SOCIAL ACTORS REPRESENTATION IN THE NEWS REPORTING INDONESIA PROTEST IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA

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Abstract:
This study aims to reveal the mechanism of social actors representation constructed by The Jakarta Post, South China Morning Post, and The New York Times in reporting the protesters and the government. This study adopted Theo van Leeuwen's (2008) social actor framework which comprises exclusion and inclusion. Exclusion consists of backgrounding, while inclusion consists of activation, subjection, individualization, assimilation, functionalization, and nomination. A qualitative approach was applied in this study. The data were collected from six selected news articles published by The Jakarta Post, South China Morning Post, and The New York Times. The findings revealed that both protesters and government were represented through exclusion and inclusion strategy. In terms of exclusion, the findings revealed not only that the protesters were represented for involving in critical process of the protest and being the driving force of the movement, but also being violent during the protest. In the case of government representation, not only that the government were detached from a reported action, but also constructed for not opposing the protesters. In terms of inclusion, the findings indicated that the protesters were represented as being unfaltering, being active through field and online protest, as well as being violent and committing a potentially crime activity. In the case of the government, the actors were represented as being sluggish, aggressive, abusing power, but on another hand also being a crowd-dispersal agent and target of violence. In conclusion, the use of van Leeuwen's social actor framework revealed that news portal excluded and included social actors to suit their objective.

Keyword:
critical discourse analysis, Van Leeuwen's social actor representation, indonesia protest, international media

INTRODUCTION

In media discourse, Fairclough (1995) introduces representation as one of the aspects that considered to be simultaneously taking part in a text. Among several points that become the focus of representation, linguists are acquainted with the term Social Actor Representation. Social actor representation refers to the way in which people acting a certain position in a social context referred to as a 'social actor' portrayed through the use of language in a text.

Studies have been conducted to examine the ways media representing social actors. Al Fajri (2018) investigated the representation of the protesters in both local and international press by using Halliday's Transitivity (1994) and van Leeuwen's social actor representation (SAR) model (1996). Additionally, a study on social actor representation in the case of Islamic Defender Front's (FPI) rejection of Lady Gaga's performance in Indonesia was conducted by Bustam, Heriyanto and Citratesmana (2013). Furthermore, a study which examined the representation of social actors in Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and Integrated Annual (IA) reports was conducted by Bernard (2018). A study on the ways media controllers in the West give a positive self-

representation and negative other-representation in the case of the Iranian nuke program was conducted by Rashidi and Rasti (2012). The findings of the studies revealed that media with tendency to support certain figure(s) would give lesser portion, negative and radical coverage towards the social actors from the contra side of the media.

The present study was objected to reveal linguistic realization used by international media in representing social actors of a political protest reported in news discourse. It is found that protests and civil actions received negative press coverage which highlights violent incident that occurred instead of focusing on the causes of the protests (Al Fajri, 2018). Moreover, McLeod & Hertog (as cited in Al Fajri, 2017) stated that protesters are often constructed as perpetrators of violent actions while police or state authorities are primarily portrayed as casualties of such violent acts and non-violent protectors of civil order. Referring to Fairclough (1995) that media mirror realities in ways which suit the interest or objectives of the producer, the writer's concluded that social actor representation of an event is influenced by political stance of news institutions. Accordingly, the representation of the same event receives various coverage from different media.

One of the most influential media to shape public knowledge is newspaper (Fairclough, 1995). Newspaper actively forms public perception through the use of language which is conceivably purposively employed to achieve certain purpose which can be either supportive or marginal towards certain groups, ideology, or people (Evayani & Rido, 2019). Seeing language as a potentially manipulative instrument to construct reality, the use of language in discourse may contribute to supporting and legitimizing a constructed reality that can lead to social problems such as allegation or repercussion. Hence, there is an urgent need to conduct a study on media language and discourse to address such social problems.

LITERATURE REVIEW
2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis
van Dijk (as cited in Suprayogi & Pranoto, 2020) states that Critical Discourse Analysis studies how text in social and political contexts are raised. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) CDA is the study of "often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power" (Fairclough, 1995, pp. 132-133). In this respect, to conduct research by using CDA is to study language beyond the text.

2.2 Social Actor Representation Framework
This study employed Social Actor Network proposed by van Leeuwen (2008). The framework concerns on how social actors are represented through linguistics feature in discourse. By investigating the use of specific linguistic feature, it can lead to a deeper look of how language can carry specific meaning when it is considered as beyond a set of rules (Leeuwen, 2008). The following figure is the complete divisions of Social Actor Network proposed by van Leeuwen (2008).
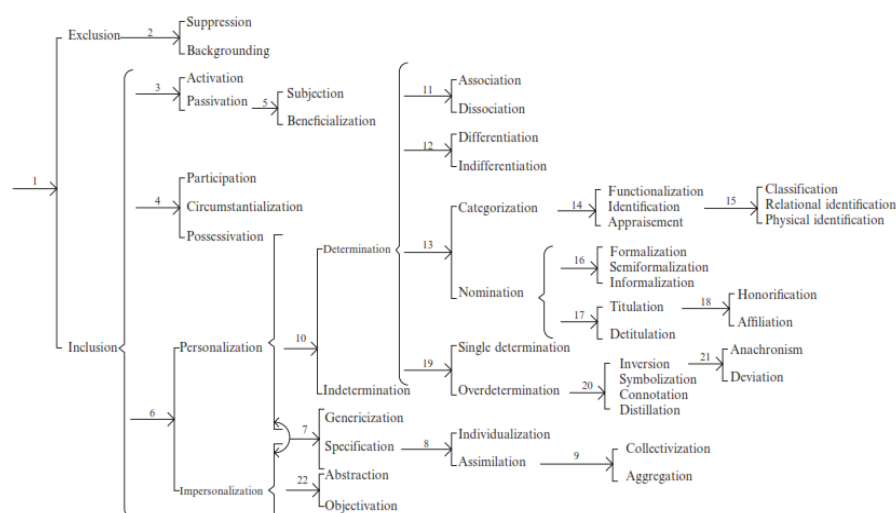

Figure 1. Social Actor Network (van Leeuwen, 2008: 52)

In terms of exclusion, this study applied backgrounding strategy to analyze the data. In terms of inclusion, this study applied activation, subjection, individualization, assimilation, functionalization, and nomination strategy.

Exclusion

Exclusion is the process by which social actors are eliminated (van Leeuwen, 2008). Exclusion has two subcategories: suppression and backgrounding. Backgrounding is the process of excluding the social actors which allows reference so reader can assume the social actors being referred in the text. Backgrounding allows the possibility for the actors to be mentioned in another part of clause, word, or sentence in the text. According to van Leeuwen (2008), backgrounding can exist from simple ellipses non-finite clauses with –ing and –ed participles, in infinitival clauses with to, and in paratactic clauses.

Inclusion

Inclusion or role allocation is the process by which social actor of a particular action is included or mentioned in the discourse (van Leeuwen, 2008). The following description explained the subcategories used in this study.

a. Activation

   Activation includes social actor as the active, dynamic forces in an activity (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 33). Activation can be realized through the following processes. (1) Participation; the active role of social actor is directly mentioned in a particular activity. b) Circumstantializaion; activation through this process exists by the use of prepositional circumstantials such as 'by' or 'from'. (3) Possessivation; social actor is activated through possessivation by the use of a possessive pronoun.

b. Passivation

   Passivation includes social actor as 'undergoing' the social practice, or as being 'at the receiving end of it' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 33). Passivation can be identified through sujection which treats actors as objects. Subjection can be realized through participation, circumstantialization, and possessivation. Halliday (as cited in van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 34) stated that participation occurs when social actor is goal in a material process, phenomenon in a mental process, or carrier in an effective attributive process. Circumstantialization realized by noticing the use of prepositional phrase such as 'against' in the example: A racist backlash against ethnic Asians has been unleashed by those who resent the prominence of centrist candidate Alberto Fujimoro (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 34). Possessivation occurs through the use of a prepositional phrase 'of' postmodifying a nominalization or process noun. Additionally, it can be realized through premodification by the use of adjective preceding a nominal.

c. Specification

   Social actor in this case can be realized through individualization and assimilation. Individualization can be identified by singularity as the use of 'a toddler' in the sentence The tragic drowning of a toddler in a backyard swimming pool has mystified his family (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 36). On another hand, assimilation is identified by plurality as in 'Australians' and 'Muslims' in the sentence Australians tend to be sceptical about admitting "Muslims" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 37). Assimilation can be realized through two occurrences: (1) collectivization, which is a form of assimilation that does not treat group of participants as statistics. On the contrary, (2) aggregation treats groups as statistic.

d. Functionalization

   Functionalization occurs when social actors are referred to in terms of an activity. Functionalization can be identified by a noun formed from a verb, suffixes such as -er, -ant, -ia, -ee, -ist, -eer, through compounding of nouns such as 'man', 'woman', 'person' e.g., 'cameraman', 'chairperson'.

e. Nomination

   Nomination occurs when social actor is represented by their unique identity. Nomination is divided into two types: the first type consists of formalization, semiformalization, and informalization; the second type consists of titulation and detitulation. Formalization (definite

name with or without honorifics), semiformalization (given a name and a sure name), and informalization (given only names). Titulation occurs when social actor is given title, ranks, or honorification.

METHODS

The present study explored the meaning constructed to the choice of the linguistic feature that becomes the center of attention of qualitative researchers (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). The data used in this study were phrases and clauses from news articles. Additionally, the data sources of this study were selected news articles published by the official website of three international media. International media in this study referred to the news institutions that conduct international reporting by publishing news for wide readership includes international audience (Oganjanyan, 2012). Those international media were The Jakarta Post, South China Morning Post, and The New York Times. The data were selected through purposive sampling with the criteria that the news reported (1) the protesters in the protest against revised criminal code, eradication of sexual violence bill, and Indonesia's Corruption Eradication Commission bill' and (2) the government involvement in the mentioned protest. There were six selected news articles used in this study as described in the following table.

Table 3.1. *List of news articles*

No	News Portal	Headline	Date of Publication
1	The Jakarta Post	'We refuse to return to New Order'	September 23, 2019
2	South China Morning Post	In Indonesia, student clashes with police over new laws spark comparisons with Hong Kong	September 25, 2019
3	The New York Times	Indonesia's Leader Faces Student Protests and Crises Heading Into New Term	September 25, 2019
4	The New York Times	Thousands in Indonesia Protest Bills to Limit Rights and Ban Extramarital Sex	September 30, 2019
5	South China Morning Post	On the front lines with Indonesia's young protesters	October 7, 2019
6	The Jakarta Post	'We will keep fighting': Three days ahead of Jokowi's second term, protesters still rallying	October 17, 2019

The data were collected through data mining. According to Merriam & Tisdell (2015), several steps to collect the data were: (1) Finding relevant materials by browsing through the official website of the news portal. (2) Assessing documents' authenticity. McCulloch (as cited 2004 in Merriam & Tisdell, 2015) stated that assessing authenticity is done by identifying the writer, the place, and the date of writing. (3) Cataloging the documents based on the date of publication. Each document was encoded by initialling and numbering the news portal as followed.

Table 3.2. *Cataloguing news articles*

News Portals	Date of Publication	Code
The Jakarta Post	September 23, 2019	JP1
South China Morning Post	September 25, 2019	SCMP1
The New York Times	September 25, 2019	NY1
The New York Times	September 30, 2019	NY2
South China Morning Post	October 7, 2019	SCMP2
The Jakarta Post	October 17, 2019	JP2

The data in this study were analyzed through content-analysis technique. Kothari (as cited in Gulö, 2017) stated that content-analysis deals with the study of messages in existing documents or verbal materials. There were several steps conducted to analyze the data. First, the writer studied the data carefully. The writer broke down the text into sentences to identify the data

related to social actors in investigation. Second, the writer classified the data into tables based on the types of strategies. Third, the writer analyzed the data. In this stage, the writer employed van Leeuwen's (2008) social actor representation framework to discuss and interpret the mechanism of representation for both protesters and government.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
The analysis of the data is put under two categories: (1) exclusion and (2) inclusion.

1. *Exclusion*
This study found that all articles in media used it for both protesters and government as seen from excerpts in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1. *Backgrounding for the Protesters*

No	Excerpts	News Article	Types of Backgrounding
1	*The university students amplified their demands for the government and the House of Representatives to hold off the passage of a number of controversial bills, including a revision to the Criminal Code (KUHP), **arguing** that the bills threatened democracy and civil liberties.*	JP1	nonfinite clauses with –*ing*
2	*In all the rallies, the students have raised the same demands while also **criticizing** the recent trends emerging in the country*		
3	*a crowd estimated at more than 10,000 protested outside the Parliament building on Tuesday, **blocking** traffic, **pulling** down fencing and **torching** a police post.*	NY1	
4	*Hundreds of protesters — students and activists — rallied in big cities on Thursday **to demand** that the President issue a regulation to revoke a new law on the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK).*	JP2	infinitival clauses with *to*
5	*The Brawijaya University student, who did not want to give his full name, was among the thousands of people – mostly students – from Medan in western Indonesia to Gorontalo in the northern part of the archipelago who united **to reject** sweeping*	SCMP1	

From excerpt 1 and excerpt 2, backgrounding was found through the process of arguing and criticizing which are nonfinite verbs with -ing. It was noticeable that The Jakarta Post portrayed the protesters to involve in critical processes to prove that the government needed to re-evaluate the amendments of the bills. Referring to excerpt 3 from The New York Times, backgrounding was employed through the process of blocking, pulling down and torching. Those nonfinite verbs with –ing were actions that can be considered as harmful to public and the government as it most possibly disturbed the traffic and destroyed the affected property.
From excerpt 4, the process to demand was mentioned later after hundreds of protesters. The process represented the protesters to be urging the government to revoke the newly enacted law on the Corruption Eradication Commission. Excerpt 5 showed that the protesters were reported to be in charge of the process to reject that appeared later following the detail of the protesters' domicile. It showed that South China Morning Post focused on reporting the protesters as a driving force of the most affected party to oppose the amendments.

Table 4.2. *Backgrounding for the Government*

No	Excerpts	News Article	Types of Backgrounding
6	*The most controversial of these proposals were amendments to the law governing Indonesia's Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), **passed** on September 17.*	SCMP2	nonfinite clause with –ed
7	*Thursday also marked the day that the new KPK Law began **to take force**.*	JP2	infinitival clauses with to
8	*In an effort **to stem** the political damage, the president's office sought to arrange a meeting with student leaders on Friday.*	NY2	

Excerpt 6 showed that nonfinite clause with –ed in the process passed was mentioned in the absence of the actors. However, the sentence from which the action was mentioned allowed the writer to assume that the government was detached. The strategy was employed to delay the appearance of the government who was responsible for passing the new KPK law.

Excerpt 7 showed the process to take force while the actor was detached from the action. Thus, the main attention in the report was the event. From excerpt 8, The New York Times reported the process to stem political damage earlier. The clause later was followed by the presence of the government as the responsible actor for the event. Compared to the previous representation from the other two news portals, The New York Times focused more on reporting the prevention attempt taken by the government to meet the need of the protesters. Thus, the portrayal constructed the government with a considerate image.

2. *Inclusion*
The findings of the study showed that the news portals used activation, subjection, individualization, assimilation, functionalization, and nomination to include the actors in the event.

2.1 Activation
This study revealed that, participation, circumstantialization, and possessivation were used by the three news portals to activate the protesters. Meanwhile, participation and possessivation were used in the representation from The New York Times.

Table 4.3. *Activation for Protesters*

No	Excerpts	News Article	Types of Activation
9	*The university students **amplified** their demands for the government and the House of Representatives to hold off the passage of a number of controversial bills, including a revision to the Criminal Code*	JP1	Participation
10	*The protesters also **slammed** the House and President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo's administration for passing the controversial revision to the KPK Law*		
11	*The students **issued** seven demands*	SCMP2	
12	*In Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, a crowd estimated at more than 10,000 **protested** outside the Parliament building on Tuesday*	NY1	
13	*Demonstrators **threw** rocks and gasoline bombs at the police*	NY2	
14	*The widespread protests on Monday followed a smaller protest **staged by hundreds of university students***	JP1	Circumstantialization

15	*Images of a list of demands **made by protesters** circulated on social media*	SCMP1	
16	*Sayid Ferhad Hasyim, a **protester who participated** in the rally in Samarinda*	JP1	Possessivation
17	*Hamzah was one of the many thousands of students **who protested** outside Indonesia's House of Representatives*	SCMP2	
18	*Tens of thousands of protesters **who took** to the streets last week in Jakarta and other cities were met by aggressive police tactics*	NY2	

From excerpt 9, the participation of the university students was reported through the active verb amplified. It showed that the protester expressed their concerns. From excerpt 10 it was notable that the news constructed the protesters with a firmer manner over the passage of revision on KPK Law by attaching to the process slammed. From excerpt 11, South China Morning Post portrayed the protesters as actively expressing their concerns through the verb issued. Excerpt 12 from The New York Times showed active participation of the protesters through protested which indicated neutral situation. However, looking at excerpt 13 where the report attaches the process threw, it appeared to the writer's knowledge that The New York Times constructed the protesters with a negative portrayal.

Excerpt 14 showed that The Jakarta Post activated the protesters through circumstantialization by. This showed that the university students were in charge of the protest. The same realization was also found in South China Morning Post. Excerpt 15 showed the process made by protesters from which, the actors were reported to be involved in an online protest.

The last activation was realized through possessivation. Excerpt 16 from The Jakarta Post activated the protesters in who participated which showed neutral representation. The same portrayal was found in excerpt 17 that activated the protesters through the process who protested. Such realization was also found in The New York Times. The protesters were activated through process who took to the streets as shown from excerpt 18.

Table 4.4. *Activation for the Government*

No	Excerpts	News Article	Types of Activation
19	*Jokowi **asked** the House to not only delay the KUHP bill's passage*	JP1	Participation
20	*On the second night, police again **fired** tear gas to disperse the crowds.*	SCMP2	
21	*Mr. Joko **called on** Parliament last week not to pass the measure*	NY1	
22	*Separately, the police **arrested** two activists for online activity*	NY2	
23	*Indonesian computer studies student T.A., 23, **was blasted by police water cannons***	SCMP1	Circumstantialization
24	*Tens of thousands of protesters who took to the streets last week in Jakarta and other cities were met **by aggressive police tactics***	NY2	
25	*On Wednesday, **riot police used** tear gas and water cannons to disperse thousands of rock-throwing student protesters*	SCMP2	Possessivation

From excerpt 19 The Jakarta Post activated the government, specifically the president, in a sluggish manner. This representation was realized through active participation asked the House which made the government appeared as less decisive. With the same strategy, South China Morning Post activated the police through fired tear gas as seen in excerpt 20. Thus, the police were activated by their power up against the protesters. On another hand, the portrayal from The New York Times was found to be segmented. While the president was assigned in a responsive representation in the process Mr. Joko called on Parliament such as shown in excerpt 21, the police representation happened as more aggressive by process arresting as seen in excerpt 22.

Excerpt 23 showed that South China Morning Post activated the police through the process of blasting police water cannons. It portrayed the police as a crowd-dispersal agent despite the use of force against the protesters. From excerpt 24, The New York Times activated the police through the process by in met by aggressive police tactics. The contrast report between the protesters and the police showed that the news portal aggressively represented the police.

Excerpt 25 showed the premodification of police. The representation shows the specification of the police who escorted the protest which appeared as much more purposeful and powerful as the journalist wrote the riot police and the rock-throwing student protesters involved 'head-to-head' in violent acts.

2.2 Subjection
Subjection was realized through participation, circumstantialization, and possessivation.

Table 4.5. *Subjection for the Protesters*

No	Excerpts	News Article	Types of Subjection
26	*On Wednesday, **riot police used tear gas and water cannons to disperse thousands of rock-throwing student protesters***	SCMP1	Participation
27	*Separately, **the police arrested two activists** for online activity*	NY2	
28	***Police have fired tear gas and water cannons at rock-throwing youngsters***	SCMP1	Circumstantialization

Excerpt 26 showed that the journalist subjected student protesters to the disperse process taken by the police. Thus, it put the protesters as the receiver of the action. Besides, passivation happened to the activists such seen in excerpt 27. The activists were subjected to the arrested process, which portrayed the activists in a negative frame. The term arrest in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) is strongly connected to words such as suspect, convicted, illegal, from which the activists linked to activity that is 'potentially a crime' or 'proven to be a crime'.

From excerpt 28, the label of rock-throwing youngsters was framed as the target of fired process. It was remarkable that the protesters were passivated with regard to dispersal, thus, giving force to the effectiveness of the dispersal process.

Table 4.6. *Subjection for the Government*

No	Excerpts	News Article	Types of Subjection
29	*Mr. Joko **called on Parliament** last week not to pass the measure*	SCMP1	Participation
30	*Demonstrators **threw rocks and gasoline bombs at the police***	NY2	Circumstantialization
31	*They also **criticized police use of "excessive force"** in dealing with the protesters*	JP2	Possessivation

Excerpt 29 suggested that the representation subjected the Parliament through the process called on. On another hand, the police were subjected to violent action from the protesters. Excerpt 30 showed that the representation was constructed through the use of circumstantialization 'at' in Demonstrators threw rocks and gasoline bombs at the police, thus framing the police as a target of the protesters' anger. In the case of possessivation, excerpt 31 subjected the police by using the prepositional phrase 'of'. The police, in this case, were subjected as the receiver of critics from the protesters. It suggested that the police were portrayed to have abused their power till they were criticized for exercising it.

2.3 Individualization
Individualization is identified by singularity from which individual identity is distinct from others.

Table 4.7. *Individualization for the Protesters*

No	Excerpts	News Article
32	**One of the protesters** *carried a poster that read "The forests are on fire but it is the KPK that is being put out",*	JP1
33	*They also staged a performance in which* **one protester** *donned a Jokowi mask while his friends pulled him from left to right.*	JP2

Excerpt 32 showed that individualization was applied in one of the protesters with regard to the action of carried a poster. In addition, excerpt 33 individualized one protester in relation to donned a Jokowi mask. Data from The Jakarta Post consistently represented the protesters through their remarkable ways of voicing their concerns.

Table 4.8. *Individualization for the Government*

No	Excerpts	News Article
34	**The president** *also has balked at pulling back a law already approved by Parliament that would limit the authority of the respected Corruption Eradication Commission*	NY2
35	**The president** *listened to their concerns but did not promise any action, said Father Franz Magnis-Suseno, a politically active Jesuit priest who attended the meeting.*	

From excerpt 34, the government was individualized with regard to the president who insisted on enforcing the new law. The president was reported to be in charge of the process that refused of pulling back a law. Thus, the representation of the president appeared to be against the protesters. Furthermore, from excerpt 35, the president was individualized in the presence of protesters through the process of listened. In this representation, the reporter applied a distancing technique by employing the voice of the social actor. Thus, the government appeared to be insisting on the said situation.

2.4 Assimilation
Assimilation can be realized through two occurrences: 1) collectivization, which is a form of assimilation that does not treat a group of participants as statistics, and 2) aggregation that treats groups as statistics (van Leeuwen, 2008).

Table 4.9. *Assimilation for the Protesters*

No	Excerpts	News Article	Types of Assimilation
36	**the university students** *amplified their demands*	JP1	Collectivization
37	**The students** *issued seven demands*	SCMP2	
38	*the situation was peaceful enough and* **the demonstrators** *stopped for prayers and regular parleys with the police.*		
39	*One was shot and* **the other** *suffered severe head injuries.*	NY2	
40	*In Yogyakarta,* **hundreds under the Yogyakarta Anticorruption Alliance** *staged protests in the Tugu area in the city.*	JP2	Aggregation
41	**Thousands of students** *have protested against controversial legal changes*	SCMP1	

42	***Thousands of angry students*** *staged protests in major cities this week over the corruption law*	NY2	

Excerpt 36 labelled the protesters as university students in relation to the activity of expressing their concerns. The same strategy of assimilation was also found in excerpt 37, the news labelled the protesters as students with regard to their action of issuing seven demands. On another hand, excerpt 38 showed label demonstrators was assigned to the protesters in relation to prayers and parleys activity. From excerpt 39, The New York Times collectivized the protesters by using the other to report the condition of the protesters.

In the respect of aggregation strategy, the news portals represented the protesters with hundreds under the Yogyakarta Anticorruption Alliance as seen in excerpt 40. With a similar strategy, South China Morning Post aggregated the protesters through the use of Thousands of students in excerpt 41. In addition, The New York Times aggregated the protester as Thousands of angry students as seen in excerpt 42.

Table 4.10. *Assimilation for the Government*

No	Excerpts	News Article
43	*...**the House** is reportedly scheduled to pass the KUHP bill as well as other controversial bills,*	JP1
44	*Police have fired tear gas and water cannons at rock-throwing youngsters, and more students warn they will take to the streets until **the government** gives in to their seven demands*	SCMP1
45	***The police** fired tear gas and water cannons to prevent demonstrators from entering the compound.*	NY1

Excerpt 43 collectivized the government through the use of The House in relation to specific action of passing the KUHP bill. Meanwhile from excerpt 44, South China Morning Post used general label of the government to refer to the party that was being protested to give in the seven demands of the protesters. Similar to the strategy used by The Jakarta Post, excerpt 45 showed that The New York Times represented the government with specific label as the police. The representation entailed specific event of fired. Referring to the analysis, the writer concluded that that the specific labels such as the House and The Police were used to entail specific action in the report. Meanwhile, general labelling was used in relation to unspecified event in the report.

2.5 Functionalization
The study found that functionalization was applied by the three news portals.

Table 4.11 *Functionalization for the Protesters*

No	Excerpts	News Article
46	***The protesters** also slammed the House and President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo's administration*	JP1
47	*As **protesters** rallied for a third day on Wednesday, the US and Australian embassies in Jakarta warned of the possibility of more demonstrations*	SCMP1
48	*On Monday evening, **protesters** and the police clashed outside the Parliament building*	NY2
49	***Demonstrators** threw rocks and gasoline bombs at the police*	

From excerpt 46, 47, and 48 functionalization was applied through the use of protest noun with –er suffix. In addition, demonstrators from excerpt 49 was formed from demonstrate verb with -or suffix. The label of demonstrators entailed violent actions of threw rocks and gasoline bombs.

Table 4.12. *Functionalization for the Government*

No	Excerpts	News Article
50	***House Speaker** Bambang Soesatyo and **lawmakers on Commission III** overseeing legal affairs, including those on **the KUHP bill working committee***	JP1
51	*Top on the list was for changes to the criminal code to be rejected by **national parliamentarians***	SCMP1

Excerpt 50 labelled the social actors as house speaker and lawmakers with –er suffix, and committee with –ee suffix to refer the government based on their profession. Meanwhile, excerpt 51 assigned general label such as national parliamentarian with –ian suffix to attach the government in relation to bills' passage.

2.6 Nomination
Nomination is realized by proper noun. First, the group of the proper noun: formal (surname only, with or without honorifics), semiformalization (given name and a surname), and informalization (given only names) (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 41). Second, titulation which occurs when a social actor is given a title, ranks, or honorification (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 41).

Table 4.13. *Nomination for the Protesters*

No	Excerpts	News Article	Types of Nomination
52	***Yusuf Sugiarto**, the spokesperson for the West Java University Students Alliance.*	JP2	Semiformalization
53	***Debra Johannes**, 21, urged Mr. Joko to consider what kind of society he was creating for the future.*	NY2	
54	***Randi**, one of the protesters said the hundreds of protesters wanted to remind the government about seven demands*	JP2	Informalization
55	***Hamzah** was one of the many thousands of students who protested outside Indonesia's DPR*	SCMP2	
56	***Rama**, a 24-year-old student at Industrial Management Polytechnic*	NY2	
57	***University of Indonesia (UI) Student Executive Body (BEM) chairman Manik Marganamahendra**, one of the students participating in the protest.*	JP1	Titulation

From excerpt 52 and 53, the news portal applied semiformalization to attach the actors. Meanwhile, excerpt 54, 55, and 56 applied informalization to refer to the protester. Lastly, titulation was applied by The Jakarta Post to nominate Manik Marganamahendra.

Table 4.14. *Nomination for the Government*

No	Excerpts	News Article	Types of Nomination
58	*Following protests last week, **Jokowi** called on the House on Friday to hold off the bill's passage*	JP1	Informalization
59	*At **Widodo**'s request, amendments to the KUHP and other controversial laws have been postponed*	SCMP2	Formalization
60	***Commission III member Teuku Taufiqulhadi** of the NasDem Party said the House would review the bills thoroughly.*	JP1	Titulation
61	***Mr. Joko** called on Parliament last week not to pass the measure*	NY1	

Excerpt 58 applied informalization to attach the president in the reported action. In the respect of formalization, excerpt 59 attached the president through the president's surname Widodo. From

excerpt 60 and 61, titulation strategy was applied through the label Commission III member Teuku Taufiqulhadi and the honorification in Mr. Joko.

CONCLUSION

The present study was objected to reveal the mechanism of social actors representation used by The Jakarta Post, South China Morning Post, and The New York Times in news reporting Indonesia protest to represent the protesters and the government in Indonesian context. Applying social actors' framework from Van Leeuwen (2008), the writer analyzed the representation of social actors in the news reporting Indonesia protest from six chosen news article. Based on the discussion, the writer formulated some notable conclusions as followed.

In the case of exclusion, the writer concluded that backgrounding was employed by news portals to exclude both protesters and government. There are two types of backgrounding found in the news articles from the three news portals to represent the protesters, those are 1) nonfinite clauses with –ing and 2) infinitival clauses with to. It is of the writer's attention that The Jakarta Post tended to exclude the protesters through a critical portrayal and exclude the government from being responsible enacting a new law. Meanwhile, South China Morning Post focused on the protesters as an opposing force and excluded the government from being responsible enforcing the law. Additionally, The New York Times tended to take sides with the government and portrayed the protesters with negative construction.

In subcategory of activation, both protesters and government were represented through participation, circumstantialization, and possessivation. The Jakarta Post constructed the protesters with the unflattering portrayal and dynamic role allocation, while the government was constructed rather sluggishly. In addition, South China Morning Post represented the protesters as being inclusive during the protest while the government was described as a crowd-dispersal agent. Despite the use of power, the actions were attached to the purpose of dispersing the crowd, which made the action appeared to be more acceptable. On the contrary, The New York Times represented the protesters in both neutral and negative portrayals. In neutral construction, the protesters were activated to be the participants of the protest, while in negative construction, the protesters were activated as the aggressor. In the case of the government, the representation of the actors were segmented into the president and the police. While the president received neutral coverage in the news, the police received aggressive coverage.

In subjection, the protesters were represented through participation and circumstantialization. The finding revealed that only South China Morning Post and The New York Times subjected the protesters in the news. The Jakarta Post suggested that the police abused their power to deal with the protesters. Meanwhile, South China Morning Post constructed the protesters for being passive concerning dispersal action. On the contrary, The New York Times subjected the protesters for potentially committed a crime or proven to commit a crime. In the case of the government, the actors were represented as a target of protesters' anger.

In the case of individualization, The Jakarta Post portrayed the protesters in a standout manner in expressing their concerns. They were individualized in relation to their remarkable ways to express their concerns. Conversely, The New York Times constructed the government as being insisting. In assimilation, the protesters were represented through collectivization and aggregation strategy. The three news portals labelled the protesters as student to attach the actors in the activity of expressing concerns and demands. Meanwhile, non-academic labels were assigned by the three news portals to represent the protesters with unrelated activity to the protest. On the government side, assimilation was used through collectivization. The Jakarta Post and The New York Times applied label specifically in relation to their action. Meanwhile, general labelling was applied by South China Morning Post to portray the government. In functionalization, the news portals represented the protesters based on the action they were involved. In addition, when attached to specific violent action, the representation was a lot more detailed. For the government, The Jakarta Post represented the social actors with the most details compared to South China Morning Post and The New York Times. In nomination, the protesters were represented the most in comparison to the government. In this respect, The Jakarta Post was found to nominate both sides of social actors the most.

A critical analysis of six news articles revealed that there were differences in the representation of the protesters and the government. The variance showed the inclination of news portals towards one social actor. The Jakarta Post and South China Morning Post tended to take side with the protesters. Meanwhile, The New York Times appeared as the opposite. The Jakarta Post delayed the role of the government while South China Morning Post represented them for

being neutral. Lastly, The New York Times represented the government with both supportive and marginal portrayal. In saying this, media text construct reality that reflects their social position and interest as Fairclough (1995) explained.

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