UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL ISSUES THROUGH SOCIAL ACTORS REPRESENTATION: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE STUDY

Cut Nina Sausina, Dwi Indarti
Institut Bisnis Nusantara
Universitas Bina Sarana Informatika Jakarta
cut.nina2013@gmail.com, dwi.diw@bsi.ac.id

Abstract:
Critical Discourse Analysis attempts to investigate social, political, historical and environmental issues by analyzing linguistic aspects and resources. This paper aims to examine the strategies used by journalists of tempo.co and CNN Indonesia in delivering the Governor of NTT's school policy. Two research questions are formulated: (1) How the social actors are described in the news of Governor NTT's policy publish in tempo.co and cnnindonesia.com. (2) What strategies used by tempo.co and cnnindonesia.com in describing the social actors of Governor NTT's policy news. The results of the study indicate that the social actors are described in the news of Governor NTT's policy publish in tempo.co and cnnindonesia.com by clearly mentioned the actors who responsible for the entry school policy. This educates the readers about the policy. Even though the actors are clearly mentioned, there is no tendency to marginalize them, especially Governor of NTT. By covering all person in charge, the readers are presented proportional news. Strategies used by tempo.co and cnnindonesia. com in describing the social actors of Governor NTT's policy news is only inclusion strategy. Meanwhile, exclusion strategy is not detected in both news by tempo.co and CNN Indonesia.

INTRODUCTION

News is a report of the latest issue occurred in a specific area, printed on newspaper and broadcasted on radio, TV and internet (Xie, 2018). (Ekstrom, 2002) defines news as a decisive, nonpartisan, and present accurate information that is crucial and relevant for democracy. Furthermore, (Xie, 2018) argues that news holds a significant part in contemporary cultures since it grows into a tool to be exposed to the knowledge. Information presented by news articles has purpose to lead public opinion and contains an implicit ideological content that tends to be misconceived by the public (Xie, 2018).

News discourses are generally assumed as narratives. There are two factors influence the feature of news discourse; first, most news discourse cover material newsworthy cases which are actual of describing events. Second, news is supposed to conform public concerning surrounding situation and help to link public with the situation exceed their coverage (Zhongdang & Gerald, 1993, p. 60). The objective of the news discourse becomes challenging to be identified by non-critical readers since the writers apply discursive strategies to exert their depiction of an event or a figure into public's perception. The use of discursive strategies show that several news writers try to construct a polarized image between those who are powerful and those who are powerless. In such a way, without critical reading, public can be easily impacted to support the power and to dislike the opposite (Fitriani, et al, 2021). News discourse has develop into a critical field in linguistic research and is usually notice as an objective and proper linguistic discourse (Xie, 2018).

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) concerns with investigating both written and oral documents to reveal the discursive source of power, dominance, discrimination and bias (Xie, 2018). CDA attempts to investigate social, political, historical and environmental issues by analyzing linguistic aspects and resources. CDA purposes to generate

clear relation between discourse practices, social practices and social cultures. CDA occurs as an outcome of the merger of different theories, then CDA is viewed as a theory. However, CDA is also regarded as a method since it consists of several instruments used to analyze a discourse (Fitriani, et al, 2021).

Some linguists have proposed CDA's theories and have widely used as theoretical frameworks in frequent studies. Among them is (Fairclough, 1992) who proposes the three-dimensional nature of critical discourse analysis; (1) text (vocabulary, grammar, text structure), (2) discursive practice and (3) sociocultural practice. In the meantime, (Mills, 1992) is known with her CDA's theory as Sara Mills feminist perspective which focuses on women presented in news discourse and defines on how text are biased in featuring women. Meanwhile, (Leeuwen, 2008) introduces CDA's theory about social actor representation which covers of exclusion and inclusion analysis model. Exclusion is a strategy used to exclude actors from the text, consists of passivation, nominalization, and substitution of clauses. Whilst inclusion is a strategy to include actors in the news text, consists of differentiation-in differentiation, objectivity-abstraction, nomination-categorization, nomination-identification, determination-indetermination, assimilation-individualization, and association-disassociation (Evianda, et al, 2019).

Preceding studies of CDA have conducted by many linguists, such as (Fitriani, et al, 2021) who examine the concise image of the sixteen news about 212 rallies publish in The Jakarta Post by applying Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) strategies and the analytical tools drawn from Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) and reveal that The Jakarta Post tends to take side of the one being protested and resist the rallies. (Gunawan, et al, 2023) inspect a testament left by an Indonesian woman associated with ISIS by using (Fairclough, 2003)'s critical discourse analysis and Halliday and Matthiessen's transitivity

analysis (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The results show that the participation of the woman in jihad was represented by the dominant use of material process verbs (59.4%), relational process (19%), mental process (13,5%) and verbal process (8,1%). (Evianda, et al, 2019) try to describe women's position in Prohaba daily news text during 2018 by using Sara Mills and Theo van Leeuwen perspective of critical discourse analysis, specifically the analysis of social actor, exclusion and inclusion and finds that female actors become the subject as well as the object in Prohaba Daily News texts. Meanwhile (Evayani & Rido, 2019) expose how social actors are described in news reporting of sexual violence. The study shows that the actor as a passive agent and the perpetrator as an active agent, while The Jakarta Post figured the actor as definite personal such as by gender, age, and occupation while The New York Times presented them by title or last name.

Grounded by previous research, this paper aims to examine the journalists' strategies in delivering the Governor of NTT's school policy by proposing two research questions, as follows:

(1) How the social actors are described in the news of Governor NTT's policy publish in tempo.co and cnnindonesia.com?

(2) What strategies used by tempo.co and cnnindonesia.com in describing the social actors of Governor NTT's policy news?

The researchers employed Van Leeuwen's (2008) theory about social actor representation particularly about exclusion that consists of suppression and backgrounding and inclusion which focus on activation, passivation, specification, categorization, and nomination. Van Leeuwen (2008) states that representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in attracting readers. This model focused on how one is positioned in an inappropriate position and the others in a higher position.

In applying critical discourse analysis, there are several well-known figures as pioneers of this theory and carrying out their own

research models, namely: Gunther Kress ,Norman Fairclough ,Roger Fowler, Robert Hodge, , and Tony Trew, Theo Van Leeuwen, Sara Mills, and Teun A. Van Dijk. One of the discourse analysis models used to detect and examine how a group or a person is marginalized in a discourse is discourse analysis using Theo Van Leuween's model (Eriyanto, 2001). Theo Van Leuween created an analytical model that is beneficial to see how social events and actors are portrayed in the media, and how a group that does not have access becomes a party that is continuously marginalized. According to Van Leuween, the marginalization of certain social groups can be seen based on the presence of these groups in a discourse. Some were issued in exclusion strategy and some were presented in the inclusion strategy (Eriyanto, 2001). These strategies can be outlined as follows:

1. Passivation

One of the common ways in shaping the passivation within this framework is creating passive sentences. Through the composition of passive sentences, actors are unable to present themselves into the text since this is impossible to happen in the active sentence structures. The composition of the passive sentences may impact the understanding toward the meaning of the news contents. First of all, indeed the actors are missing from the news items. Consequently, the journalists and the public pay attention more to and are more interested with the victims rather than the actors. In addition, the form of passive sentence that omits the actors from the sentences may also render the readers uncritical. The examples are as follows: in active sentence: Polisi menembak seorang mahasiswa yang demonstrasi hingga tewas. While, in passive sentence: Seorang mahasiswa tertembak saat demonstrasi

The actor is clearly displayed in active sentence, meanwhile the actor is missing in the passive sentence, since the object is more important to display in the news. There are bad impact because of this strategy. First, the readers or mass are more interested in victims rather

than the perpetrator. Second, the action of negating the perpetrator can make the readers being uncritical.

2. Nominalization

This discourse strategy is related to turning the verb into nouns. In general, this strategy is carried out by adding the affix and the suffix "pe-an" in Bahasa Indonesia's structure. Nominalization does not need any subject since nominalization basically refers to the process of turning the verbs carrying the meaning of performing actions/activities into the nouns carrying the meaning of events. Thus, in every action/ activity there will always be the elements where actors do not apply in the case of action or symptom. nominalization can not only eliminate the position of the subject who did the shooting, but also it can even change the meaning of the sentence when it is read. This is the example:

Verb: Polisi menembak seorang mahasiswa yang demonstrasi hingga tewas.

Nominalization : Seorang mahasiswa tewas akibat penembakan saat demonstrasi.

This strategy is used because the media wants to emphasize the event, and hide the actors or perpetrators. So that for the readers, pay attention on the event is more interesting rather than criticize the actors of the event.

3. Alteration by Clause

Alternation by clause can also be performed by using the clause that also serves as the actor replacement. The use of such clause replacement is mostly found within the news, including the journalist himself. The reason is that the journalist is possibly unaware of the alteration by clause. The following sentences are the examples of hiding a shooter:

Without clause: Polisi menembak seorang mahasiswa yang demonstrasi hingga tewas

Clause: Untuk mengendalikan demonstrasi mahasiswa, tembakan dilepaskan. Akibatnya seorang mahasiswa tewas.

By using the clause "untuk mengendalikan demonstrasi mahasiswa", the actor or police is missed or hidden. The purposes are to hide the actor in order to protect some groups or it aims at words efficiency.

On the other hand, in inclusion the critical discourse analysis views the possibilities in which journalists or mass media include individuals or groups as the actors who will be highlighted in the news items. This action is taken under certain objective so that emphasis can be pushed forward with the presence of the actors in certain events.

According to Van Leeuwen (in Eriyanto, 2001, p.179), there are several strategies that can be used for pursuing inclusion namely:

1. Differentiation – Indifferentiation

An event or a social actor can be portrayed into a text independently as a unique or peculiar event. On the contrary, an even or a social actor can be made contradictory by portraying another event or actor within the text. The presence of an event or other groups can be an excellent mark of an event or group representation in the texts. This also indicates, indirectly that that group is not good compare to another group in the texts or news. This strategy commonly appears in a labor demonstration in the following sentence for indifferentiation: Buruh Pabrik Tokopedia sampai kemarin masih melanjutkan mogok. And the following sentence is an example for differentiation: Buruh psbrik Tokopedia sampai kemarin masih melanjutkan mogok. Sementara tawaran direksi yang menawarkan perundingantidak ditanggapi oleh para buruh

2. Objectivation – Abstraction

The understanding toward the objectivation – abstraction strategy refers to the concrete or abstract labelling about the actor that will be

included. This decision can also refer to several ways such as defining certain measures, as having been explained by Van Leeuwen (2008, p.46): abstraction takes place when social actors are represented by the quality that has been assigned to them within the representation. As an alternative, objectivation takes place when social actors are represented by referring to a place or a matter that have been closely associated with the social actors or the involvement of the social actors that has been described. In other words, objectivation is manifested by means of metonymic reference. The discourse elements of the social actors are portrayed by providing concrete hints or by means of abstraction. The sentences of this strategy are as follows:

Objectivation: PKI telah melakukan 2 kali pemberontakan

Abstraction: PKI telah berulang-kali melakukan pemberontakan

From the sentences above, the readers can perceive differently. The word "berulang-kali" intended to a bad image of PKI, so that as a politic strength, this party should be aware of.

3. Nomination – Categorization

The understanding toward the meaning of the nomination-categorization strategy means that social actors can be represented both in terms of the unique identity that they have nominated (nomination) and in terms of the identity and the function that they have shared with other people (categorization) (Leeuwen, 2008, p.40). Once again, it is always interesting to study which social actors in a discourse who have been nominated and who have been categorized. For instance, within a plot nameless characters will only play the figurative and functional roles and these characters will not serve as the point of identification for both the readers and the listeners. Most of the time, within the news around the presidential election, the social actors may be nominated as they are or may be nominated as they are or may be categorized. Here are the examples:

Nomination: Seorang laki-laki ditangkap polisi karena kedapatan

membawa obat-obatan terlarang

Categorization: Seorang laki-laki kulit hitam ditangkap polisi karena kedapatan membawa obat-obatan terlarang.

Both sentences have the same meaning, there is a man who carries illegal drugs and arrested by police. The additional info "berkulit hitam" (dark skin) is not useful. Then, the skin category is mentioned by the journalist intend to associate the readers to dark skin people are identical to illegal drugs and violence.

4. Nomination – Identification

Through the nomination-identification strategy, the process of inclusion leads to another explanation in the form of identification and vice versa by the actors. The inclusion process itself can take the form of religion, race, group, and alike. As having been explained by Van Leeuwen (2008, p.42), in terms of classification social actors are referred to based on the main categories in order to differentiate the social classes. In the West, these differences include age, sex, source, class, wealth, race, ethnic, religion, sexual orientation, history, and also culture. This discourse strategy is almost similar to categorization, namely how a group, an event, or a certain action has been defined. The only difference between categorization and identification is that the process of identification is performed by providing clauses as parts of explanation. We can compare the following two sentences:

Nomination: Seorang Wanita ditemukan tewas, diduga sebelumnya diperkosa

Identification: Seorang Wanita, yang sering keluar malam, ditemukan tewas. Diduga sebelumnya diperkosa

The clause "yang sering keluar malam" is an identification given by the journalist. However, this identification often becomes a justification to the event should be explained. The image of this woman is described bad by using that clause, so that she deserves to be raped. So that the readers can receive this event as a usual crime that does

not need further investigation.

5. Determination – Indetermination

Van Leeuwen (2008, p.39) has proposed about the understanding toward the meaning of the determination-indetermination strategy, namely the uncertainty that takes place when the social actors are represented as anonymous individuals or groups who have not been defined in relation to the determination of their identity. This uncertainty is usually manifested into uncertain pronouns (such as someone, something, few things, and alike) that have been used in the nominal function. In addition, uncertainty is manifested by exophoric references that have been generalized; in this case, the social actors are provided with some kind of impersonal authority and sense of invisibility with certain power. Most of the time, within the news items the social actors or the events are clearly mentioned but at other times these entities are not clearly mentioned (anonymous). Such anonymity is possible because the journalists have not attained the sufficient evidence so that it will be safer for the journalists to write the social actors in anonymity because there is a structural concern if the social actors have been portrayed or because there is another tendency that leads the journalists to the form of anonymity within the news source. The examples of this strategy are:

Determination: Orang dekat Gus Dur disebut-sebut terlibat dalam skandal Bulog

Indetermination: Menlu Alwi Shihab disebut-sebut terlibat skandal Bulog

The reason of using this strategy is because the journalist has not got sufficient evidence to write about the scandal, thus it is safer to write an anonym.

6. Assimilation – Individualization

This discourse strategy is related to the question whether the social actors who have been portrayed have clear reference of their category or not. Assimilation takes place when the location of the social groups or communities are mentioned instead of their category. For instance, in a demonstration done by college students in Jalan Cendana in order to justify Soeharto, Adi, a college student was shot by a police named Parman. Here are the strategies:

Individualisazation: Adi, mahasiswa Trisakti, tewas ditembak Parman ,seorang polisi ,dalam demonstarsi di Cendana kemarin

Assimilation: Mahasiswa tewas ditembak polisi dalam demonstrasi di Cendana kemarin

The first sentence is individualization because student category is clearly mentioned. Even if it is not mentioned in the text, the news remain confirms the one who is dead is a college student. This is different from the second sentence in a form of assimilation. In the second sentence, the name of the college student is not mentioned, it is referred to "mahasiswa" instead. Likewise with Parman who is mentioned as "polisi". By using assimilation, it is impressed that all college students became victims. Likewise the police, it is impressed that all police conducted shooting. The results it can provoke readers' emotion and tend to frame public opinion.

7. Association – Dissociation

There is another way, still, in which social actors can be represented as a group namely association. Association refers to the groups that have been formed by the social actors and/or the groups of social actors (both in general and in specific) who are not labelled within the text (although the actors or the groups of actors who make the association are certainly named and/or categorized). This discourse strategy is related to the question whether an actor or a party is portrayed individually or is associated with wider group.

The association-dissociation strategy will provide certain meaning to the readers with regards to the presence of the association between the event and the wider interest or the intention that demands the news items to be associated with greater event in order to support the marginalization of the inclusion actors. We can differentiate in the following examples:

Disassociation: Sebanyak 40 orang muslim meninggal dalam kasus Tobelo, Galela, dan Jailolo.

Association: Umat Islam di mana-mana selalu menjadi sasaran pembantaian. Setelah di Bosnia,sekarang di Ambon. Sebanyak 40 orang meninggal dalam kasus Tobelo, Galela, dan Jailolo

In the first sentence, the dead muslims are not connected to larger group. Meanwhile in the second sentence, the dead muslims are associated and connected to another muslim in other countries. By using this strategy, the representations of the dead Muslims, are different. It glorifies the meaning, as if the event in Ambon is not just a local case, instead it is a global case.

METHOD

This paper applies qualitative methods by using the theory of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) proposed by Theo Van Leuween (2008). According to Moleong (2007), qualitative research focuses on processes than results. Theo Van Leeuwen in his critical discourse theory puts forward two important parts in conducting analysis, namely exclusion (omitting actors by some linguistic mechanism) and inclusion (presenting the actor of an appropriate action within the discourse).

This paper takes two news published in two online media: Tempo (www.tempo.co) and CNN Indonesia (www.cnnndonesia.com), as can be seen in the following table

Published date	News Title / Link	
	Tempo.co	**CNN Indonesia**
March 1st, 2023	Deretan Fakta Kebijakan Siswa Masuk Jam 5 Pagi Gubernur NTT https://tekno.tempo.co/read/1697146/deretan-fakta-kebijakan-siswa-masuk-jam-5-pagi-gubernur-ntt	Gubernur NTT Minta Masuk Sekolah Jam 5 Pagi demi Asah Kedisiplinan https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20230301065731-20-919125/gubernur-ntt-minta-masuk-sekolah-jam-5-pagi-demi-asah-kedisiplinannasional/20230301065731-20-919125/gubernur-ntt-minta-masuk-sekolah-jam-5-pagi-demi-asah-kedisiplinan

Data collection was carried out in three stages: first, reading and understanding the discourse with the theme of Governor of NTT' entry school policy that aims at obtaining a clear understanding of the content of the discourse to be examined, second, marking parts of the discourse related to the theory of exclusion Theo Van Leeuwen. Third, inventorying sentences in the discourse relating to Theo Van Leeuwen's theory using the data inventory format. Analyzing data is done descriptively.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The data was investigated by Theo Van Leuween theory who popularized Social Actor Approach (SAA). The results of this study found that inclusion is the only strategy used by the journalists of tempo.co and CNN Indonesia. Exclusion strategy is not found in both news published by tempo.co and CNN Indonesia.

Inclusion Strategy

1. Differentiation-Indifferentiation

It is a discourse strategy on how a group is cornered by presenting other groups or discourses that are seen as more dominant or better. Below are sentences contain this strategy.

tempo.co	cnnindonesia.com
Gubernur NTT Viktor Bungtilu Laiskodat mewajibkan para siswa SMA dan SMK masuk sekolah pada pukul 05.00. *Kepala Ombudsman NTT, Darius Beda Daton, menilai kebijakan yang tiba-tiba diterapkan ini sebagai tanda takutnya Dinas Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Provinsi terhadap Gubernur NTT, Viktor Bungtilu Laiskodat.* *Bila aturan ini tidak ditinjau, maka dikhawatirkan akan memancing protes dari banyak wali atau orang tua murid," ujar Darius.* *Sementara itu, Viktor Bungtilu Laiskodat menegaskan, kebijakan masuk pukul 05.00 pagi tersebut tidak diberlakukan untuk semua sekolah di NTT.*	*Gubernur Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT) Viktor Bungtilu Laiskodat meminta agar jam masuk sekolah tingkat SMA dan sederajat di Kupang dimajukan menjadi pukul 05.00 WITA.* *Kepala Dinas Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan NTT Linus Lusi menyatakan pemerintah daerah bakal mengerahkan sejumlah angkutan umum sebagai sarana fasilitas peserta didik tingkat SMA seiring dengan diberlakukannya kebijakan tersebut.* *Sekjen FSGI Heru Purnomo mendesak agar rencana kebijakan itu dibatalkan karena berpotensi membahayakan tumbuh kembang anak.* *Inspektur Jenderal Kemendikbudristek Chatarina Muliana Girsang mengaku saat ini pihaknya tengah berkoordinasi secara intensif dengan Pemprov NTT terkait usulan tersebut.* *Kemendikbudristek saat ini tengah berkoordinasi intensif dengan pemerintah daerah dan dinas pendidikan di Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur terkait penerapan kebijakan yang dimaksud," kata Chatarina kepada CNNIndonesia.com, Selasa (28/2).* *Namun demikian, Chatarina mengklaim Kemendikbudristek berkomitmen untuk selalu melindungi hak siswa dapat belajar dengan aman.*

We can see that both media presented this news by clearly mentioned the actors who responsible for the entry school policy. This educates the readers about the policy. Even though the actors are clearly mentioned, there is no tendency to marginalize them, especially Governor of NTT. By covering all person in charge, the readers are presented proportional news.

2. Objectivity-Abstraction

This discourse strategy relates to the question of whether information about an event or social actor is presented by giving concrete (clear) or abstraction (vague) instructions. Objectivation-abstraction is a text writing strategy related to the answer to the question whether information about an event that occurred or an actor is displayed, by providing concrete and clear instructions or presented in an abstract (unclear) way. Both Tempo.co and CNN Indonesia use this strategy.

Objectivity	Abstraction
salah satu sekolah, SMA Negeri 6 Sikumana Kota Kupang, telah melaksanakan instruksi tersebut	Vidio yang menunjukkan Viktor dan **sejumlah guru** tiba di sekolah
Penerapannya dilakukan pada **dua sekolah** unggul, yakni **SMA 1 dan 6**	**Salah satu guru** mengatakan kepada teman-teman sejawatnya untuk masuk ke kelas tepat pukul 05.03 WITA
Dia menilai selama ini **para siswa di NTT** sulit untuk masuk perguruan tinggi favorit, seperti **UI dan UGM**.	Selain itu, dalam video itu, juga **ada guru** yang menyempatkan diri merias wajahnya sebelum jam mata pelajaran dimulai
Lebih lanjut, ia menuturkan **50 persen** APBD Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur ada di dinas pendidikan dan kebudayaan. "Tanpa DAU dan DAK, uang provinsi itu untuk APBD itu sudah **35 persen**, melampaui undang-undang. Undang-undang mengatur **20 persen**. Kita tanpa DAU dan DAK sudah **35 persen**," tuturnya."	Bila aturan ini tidak ditinjau, maka dikhawatirkan akan memancing protes dari **banyak wali** atau orang tua murid," ujar Darius.

*sebuah video berdurasi **1 menit 43 detik** yang beredar di media sosial.* *sehingga menurutnya **enam jam waktu tidur** sudah cukup."* *kebijakan itu hanya berlaku untuk **SMA 1 dan SMA 6** di Kupang"*	*Tujuannya, untuk mempersiapkan siswa menembus **perguruan tinggi negeri (PTN) ternama atau sekolah kedinasan di Indonesia.*** *pemerintah daerah bakal mengerahkan **sejumlah angkutan umum** sebagai sarana fasilitas peserta didik tingkat SMA seiring dengan diberlakukannya kebijakan tersebut.*

Abstract data can misinterpret readers in understanding the news. The exact numbers are hidden, the teacher identity who was ready to teach ,was not mentioned, many parents are written without knowing how many who has complained about this policy. In this part media aim to reduce the effect when they presented the exact data. Regarding phrase sejumlah angkutan umum, the readers do not know how many public transportation will be provided, so that readers would not get the exact comparison between students in NTT and the number of public transportation that support them to go to school early.

At the same time both Tempo and CNN Indonesia presented clear data when mentioning the name of the institutions, percentage of local budget, and the duration of a video. SMA Negeri 6 is stated clearly so that readers get exact info which school has applied the entry school policy. Then the readers get further info that not only SMA 6 but also SMA 1 have applied this policy. Both schools are mentioned as top school. Hence the description is not ambiguous. The percentage of local budget for NTT area is described big enough to apply this education policy. This paragraph support the idea of Governor of NTT, and The Chief of Education in NTT in putting through their thoughts in front of the journalists. The clear data is described when mentioning a video, whose duration is 1 minute 43 seconds. The readers can judge how much info they can get from such short video, where journalist cannot responsible for the publisher. When the source is not valid enough,

both journalists from either Tempo or CNN Indonesia confirm it by interview some social actors.

3. Nomination-Categorization

This is related to strategy, whether to present the actor in the text as is or accompanied by mentioning the actor's category. It is displayed on CNN Indonesia by writing this following text: "*Politikus NasDem itu mengatakan…*". The Governor of NTT is categorized as one of politic party, as if this party has something to do with his policy. Readers might think that the politic party has an agenda that is conveyed through his member, the Governor of NTT. "*Politikus Nasdem*" does not mean something crucial in this policy topic. Perhaps journalist wanted to explain more to the readers. However, it should be criticized as this phrase suggests certain meaning to readers.

4. Determinations-Indeterminatios

Determinations are strategies for writing texts by ensuring clarity, especially in mentioning certain actors (determination), whereas indetermination is the opposite. It is displayed on tempo,co in the second and first paragraph as follows:

Vidio yang menunjukkan Viktor dan sejumlah guru tiba di sekolah…

…dalam video itu, juga ada guru…"

Meanwhile, CNN Indonesia displays the similar info as follows:

*Instruksi Viktor itu terekam dalam **sebuah video berdurasi 1 menit 43 detik yang beredar di media sosial.***"

The video is not mentioned clearly, whether it was recorded by Governor's staff, or common people, and whether it was posted in a social media or television. The journalists are not able to find enough proves in validating the source. As a result, the readers can assume this news aims at marginalized the social actors.

5. Assimilation-Individualization

Assimilation-individualization is a strategy by mentioning the characteristics of actors in the text in more detail, which is what distinguishes this strategy from nomination-categorization.

*Dia menilai selama ini **para siswa di NTT** sulit untuk masuk perguruan tinggi favorit, seperti UI dan UGM*

*Gubernur NTT Viktor Bungtilu Laiskodat mewajibkan **para siswa SMA dan SMK masuk sekolah pada pukul 05.00 WITA,***

*Jam masuk sekolah **tingkat SMA dan sederajat di Kupang** dimajukan menjadi pukul 05.00 WITA*

6. Association-Disassociation

Association-disassociation is a discourse strategy that aims at making certain actors or parties that are displayed individually or linked to certain larger groups or organizations. According to Eriyanto (2002) , this element association wants to see whether larger group of people is linked with the   event delivered on the news.

tempo.co	cnnindonesia.com
*kebijakan tersebut menjadi perdebatan hangat di media sosial hingga menuai protes dari **Ombudsman NTT**.* ***Dinas pendidikan NTT** dinilai telah mengabaikan dasar hukum dan kajian akan aturan ini*	*Sementara itu, **Kepala Dinas Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan NTT Linus Lusi** menyatakan pemerintah daerah bakal mengerahkan sejumlah angkutan umum sebagai sarana fasilitas peserta didik tingkat SMA seiring dengan diberlakukannya kebijakan tersebut.* *Kami sedang bersurat ke **Penjabat Wali Kota Kupang** agar kerahkan para bus-bus sekolah* *Di sisi lain, **Federasi Serikat Guru Indonesia (FSGI)** mengkritik usulan Viktor…* ***"Inspektur Jenderal Kemendikbudristek Chatarina Muliana Girsang** mengaku saat ini pihaknya tengah berkoordinasi secara intensif dengan Pemprov NTT terkait usulan tersebut*

The presence of several education organizations is intended to associate this NTT event to whole Indonesia's students. However.in a positive ways, this strategy gives readers understanding entry school policy has been paid attention by related officials and ready to solve.

CONCLUSION

Based on data analysis, the researchers conclude two main findings to answer the statement of the problem. First, the social actors are described in the news of Governor NTT's policy publish in tempo.co and cnnindonesia.com by clearly mentioned the actors who responsible for the entry school policy. This educates the readers about the policy. Even though the actors are clearly mentioned, there is no tendency to marginalize them, especially Governor of NTT. By covering all person in charge, the readers are presented proportional news. Second, strategies used by tempo.co and cnnindonesia.com in describing the social actors of Governor NTT's policy news is only inclusion strategy. Meanwhile, exclusion strategy is not detected in both news by tempo.co and CNN Indonesia. The inclusion strategies are differentiation-in differentiation, objectivity-abstraction, nomination-categorization, determinations-indeterminations, assimilation-individualization, and, association-disassociation.

Based on the results of the analysis that has been performed, the researchers would like to propose several suggestions as follows:

The future researchers can develop the implicit social actors within the news. The implicit actors are hardly found in article using Critical Discourse Analysis using van Leeuwen theory. The reason is these implicit social actors direct readers to hidden agenda so that it kills the critical reading or understanding of the society targets or readers. Meanwhile, many masses media aim to educate people through their news presentation, and serve sharp, trusted, and fair news as well.

The future researchers who use the critical analysis discourse

model proposed by Van Leeuwen should pay closer attention to how words and phrases are put together while using Van Leeuwen's critical analysis discourse model so that they can analyze the process of exclusion with greater objectivity and criticism. Since they are frequently referenced in multiple phrases or paragraphs, the social actors who are the subject of news stories give the appearance that they have been hidden. Future researchers that employ the critical analysis discourse model put forth by Van Leeuwen ought to be more critical in how they present the social actors involved in the exclusion process by paying closer attention to the words, concepts, and sentence structures used. The rationale is because the exclusion process uses more tactics to allow for role-exchange amongst social players. within the same single news items.

REFERENCES

Ekstrom, M. (2002). Epistemologies of TV Journalism: A theoretical framework. Journalism, 3(3), 259–282.

Eriyanto. (2002). Analisis Wacana: Pengantar Analisis Teks Media. LKIS.

Evayani, W., & Rido, A. (2019). Representation of social actors in sexual violence issue in The New York Times and The Jakarta Post newspaper: A critical discourse analysis. TEKNOSASTIK, 17(2), 43–55.

Evianda, E., Ramli., Harun, M. (2019). Critical discourse analysis on women's position in Prohaba Daily News texts. Studies in English Language and Education, 6(2), 273–285.

Fairclough, N. (1992). Discourse and Social Change. Polity Press.

Fairclough, N. (2003). Analyzing discourse: Textual analysis for social research. Routledge.

Fitriani, S.S., Ananda, R., Irawan, A. M., Samad, I. A., & Weda, S. (2021). Representation of 212 rallies in the Jakarta Post articles: A hybridity of CDA and SFL analysis. Studies in English Language and Education, 8(1), 328–345.

Gunawan, F., Kuraedah, St., Amir, A.M., Ubaidillah, M. F., & Boulahnane, S. (2023). Transitivity and critical discourse analysis on a testament: A woman's involvement in Jihad. Studies in English Language and Education, 10(1), 517–536.

Halliday, M.A.K., & Matthiessen, C. M. I. . (2004). An introduction to functional grammar (3rd ed.). Hodder Arnold.

Leeuwen, T. V. (2008). Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis. Oxford University Press.

Mills, S. (1992). Knowing your place: A marxist feminist stylistic analysis. In M. Toolan (Ed.), Language, text, and context: Essays in stylistics (pp. 182–207). Routledge.

Moleong, L. J. (2007). Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif. Rosdakarya.

Xie, Q. (2018). Critical discourse analysis of news discourse. Theory and Practice in Language Studies, 8(4), 399–403.

Zhongdang, P., & Gerald, M. K. (1993). Framing analysis: An approach to

news discourse. Political Communication, 10(1), 55–75.