Results
1.	Attentive people mentioned a problem w/ today's video of Zelenskiy visiting a hospital.	Backgrounding	A Russian commentator claims a woman accompanying President Zelensky during a hospital visit is combat doctor Inna Derusova, who died from Russian shelling on day one of the war. A simple search shows she's military doctor Tetiana Ostashchenko, not dead.
2.	Vladimir Putin has faced another blow after Russia's new flagship naval vessel reportedly burst into flames off the coast of Snake Island after it was struck by Ukrainian missiles .	Suppression	This video falsely claims to show Russian warship Admiral Makarov on fire after being hit by Ukrainian missiles, racking up millions of views on different platforms. But it was likely taken from a video game, and Admiral Makarov was never hit.

B. Types of exclusion strategies for Russia

No.	Excerpts	Type of Strategies	Verification Results
1.	The moment a Russian pilot was ejected and landed in Ukrainian territory.	Backgrounding, Suppression	This video of a paratrooper crashing into a residential building is not from Ukraine. It was filmed in Rio de Janeiro and posted to Tik-Tok last year.
2.	A Russian Kinzhal missile at 12,000 kilometers per hour, 10 times faster than sound, was used today to destroy a Ukrainian weapons depot 136 meters underground. The video shows the	Suppression	A video claiming to show a Russian Kinzhal missile destroying an arms depot in Ukraine is being widely shared on multiple platforms. It was made by a CGI artist, and shared in February under the

	amazement of an American reporter who witnessed this.		title "What if Russia started nuclear war?"
3.	Ukrainian soldier has just suffered a chemical attack.	Suppression	A video has gone viral among pro-Kremlin accounts and conspiracy theorists claiming to show a Ukrainian soldier "staging" a Russian attack. It's a clip from the set of a music video for a song by Ukrainian singer Anna Khanina

C. Types of inclusion strategies for Ukraine

No.	Excerpts	Type of Strategies	Verification Results
1.	Crazy footage of a MiG-29 of the Ukrainian Air Force shooting down a Su-35 fighter jet of Russia's air force over Ukraine's capital, Kyiv today.	Specification, Activation	The actual video is a Digital Combat Simulator (DCS).
2.	Ukrainians wrecking Russian motorized infantry with motolov cocktails at improvised roadblocks on the outskirts of Kyiv.	Genericization, Activation	The video is from the 2014 Euromaidan protests and is not related to Russia's invasion of Ukraine.
3.	Russia began with airstrike on Ukraine that caused a chain reaction at the Luhansk power plant, Ukraine.	Specification	Video from the deadly 2015 Tianjin blast in China
4.	Zelensky drinking coffee and chatting with this fellow Kyiv defenders this morning. Imagine what a moral president literally fighting next to you.	Categorization, Nomination	Video of President Zelensky drinking tea with Ukrainian soldiers before the war exists, not the morning when the war happening.

5.	Ukrainian pilot shoots down Russian attack aircraft near Kharkiv.	Activation	Arma 3 military tactical shooter video game and not related to the war in Ukraine.
6.	Go back to your country”: brave little girl confronts invading Putin’s Army.	Categorization, Activation	Video of Palestinian girl Ahed Tamimi confronting an Israeli soldier in 2012.
7.	A FIRST LADY TRAINED TO HANDLE A GUN. Ukrainian first lady Olena Zelenska is on the frontline fighting Russian forces. She is 44 yo.	Nomination, Identification, Specification	The photo of the actor on the news is fake. The woman in the news is not Ukraine's first lady, Olena Zelenska, pictured captured in 2021 during a rehearsal for a Ukrainian military parade.
8.	Ukrainian are throwing occupiers , but now with flowers! We are the bravest people!	Assimilation, Nomination	This is actually a clip from an 11-minute Airsoft video uploaded to YouTube in January
9.	Miracle! death ukrainians coming to life after dying on social media but caught on live camera. The entire PR disaster is falling apart very fast.	Genericization	The video comes from a climate change protest in Wina in early February.
10.	Breaking: Zelensky, after saying he would not abandon Ukraine , has fled the country.	Individualization, Identification	False claims about President Zelensky fleeing Ukraine have been repeatedly spread by pro-Russian media outlet China Global Times. The news is fake and there is no supporting validity.
11.	Ukrainian president Volodymyr Zelenskyy has arrived in Poland, TASS news agency reported Friday.	Nomination	The China Global Times and CGTN both had to issue corrections after falsely reporting that President Zelensky had fled Kyiv. The news is false.
12.	Attentive people mentioned a problem w/ today's video of	Functionalization, Nomination	A Russian commentator claims a woman accompanying President Zelensky during a

	Zelenskiy visiting a hospital. There is physician Inna Derusova in the video, but she is dead since Feb, 26. Ukr media reported that she died on February 26. Zelenskiy awarded her the title of Hero of Ukraine posthumously.		hospital visit is combat doctor Inna Derusova, who died from Russian shelling on day one of the war. A simple search shows she's actually military doctor Tetiana Ostashchenko, not dead.
13.	The ghost of Kyiv, a real legend in a real air battle.	Genericization, Identification	The video does not show the "ghost of Kyiv" picking up and shooting down the Russian fighter jet. This is Digital Combat Simulator (DCS).
14.	At 28 Natalia flew fighter jets . First woman-pilot in the Ukraine Air Force. She gave her life for Ukraine. A true Ukrainian Super Woman.	Identification, Activation, Specification, Nomination	A viral tweet by Ukrainian member of parliament, Lesia Vasylenko claims to show fighter pilot Natalia, 28, who she says has died during battle. It actually shows Olesya Vorobey, a Ukrainian soldier who won a beauty contest in Luhansk in 2016.
15.	FM Lavrov: the goal of Russia's special military operation is to stop any war that could take place on Ukrainian territory or that could start from there .	Differentiation	War is taking place on the territory of Ukraine, started by Russia.
16.	Valeriy Zaluzhny, the Commander in Chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces , has announced that this morning in the direction of Kherson, Ukrainian forces	Specification	This video has been going viral in pro-Ukrainian circles with claims it shows Ukrainian forces shooting down four Russian helicopters. The footage is from the military video game Arma 3.

	skillfully shot down four Russian K-52 ZS helicopters during an aerial defense mission.		
17.	When Ukrainian troops reentered Bucha on April 1, they carried out foot patrols throughout the town and observed it from the air with the help of drones. Videos are available in the public domain. No corpses in the streets were found and reported. The reports came 2 days later.	Assimilation	Russia's @iaeaorg envy Mikhail Ulyanov repeats the false claim that no bodies were found in Bucha until 3 April. Satellite images show bodies in Bucha on 19 March and a video of corpses on Yablunska Street was posted on the evening of 1 April
18.	Volodymyr Zelensky is a cousin of George Soros. Pentagon official says.	Identification	No Pentagon official has ever said President Zelensky and George Soros are cousins and this supposed point account with over 30,000 followers is utter rubbish.
19.	@BBC story about Ukrainian missile Toghka-U at the railway station in Kramatorsk, where killed dozens of civilians.	Identification	Pro-Kremlin accounts are spreading a fake video they claim has been published by BBC News to prove the rocket strike on Kramatorsk Station was carried out by Ukraine. The video is fake. The BBC has made no such video.
20.	Ukrainian ATGM operators are almost supernaturally good.	Genericization	This video with 330,000 views claims to show a Russian tank being blown up by a Ukrainian anti-tank missile. The video, filmed in Syria in 2017, shows rebel fighters destroying a Syrian military tank in northern Hama.
21.	This is how the supported by Western	Identification	The Russian embassy in the UK is posting misinformation

	media Kiev propaganda is staged		again. This clip is not evidence of a "staged" attack in Ukraine. It's from the set of a Ukrainian film about the war called Region of Heroes.
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D. Types of inclusion strategies for Russia

No.	Utterances	Type of Strategies	Verification Results
1.	The U.S. imperial prophecy has finally come true, and Putin the Great (Russia) has still attacked Ukraine.	Individualization, Specification	The actual video is the tragic Beirut explosion in 2020.
2.	Russian began with airstrike on ukraine that caused a chain reaction at the luhansk power plant, ukraine.	Activation	Video from the deadly 2015 Tianjin blast in China.
3.	Intelligence agencies around the world have spotted American actor Steven Seagal among Russian special forces positioned around Russian special forces positioned around the outskirts of Gostomel airfield near Kyiv captured by Russian airborne troops.	Genericization, Specification	CNN reports are fake about actor Steven Seagal, a dual US-Russian citizen, fighting alongside Russian forces in Ukraine.
4.	Russian helicopters patrolling in the direction of Kyiv.	Activation, Specification	Videos claiming to show "Russian helicopters patrolling in the direction of Kyiv" actually first appeared online before the Ukraine war.
5.	Russian forces arrest US Army Lieutenant-General "Roger L. Cloutier" in Ukraine, and reports say he was	Nomination	Pro-Kremlin accounts claim a video shows Russian forces arresting US general and Nato allied land command chief Roger Cloutier in Mariupol in

	assisting the Azov Battalion in Mariupolei.		early April. Gen Cloutier's LinkedIn shows he was in Turkey for a Nato conference just six days ago.
6.	France's President Macron tells re-election audience, "Europe needs to be prepared to take up to 60 million refugees, over the next 20 years, from Affrica and the Middle East," as he warns that sanctions on the Russia are leading to economic collapse in Africa, which imports vast amounts of Russian wheat.	Nomination	A fake BBC News tweet falsely quoting President Macron as saying sanctions against Russia will lead to 60 million refugees in Europe is being shared. Mr Macron has not said such a thing and BBC News never tweeted that.
7.	Easter on Russian State TV. Putin was too much of a coward to be present in the church during the actual event. Pre-recorded footage of him added in, and quite poorly. He is missing next to the painting of a crown on a red table on the wall.	Specification	A viral Twitter thread falsely claims footage of President Putin at the orthodox Easter mass was pre-recorded and edited in, indicating he wasn't there. Agency photos from the mass clearly show him at the event wearing the exact same suit and tie.
8.	Russian military forces set fire to compound outside Kiev occupied by women and children, burning them alive."	Genericization	
9.	In the occupied areas there are now reports and pictures of Russian occupiers burning the books about Ukraine's history they can find.	Genericization, Specification	A screenshot of a fake CNN news story with a photo of the 1993 Waco siege and the Russian-preferred spelling of the Ukrainian capital "Kiev" has been shared to indicate Western media publish fake

	And Putin has been clear that he wants to erase the Ukraine nation.		stories. CNN never published that story.
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