

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Background of the Study

Language cannot be separated with human beings, since it is the main tool to communicate and interact with one another. People use language to express the ideas, feeling and thoughts by language in various objects and situations of communication. Language can be spoken and written. Language is the process of communicating a message between at least two speaking subject, one of them is the addresser or sender, the other, the addressee or receiver. Kristeva, (1989:7). Language is important to communication and show the feeling, and to provide information. Language allows us to know what the speaker hope, Language is a key to human life, and we can interact with each other by using language.

When people use language in daily life, they create utterance in a particular context. People always communicate with others using language and the ability of the people in communicating to each other is different (Yule, 1996 :47). The differences in expressing opinions can be negative or positive ways, depending on how the user uses the language itself as well.

Nowadays language is no longer used to interact but language is used to attack, to bring down, to insult or defamtion of people for personal or certain group. For example “Hate Speech”.

Hate speech consist of an action to insult, offend, or intimidate a person because of some trait (as race, religion, sexual orientation, national origin, or disability).

Technological advances are also possible with the development of hate speech in Indonesia, which is currently increasingly developing, whereas technological developments bring people unable to escape to use social media. Social media is one of the main needs. social media makes convenience for every human being to stay connected to everyone in various world relations.

Every social media user is certain to have accounts on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Blogger and so on. Every social media user has the right to post pictures or videos, displaying the status freely according to the user's wishes. Conversely, social media can be a place for freedom to convey inspiration, but on the other hand, it is utilized by certain individuals or groups.

With certain freedoms increase people are abusing social media to spread bad things that are not common about something, such as discriminating, defamation, provoking, incitement to other groups in terms of various aspects such as race, ethnicity, skin color, gender , disability, sexual orientation, citizenship, religion and others.

Most of social media users utilize for bad things are politician figure. Politician figure use fake accounts to attack their party opponents by using hate speech. In the other hand, politicians utilize social media to build image, persuade and influence.

There are still more widespread problems of hate speech in Indonesia, including the cases of Anies Rasyid Baswedan, Jokowi (presidential election of 2019), Buni Yani, Basuki Tjahya Purnama (Ahok). The hate speech is no longer a problem that has just happened in Indonesia, although recently it has begun to be critically reviewed by the government.

Thus, researcher interested in examining hate speech in social media, especially in Indonesia, to classify the use of language against political issues circulating on social media. In addition, researchers want to categorize every language of netizen commentary used in social media whether it is in the form of provocation, spread hoaxes, incitement or others. So that social media users who are not related to political elements can sort out of language or cannot be provoked for politician issues.

To examine pragmatics in a particular language, the researcher needs to understand the context. Context is aspects of the physical or social environment that is interrelated with certain utterances. The social environment that influences the use of language, namely social status, education level, age, economic level, and gender. Thus, deep pragmatic study of a word, phrase, clause and sentence will experience a change in meaning when the context of the conversation in speech is different. That is the meaning studied in pragmatics is a context bound meaning.

The reasons researcher chooses hate speech as an object of this research. First, hate speech is something happen rapidly around us not only in real life but also in social media. There are some effect of hate speech are depressed, suicide the characters and it is an urgent problem. Second, the user of social media more increasing and enable the new user is new generations. This research can help the new generation as the source of information in how to use social media wisely such as the language used and also not influenced by politician issues.

1.2 The Problems of the Study

Based on the background analysis, the researcher intends to focus on the following problems:

- 1) What are the types speech acts found in the netizen commentson Anies Rasyid Baswedan"s Twitter in Social Media?
- 2) What are the speech acts found in the category of the Hate Speech on Anies Rasyid Baswedan"s Twitter commentary in Social Media?

1.3. The Objectives of the Study

Based on the problem of the study above, the objective of the study are:

- 1) To classify the types of Speech Acts in Hate Speechon Anies Rasyid Baswedan"s Twitter in Social Media?
- 2) To categorizeSpeech Acts in Hate Speech found on Anies Baswedan"s Twitter in Social Media?

1.4 The Scope of The Study

The researcher only focused to identify the types and speech acts categorization in Hate Speech Delivered by Politician Issues in Social Media. The data are taken from netizen comments that talk about Politicians issues on Anis Baswedan policies, about flood in Jakarta and rehabilitation of Monas. Researcher focusedon Illocutionary points of Searle in Mey (1993 :131) that consisted of declaratives, assertives/representative, expressives, directives, and commissives.

1.5 The Significances of the Study

The study offers both theoretical and practical significance.

Theoretically,

- 1) The results of this study enrich the theories about the analysis of political language of hate speech utilized by politician in social media which are used to build image, persuade and influence people.
- 2) The results of this study will become a new *perspective in analyzing the hate speech* theories about the analysis of political language of hate speech utilized by politician in social media which are used to build image, persuade and influence people.

Partially,

- 1) The findings of the research help the readers understand how language is used to carry certain actions, why certain actions should be performed, and how it affects the hearers viewed from the analyses of speech acts.
- 2) This research is also beneficial for the language learners since this research provides examples and analysis of types of speech acts in hate speech delivered for politicians issues of social media. Therefore, this model of speech acts analysis may become linguistics learning sources.
- 3) The finding about the speech acts delivered by politicians issues of the speech in social media and may become reference for other researchers to conduct further studies. In this case, other researchers may refer to theoretical basis used to analyze the data and speech acts data analysis procedure to perform speech acts analysis on different context.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1. Theoretical Framework

This research presents of many important aspects concerning the theoretical framework those are context, pragmatics, speech acts, felicity condition, , language politics and hate speech, conceptual framework and related literature. To make it close, the researcher used to describe the theoretical framework.

2.2 Context

Theory context offers a general foundation for pragmatics defined as the study of language use and its relation to the social environment. One way to do so is by limiting pragmatics to the (normative) study of speech acts or illocutionary acts, and their appropriateness conditions (Searle, 1969: 121).

According to Nunan (1993: 49). Context is the situation giving rise to the discourse and within which the discourse is embedded. Contexts can be divided into two types. They include linguistics and non-linguistics contexts. Linguistics context refer to the language that surrounds a part of discourse being analyzed meanwhile non-linguistic contexts are related to the discourse within Non-linguistics context may consist of communication types, topics, purposes, setting, participants, and shared background knowledge of a certain event. Also, context can classified into context of situation and context of socio-cultural. They are explained below:

2.2.1 Context of Situation

Context of situation plays an important role in communication. It refers to what speakers know about what they can see around them (Cutting, 2002: 4). In addition, Hymes in Wardhaugh (1986: 36) states that there are many factors involved in speaking. They are described as ethnograph of a communicative event which is relevant with understanding how a particular communicative event achieves its objectives. The first factor is Setting and Scene (S). Setting deals with the time and place. In other words, it has something to do with the concrete physical circumstances in which a speech occurs. Meanwhile, scene is the abstract psychological setting. The example of setting and scene is a graduation speech will have a joyful scene whereas the inaugural speech of USA President will have a serious one within a certain setting.

The next factor is Participants (P). There are many different combinations between speakers and listeners, addressees, or senders and receivers. Generally, they meet particular socially specified roles for instance: teachers and students, doctors and patients, parents and children. The third factor is Ends (E). This deals with the conventional recognized and expected outcomes of an exchange. Also, it is related to the personal goals that participants pursue to accomplish on certain events e.g. in a courtroom, each person has personal goals to achieve since the court process involves many participants such as the jury, the judge, the prosecutor, the witness, the accused, and the defense. The fourth factor is Act of sequence (A). This deals with the actual form and content of what is said. This may include how precise the words are used, how the words are used, and how the relationship between what is said and the actual topic being

discussed is. For instance: in a public lecture, each participant has their own sense of act sequence to follow the system of language and things discussed within. The fifth factor is Key (K). It includes the tone, manner, or spirit in which a certain message is delivered e.g. serious, humorous, sarcastic, light-hearted, gesture, posture, and even deportment. The sixth factor is Instrumentalities (I). Instrumentalities are related to the choice of channel, for example oral, written, telegraphic, and the actual form of speech employed such as the language, code, dialect, or register.

The next factor is Norms of interaction and interpretation (N). This refers to specific behaviors and properties that attach to speaking and also to how these may be viewed by someone who does not share them e.g. loudness, silence, gaze, return, and the like. The last factor is Genre (G). It is clearly a demarcated type of utterances. This includes poems, proverbs, riddles, sermons, lectures, prayers, and etc.

In relation to context, Holmes (1992: 290) states that contexts should be viewed from several relevant and helpful factors. Holmes adds that linguistic choices generally reflect the influence of one or more on the following: 1) the participants, 2) the setting or social context of the interaction, 3) the topic being talked, and 4) the function of speaking.

2.2.2 Context Social-cultural

Another type of context is socio-cultural context. This influences the linguistic choices of the speakers. With regard to this, Malinowski in Halliday and Hasan (1986: 7) says that the context of culture refers to the institutional and ideological background which provides value and contains an interpretation. For

instance, one says X that will be considered as rude in a particular group of conversation but X may not be considered as rude in another group of conversation because both groups of conversation may have different cultures.

Any linguistic interaction involves the whole cultural history of the participant and the kind of practices they engage in. In short, it is not sufficient if people only take into account the context of situation and ignore the cultural context.

2.3 Pragmatics

Crush (2006: 3) states that pragmatics is interested in investigating the meaning of language which links closely to the context. Similarly, Griffiths (2006: 1) propose that pragmatics focuses on how language is used as a tool to create meaningful communication taking into account the situation or context of use. Thus, three consequences can be drawn from this. Firstly, the same messages can be conveyed through various ways and the same set of utterances can carry different meanings. Secondly, there is often left communicated with just a little having been said. Lastly, it is possible to make mistakes in interpreting the intended message.

According to Yule (1996: 3), pragmatics deals with the study of meaning as communicated by speakers or writers and interpreted by listeners or readers. In addition, Yule defines pragmatics as the study of speaker's meaning, contextual meaning, how more gets communicated than is said, and the expression of relative distance. Moreover, pragmatics is the study of relationship between linguistic forms and the users of those forms. And the benefits of studying language with the use of pragmatics is that one may know about people's intended meaning,

their assumptions, their purposes or goals, and the kinds of actions (for example, request) that they perform when they speak.

Furthermore, Levinson (1983) says that pragmatics is the study of language use. In other words, it is the study of the relation between language and context that are basic to an account of language understanding. Another definition of pragmatics is presented by Finch (2000). He says that pragmatics deals with the meaning of utterances. Also, pragmatics focuses on what is not explicitly stated and on how people interpret utterances in situational context.

2.3.1 Speech Acts

With the utterances people perform various action such as to persuade, to express and to inform through the use of words, it is called speech acts. The speech acts theory is also described, the followings present the definition and categorizing of speech acts.

According to Austin (1962: 89), state speech acts is an act performed when someone says something. Fall into three classes, which are : locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts.

Speech acts consists of three related acts, the first is a locutionary act, which is the basic act of utterance, or producing a meaningful linguistic expression. Mostly people don't just produce well-formed utterances with no purpose. People form an utterance with some kind of function in mind. The second dimension is Illocutionary act. That is performed via the communicative force of an utterance. We do not create an utterance with a function without intending it to have an effect. This is the third dimension, the perlocutionary act

(Yule, 1996:48). And Yule says that performed via utterances often called speech acts.

Same as Yule's definition, Aitchison (2003: 106), stated speech acts as a sequence of words that behave somewhat like actions. By performing speech acts, the speaker has to achieve some effect with those words, an effect which might in some cases have been accomplished by other action.

In addition to the classification of speech acts based on the locution, illocution and perlocution, there is also other classification proposed by the Searle.

This classification of speech acts is based on the syntactic and semantic aspects of an utterance. In other words, it is the relation between literal sentence meaning and intended speaker's meaning. Viewed from the relationship between the three general types of basic sentence types or moods (declarative, interrogative, and imperative) and the three general communicative functions (statement, question, and command), speech acts are classified into two main types (Yule, 1996: 54).

1) Direct speech acts

In direct speech acts, there is a direct relationship between its grammatical structure and its communicative function. For instance, an affirmative sentence is used to give a statement; an interrogative sentence to ask a question; an imperative sentence to give an order or command.

Example:

A: How many children do you have?

B: Four.

In the above utterance performed by A the form and the function are same. A as a speaker produces a question to B. Syntactically, the question uses interrogative with question word „how many“ as well as the question mark at the end of it. The function of this utterance, the speaker expects an answer from the listener. Both the mood and the function of A“ s utterances are the same. Therefore, it is classified as direct speech acts.

2) Indirect speech acts

In contrast to the direct speech acts, in indirect speech acts, there is no direct relationship between its grammatical structure and its communicative function. For instance, an interrogative is not only used to question or to ask for an answer from the listener, but it can also convey a request or warning.

Example:

Mother : Where is the broom?

Daughter : Wait for a minute, Mom.

Syntactically, the utterance that the mother performs is in the form of interrogative or question, function of which is to ask for information. However, if we see from the answer the daughter replies it is clear that the utterance „Where is the broom?“ is used to request her daughter to bring her a broom. The mother“ s request is realized indirect way since it is conventionally realized in imperative mood, e.g.: „Bring me the broom, please.“ From that reason the mother“ s utterance is categorized as indirect speech acts.

2.3.2 Types of Speech Acts

2.3.2.1 Locutionary Acts

According to Austin (1965), a locutionary is an act where the speaker says something and produce certain noise or utters words in proper order that must carry meaning, sense and reference with them.

2.3.2.2 Illocutionary Acts

The illocutionary act is closely connected with speaker's intention, e.g. stating, questioning, promising. Requesting, and giving commands, threatening, and many others. Austin (1965) observed: "illocutionary act is an act, which is uttered by speaker with intention, by keeping motive in mind.. it included asking or an intention pronouncing sentencem appointing, appealing, criticizing, describing, and many more suggestions.

2.3.2.3 Parlocutionary Act

Austin states perlocutionary are performed with the intention of producing a futher effect on the hearer. It is an act havin an effect on those who hearer a meaningful utterance.

The inderect Speech Acts is another manifestation of a speaker's illocution. It is regarded as indirect "illocutionary act". According to Yule (2006) direct speech acts are straightforward and in most cases contain performative verbs are used while the indirect speech acts require inferences on the part of the hearer or reader.

Searle (1969) describes indirect speech acts situation where the speaker communicates to the hearer more than be actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background information, both linguistics and nonlinguistics,

together with the general power of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer.

2.3.3 Speech Acts Classification

2.3.3.1 Austin's Classification of Speech Acts

The basis of Austin's theory (1962:101) lies on his belief that speakers do not merely use language to say things, but to do things and thus utterances could be regarded as speech acts (Schauer, 2009: 7). Based on this notion, he then proposed three dimensions that usually consist in speech acts, namely locutionary act, illocutionary act and perlocutionary act. There are:

1) Locutionary Acts

Locutionary acts is the basis acts of utterance. It simply means the actual words that the speaker uses. When someone utters "it is going to rain", he/she simply refers to the weather which is cloudy so the rain is about to fall soon.

2) Illocutionary

As mentioned earlier, however, people also use language to perform such as action. There must be an intention behind the utterance. This particular aspect of speech act is regarded as illocutionary act. What the speakers are doing with their words (Cutting, 2002: 16). Yule (1996: 48) adds that illocutionary act is performed via the communicative force of an utterance which is generally known as illocutionary force. For example. It is going to rain.

Looking at the surface level, the utterance might only be interpreted as informing the hearer about the weather. If it is analyzed based on the illocutionary force, the utterance can be regarded as a warning from the speaker to the hearer. The speaker may warn the hearer not to go outside since it is going to rain.

Otherwise, he or she warns the hearer to bring an umbrella if the hearer want to go outside.

3)Perlocutionary Acts

The consequences of illocutionary acts are describes perlocutionary acts or the effects of the utterance on the hearer (Cutting, 2002: 16). These ultimate effects are of course dependent on the particular circumstances of the utterance and are by ne means always predictable. Using the same example of the utterance in the illocutionary act above, the perlocutionary effect on the utterance could be accomplished if the hearer recognizes the sentence as a warning. The perlocutionary acts is that the hearer would no go outside or just stay at home.

To put it simply, locutionary acts are the real words or utterances performed by the speaker. Meanwhile, illocutionary acts are the intentions behind the speaker's utterances and perlocutionary acts are the effects that utterances have on the hearer.

Austin as cited in Searle (1979: 8) and Wardhaugh (2006: 286), then, develope his own classification of speech acts. They are as follows:

1). Verdictives

Austin advocates that verdictives deal with delivering of a verdict upon evidence or reasons. The verdicts are usually delivered by a jury, arbitrator or umpire. These kinds of speech acts are typified by the verbs acquit, hold, calculate, describe, analyze, date, rank, assess, and characterize, grade, estimate, diagnose.

2). Executives

These have to do with the giving of a decision in favor of or against a certain course of action or advocacy of it. In other words, executives deal with the

way people exercise power, rights, or influence on other people. A familiar example is the utterance “I pronounce you husband and wife” which is usually said by priests in marrying; thus, it turns beg, recommend, entreat and advise, dismiss, nominate, veto, declare closed, declare open, as well as announce, warn, proclaim and give.

3). Comissives

Comissive are associated with the speaker’s commitment to a certain course of action. Some of the apparent examples include promise, vow pledge, concenant, contract, quarantee, embrace and swear.

4). Behabitives

Behabitives are concered with people’s behavior and social’s attitude towards other people’s imminent or past conduct. These are associated with such as apologizing, congratulation, blessing, cursing or challenging.

2.3.3.2 Searle’s Classification of Speech Acts

Similar to Austin’s work, Searle segments utterances into an utterance act, proposional act, illocutionary act, and perlocutionary act. This view allows Searle to explicitly associate speech acts with the study of language and meaning; searle as cited in Mey (1993: 117) argues that Austin’s taxonomy does not maintain a clear distinction between illocutionary verbs and acts.

Thus, Searle established his own classification of speech ac which include representatives, directives, comissives, expressive and declarations (Mey. 1993: 131).

1)Representatives

Representatives are those kinds of speech acts used to represent a state of affairs; which have a word-to-world fit. Statements of fact, assertions, conclusions, questioning and descriptions are such forms of representatives in which people represent the world as they believe it is (Yule, 1996: 33). Cutting (2002: 17), adds that these acts can be used to perform some functions such as describing, claiming, hypothesizing, insisting and predicting.

Representative is very subjective as it is based on speaker's belief. Thus, the belief may have different degrees of force. For example, in the utterance "the earth orbits the sun". The speaker believes that it is the earth that orbits the sun and not the opposite. In using a representative, the speaker attempts to make words fit the world.

Examples:

The earth is flat

(In the sentence, the speaker states their belief that earth is flat. It is illustrated the speakers trust).

It was a warm sunny day

(The speaker describes their opinion that the day is warm and sunny based on their belief even though it may not be a hot sunny day. In this case, the speakers make words fit with the world by performing representative acts.)

2) Directives

Directives deal with the acts that speakers use in the attempt of getting someone else doing something. These types of speech acts express the speaker's wish in which the future act is carried out by the hearer. The direction of fit of

directives is world-to-word. According to Cutting, the illocutionary forces of these acts encompass commanding, ordering, requesting, suggesting, inviting, forbidding, and so on. In addition, Yule (1996: 54), proposes that directives can be perceived negative and positive. The example below are such kinds of directives. Leech (1996), defines it as the speaker's intention to procedure some effects through an action by the hearer.

Examples:

Stand up !

(The speech is commanding the hearer to do something, like stand up)

You may ask

(This sentence is suggestion to ask questions. It contains the directive acts which function to get the hearers to ask questions as what speaker wants).

Would you make me a cup of tea

(The speaker intends to perform a request that functions to get the hearer to do something, i.e. requesting someone to make a cup of tea).

3)Commissives

Commissives are those kinds of speech acts that speakers use to commit themselves to some course of future actions. In performing commissives, an intention is expressed by the speaker and the proposition in terms of future act will be done by the speaker. Cutting, (2002: 17), adds that promising, threatening, refusing, and pledging, offering, vowing and volunteering are some examples of illocutionary forces that fall under the category of commissives. These following utterances illustrate the use of commissives:

I promise I will always be there for you

(the speaker uses the commissive act, that is promising to come for the addressee in future action.)

I'll be back in five minutes

(the speaker is promising to addressee, that the speaker will be back to addressee in five minutes to some future course).

4) Expressives

Expressives are those words and expressions that state what the speaker feels. A wide range of psychological states can be expressed and the proposition ascribes an act to the speaker or the hearer. In addition, Leech (1983: 56), states that the illocutionary force of these acts can be in the forms of apologizing, condoling, praising, congratulating, thanking and the like. For example, the utterance „the dress looks nice on you“ can be express his or her admiration and praise toward the hearer's appearance. The speaker may also want to show his or her approval of the hearer's taste of the dress.

Examples:

You are so beautiful

(the speaker uses an illocutionary act of expressives praising because from the word " beautiful" the speaker wants to express his feeling to the addressee).

Already working hard to make money, still the result can not meet daily needs.

(the sentence is an expressive complaining act that can be interpreted as an evaluation of what he said).

5) Declaratives

Declarations are those kinds of words and expressions that change the world via their utterances such as betting, naming, baptizing, marrying and so on. A special institutional role in a specific context is required in order to perform a declaration appropriately. If the speaker doesn't have that role her of his utterance will be infelicitous or inappropriate.

Examples:

“Now I pronounce you husband and wife”.

(The utterance above only be appropriate and successfully performed if it is said by the priest. Thus, utterance has an effect in which it turns two singles into a married couple).

Umpire: “Time Out!” (Leech,1996)

(The utterance are more the statements but they may lead to the change of the condition in reality if they are expressed in an appropriate context, the utterance is used to performed the acts of ending the game).

To assist you in clarity and better understanding., the five general function of speech acts are summarized by Yule (1996: 55) in the table below:

Figure 2.1. The Five General Functions of Speech Acts

| Speech act type | Direction to fit | S=speaker; X=situation |
|-----------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| Declarations | Words change the world | S causes X |
| Representatives | Make words fit the world | S believes X |
| Expressives | Make words fit the world | S feels X |

| | | |
|-------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| Directives | Make words fit the world | S wants X |
| Commissives | Make words fit the world | S intends X |

2.3.3.3 Leech's Categorizing of Speech Acts

The next categorization of speech acts is presented by Leech (1996 :36), says that the function of illocutionary rely on how utterances relate to the social goals of establishing and maintaining community. In this case, speech acts are categorized into four types, namely competitive, convivial, collaborative and conflictive.

The first kind of speech acts is competitive. In this type of speech act, the goals of illocutionary compete with the social goals. This speech act functions to show politeness in the form of negative parameter. The important poin regarding this act is reducing the discord in the competition between what the speaker want to gain and what „good manner“ is . ordering, asking, demanding, begging, and requesting are the example of this kind of speech act.

The second type of speech acts is convivial. The illocutionary goals in convivial acts are related to the social goals. In contrast to competititive acts, convivial is intrinsically courteous. This means that politeness is in the positive form of seeking opportunities for comity. Offering, inviting, greeting, thanking, and congratulating are the examples of this type of speech acts.

The next type of speech acts is collaborative. It has the idea that the illocutionary goals are different from the social goals. In this case, impoliteness are relevant. This is found in most of written discourse. Asserting, reporting, announcing, and\ instructing beling to this type of speech acts.

The last type of speech acts is conflictive. This act suggests that the illocutionary goals conflict with the social goals. With regard to this, politeness does not need to be questioned because the terms in this illocutionary function are used to cause offence or hurt the hearer's feeling. Threatening, accusing, cursing, and reprimanding are included as the examples of the conflictive.

2.4 Language of Politics

According to Joshep (2006 :49), language reflects the speaker's intelligence, industry, and social worthiness level of exposure or education. Interpreting language use in this way belongs to a political act. The power and responsibility of the speakers can be reflected from the linguistics-political dimension that utilizes languages to achieve their goals.

In relation to politics, Thomas (2004 :67) states that politics deals with power including the power of making decisions, controlling resources, controlling other people's behavior and often controlling their values. Politics cannot be separated from power. The power acquisition and political beliefs enforcement can be gained using some strategies, namely through physical coercion or illegal system. The physical coercion events that regarded as significant in history involve the imposition, military rules, dictatorial regimes, and the like. Some types of coercions are also implemented in a democracy through the legal system e.g there are laws which regulate where people are supposed to litter, laws on the prohibition of destroying others belongings, and the laws that rule where and when people can drink alcohol legally. If someone breaks these laws, they will be fined, arrested and imprisoned, they are examples of political ends gained by coercions.

In order to secure power, it is necessary to persuade and convince everyone that what you want to achieve is the same as what they want, with regard to this, an ideology needs to be established i.e. the ideology that makes the beliefs which you want people to hold appear to be common sense. Therefore, it makes difficult for them to question that dominant ideology.

2.5 Hate Speech

2.5.1 Definition of Hate Speech

Anne Weber (2009 :2) said that hate speech covers all forms expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance. Hate speech perform an action of utterances which is doing by personals or ther groups that usually happen is provocation. It is not only happened in social media but it can happen through the brochure, campaign oration and so on. Some using in direct pressure form and manipulated in joke.Hate speech is an utterance or writing made by someone in public in order to discuss and igniting a group"s hatred towards other groups that are different of race, religion, beliefs, gender, disability and so on.

Albertine Minerop (2010: 152) states hate is closely related to feelings of anger, jealous and envy. Those of characteristics marking a rash feelings that come to lust or desire to destroy object that is the target of hate.

Feelings of hatred do not just appear feelings of dislike or unwillingness of the impact someone want avoid and do not intend destroy. Instead feel hate always attached to someone and never felt satiesfied before destroy; if the object is destroyed then the object will feel satiesfied.

In the Circular letter of the National Police Chief Number SE / 06 / X / 2015 concerning Examination (national police of Indonesian). Hate Speech explained the notion of hate speech may be in the form of a criminal offense regulated in the criminal code and other criminal provisions outside of the Criminal Code, which takes the form of humiliation, defamation, blasphemy, objectionable act, provoke or incite, spread hoax, intolerance, body shaming, and prejudice.

The State of Indonesia has ratified the ICCPR in Law Number 12 of 2005 concerning Ratification of the International Covenant on Civil Political Rights / ICCPR. Civil and political rights that have been established include the right to freedom of opinion and expression, and the right to liberty and security of person.

Article 20 paragraph (2) of the ICCPR states that:

Any act that promotes hatred on the basis of nationalism, race or religion which are incitement to discriminate, enmity or violence must be prohibited by law.

According to the National Human Rights Commission, the term hate speech is not well known to the public, because there is no specific law regarding hate speech. Literature that discusses this even uses foreign languages. Rarely the academic environment that reviews hate speech also eventually results in many versions of the definition of hate speech.

While in Indonesia, R. Susilo explained that hate speech is what was meant by "insulting" was "attacking one's honor and good name". Those affected by hate speech usually feel embarrassed. According to him, there are 6 kinds of insults to an individual, namely: Insult verbally , Insult with a letter/written, defame, slight humiliation, defamate, defamation charges.

Therefore expression is essential with hate speech, that utter some of words or sentence to the writer such as provocation, insults, bullying by individuals or groups in terms of various aspects like gender, ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation, citizenship, and religion.

One of the biggest challenges and threats in Indonesia is the expression of hatred. Consequence freedom of opinion and giving information in social media, it become container to do hate speech.

The users of social media become increasing time to time and it is estimated the new user is the new generation. Therefore, in this research expected the new generation in order to use social media wisely, using the utterances or language that it does not contain hate speech and can provide understanding about speech acts for politician issues in social media.

2.5.2 Forms of Hate Speech

The forms of Hate Speech can be in the form of criminal acts arranged in the Criminal Code (KUHP) and other criminal provisions outside of the Criminal Code (KUHP), including:

1) Insulting

According to R. Soesilo in his book entitled *The Criminal Code (KUHP)* as well as *Complete Comments of the Article DemiPasal* in the explanation of Article 310 of the Criminal Code, explained that: Insulting is Attacking one's honor and reputation. Those who are attacked usually feel ashamed.⁴³ The subject of insults is in the form of self-esteem or dignity about respect and about the good name of people whether individual or communal (group).

Examples:

These Are the Words of Insulting Jokowi and the National Police on Vocational Student Accounts at Medan SATURDAY, 19 AUGUST 2017, <http://www.rmolsumut.com>:

*"Argo adalah **polisi goblok**. daripada loe lacak akun penyebar foto ini, mending lu lacak gue aja deh. Gue sudah banyak menghina institusi kepolisian Indonesia dan majikan loe **Jokoberuk**. Polisi Indonesia kumpulan **anjing-anjing kampung** cuma modal KTP harus nangkap penjahat" tulisnya...."*

"Argo is **an idiotic police** officer. than you are tracking a photo distribution account Here, you better track me. I have insulted many institutions Indonesian police and your employer **Jokoberuk**. Indonesian police force village dogs are only capital ID cards must catch criminals "he wrote.."

Conceptually the word police means a government agency that tasked with maintaining security and public order (arresting people who violating the law) (KBBI, 2016). Concepts are stupid words meaning „very stupid; deaf“ (KBBI, 2016). The word **jokoberuk** consists of two words namely joko and hoe. Joko is the name of a person and is a hermit conceptually meaningful big apes with short and small tails, teachable picking coconuts; (KBBI, 2016). The word dog is conceptually meaningful “mammals that can be raised to guard the house, hunt, and etc” (KBBI, 2016). The word kampung is conceptually meaningful 'backward (not yet modern), related to the habits in the village; old fogy' (KBBI, 2016).

Example:

First Lady Iriana Insulted 'Like a Prostitute', Gibran Rakabuming Reacts! Thursday, 7 September 2017 <http://manado.tribunnews.com>

*"Ibu ini seperti **PELACUR** pakai jilbab hanya untuk menutup aib. (Bukan Karena Iman) COMING SOON 2019"*

"This mother is **like a Pelacur (prostitute)** wearing a veil just to cover up a disgrace. (Not because of faith) COMING SOON 2019"

In the text of First Lady Iriana Insulted '**Like a Prostitute (Pelacur)**', Gibran Rakabuming. React! the phrase 'Like a Prostitute' contextually means insulting and demeaning the dignity of a first lady. In the context of the text, the first lady is likened with a prostitute whose job is selling himself or prostituting himself with the goal to get a reward. In addition, the situation is very supportive this insult, is the writing that accompanies the photo of Mrs. Iriana's meme very harshly. Speech this humiliation of hatred is very degrading to the dignity of a wife leader of a nation.

2) Defamation

Understanding Defamation in the Penal Code also known as defamation is the act of defamation or disrespect for someone by expressing something both verbally or writing. Defamation about communicating of a false message in order to cause severe harm to another person's reputation. Pollution is the process, method, act of polluting or polluting; fouling (KBBI V, 2016). Beside that name is a word to mention or call people (places, goods, animals, etc.) titles; titles; fame, kindness, honor (KBBI V, 2016). The combination of the two words becomes defamation good certainly means the act of polluting the fame and honor of people's names For example, "Stephanie is crack-smoking brat,". The statement would be considered defamatory and libelous, assuming Stephanie did not, in fact, smoke crack. For example, 2017 <http://online24jam.com>.

*"Kenapa saya pilih Travel ini buat haji? Kenapa ga di cek dulu dan lain-lain? Gimana bisa **ketipu mulut manisnya**? dan kayak apa sih orangnya si lasti ini? Insyaallah akan dipost jika bulan April yang dijanjikan pelunasan pengembalian dana nya **mangkir lagi**,"....*

"Why did I choose this Travel for Hajj? Why not check first and others? Can you **cheat your sweet mouth (Mulut manis)** ? and what

is this last person like? God willing, will be on post if in April the promised repayment of his refund is lost to **follow-up again'**.”.

*“Pihak berwenang Arab Saudi menangkap tujuh perempuan aktivis hak asasi manusia(HAM) atas **tuduhan menjadi pengkhianat** untuk entitas asing. Penangkapan terjadi enam pekan setelah pemerintah Kerajaan Arab Saudi resmi mencabut larangan mengemudikan kendaraan bagi perempuan....*

“Saudi authorities arrested seven women human rights activists (HAM) on **charges of being a traitor (Penghianat)** to a foreign entity. Arrest occurred six weeks after the government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia officially lifted the ban driving a vehicle for women ..”.

There are expressions of hatred in the form of travel defamation the pilgrimage journey named ADA. Grammatical units that indicate shape the defamation of ADA travel, is the clause of cheating on the sweet mouth and the phrase absentee again. Conceptually the word cheating is derived from the word deceit which means 'action or dishonest lies, false, etc.) with a view to misleading, tricking, or seeking profit; cheated '(KBBI, 2016). Sweet mouth phrases conceptually meaning 'gentle and very engaging in speech' (KBBI, 2016). Besides, the word absent means 'not coming; absent; "(KBBI, 2016) and words again meaningful 'return (doing and so on); as before, repeating as before; also "(KBBI, 2016).

3) Incitement or Provocation

According to KBBI Provoking means that it is an act carried out to arouse anger by inciting, provoking anger, irritation and making people who are provoked have negative thoughts and emotions. Provocation describe an act of provoking someone doing something just to get a reaction of anger or sometimes even violent. For example, “ **Why do you go to school, it is better looking for**

some money.Schooling just spend a lot of money, in the end you are unemployment also”.The statement above can provoke the society easily, as a consequence the young generation graduate their school only in the high school. This statement can influence the society without thinking about information issues in social media.

According to R.Soesilo Avoid pushing, inviting, encouraging, encouraging people to push something. In the word "incite" nature is "intentionally". Incitement is harder than "luring" or "persuading"but not "encouraging" .Speeches about incitement or Instigation are regulated in Article 160 of the Criminal Code (KUHP). For example, the subject is too boring, I am lazy to present the class. This statement is included incitement because the speaker tries to incite a hearer do not join the class. Actually the speaker is lazy but the speaker make a reason about the subject in order to do incitement for a hearer.

*“Sungguh cara yang **BIADAB** hanya demi **Hausnya kekuasaan, Muslim yang menjadikambing hitam**”*

“It is indeed a **BIADAB** (barbaric) way only for the **sake of thirsty** for power, Muslims are becoming **the black goat (kambing hitam).**”

Garammatical unit indicating incitement or provocation, is the word **BIADAB**, the thirst for power clause, and the phrase scapegoat conceptual word savage means' **tidak tahu adat** (politeness); **kurang ajar** (God damn it); **kejam** (cruel)' (KBBI V, 2016). The word thirst comes from the basic word thirst. The word thirst means 'taste.' dry esophagus and want to drink '(KBBI V, 2016). The word power means' power (to administer, govern, etc.) (KBBI V, 2016). The phrase "hitan goat." meaningful 'a person who in fact is innocent, but is kindled or used as the foundation of error '(KBBI V, 2016).

4) Spread Hoax

Hoax is to broadcast news or news where it turns out that the news being broadcast is false news. What is seen as false news is not only to inform 45 Article 310 paragraph (2) of the Indonesian Criminal Code (KUHP) <http://kbbi.web.id/provocation> Op.Cit, p. 136, but also tell an incorrect story. All of the above actions have goals or can have an impact on acts of discrimination, violence, loss of life or social conflict. For example, Aftershocks in Palu. The hoax is very disturbing to the people of Palu City in particular. The news had a direct impact on the victims of the earthquake and tsunami who are still experiencing trauma.

“Skenario pengalihan yg sempurna....,” postingan Hilma Dewiyana dan menutupnya dengan kalimat, #2019 GantiPresiden”.

"The perfect diversion scenario," Hilma Dewiyana posted and closed it with the sentence, # 2019 Change President ".

In data there are hate speech in the form of false news. Unitgrammatical which indicates hoax is a sentence transfer scenario which perfect and the phrase replace the president. The word scenario is conceptually meaningful 'planskits or movies in the form of writing for the sake of writing what is written in detail' (KBBI V, 2016). The word diversion means 'process; way; deed; divert removal; exchange change; change' (KBBI V, 2016). Meaningful words ,, words to state that the next word or sentence takes precedence or differentiation from others' (KBBI V, 2016). The word perfect means 'complete and complete everything (blameless and without blemish) (KBBI V, 2016). The pronouns mean exchanging and the president is head of state.

5) Blasphemy

Blasphemy is a word, behavior, writing, or performance which is prohibited because it can trigger acts of violence and be prejudiced whether from the perpetrators of the statement or the victims of the action, whereas according to article 310 paragraph (1) of the Criminal Code Blasphemy is an act carried out by accusing someone or the group of certain acts by the purpose of the aggression was spread (known to many people). The act alleged is not necessary for an act to be permitted punished like stealing, embezzling, adultery and so on. Enough with ordinary actions, it is certainly an embarrassing act.⁴⁴

While Blasphemy by a letter is regulated in Article 310 paragraph (2) of the Criminal Code. As explained, what the allegations were made with writing (letter) or picture, then the crime is called blasphemy with a letter. So someone can be prosecuted according to this Article if the accusation or insult is done by letter or picture. For example, burning a religious document such as the Bible or the Qu"ran, vandalizing a church, etc. for examples:

His mother went to Malaysia, this middle school girl was raped by my father Oct 18, 2016 <http://sumutpos.co>

*"Kepada wartawan dengan mata sembab dan rauma Mawar mengaku sudah sering **dicabuli** ayahnya. Dengan ancaman akan dianiaya dan dibunuh memaksanya **bungkam** selama ini. " saya sudah **sering ditiduri** ayah om " ujarnya sambil tertunduk..."*

"To reporters with swollen eyes and Rauma Mawar claimed to have often **molested** his father. With the threat of being persecuted and killed forcing him to be silent all this time. "I've **often slept** with uncle dad" he said while looking down ..."

*" Siswi Kelas 1 SMP ini awalnya berontak saat diajak ayahnya berhubungan badan dikamar. Namun ia tak bisa berbuat banyak saat **mahkotanya direnggut**. Dan hal itu dilakukan Basri berulang-ulang. " saya takut sekali om kalau ayahku marah", terangnya.... "*

"This grade 1 junior high school student initially struggled when invited by her father to have sex with her room. But he could not do

much when **her crown was snatched away**. And that thing Basri repeated. "I was very afraid, uncle, if my father was angry"

6) Objectionable Act

A treatment that offends others. Whereas in the Criminal Code (KUHP) the objectionable acts are regulated in article 335 paragraph (1). Article 335 paragraph (1): threatened with a maximum imprisonment of one year or a maximum fine of four thousand five hundred rupiah.

(1) Whoever unlawfully forces others

in order to do, not do or let something, with article 310 paragraph of the Criminal Code use violence of another action or treatment that is not pleasant, or using the threat of violence, something else or unpleasant behavior, both towards the person alone or others. Whoever forces others to do, not do or let something with the threat of violence or something else or unpleasant behavior, both towards the person alone or others. Whoever forces others to do, not do or let something with the threat of violence or something else or unpleasant behavior, both towards the person alone or others. For example, "Hey, if you are brave do not fight here (Hotel), but let us fight in Suramadu". This statement has meaning subjectively that there is objectionable act from the speaker who invite hearer to fight in somewhere and the action is included article 331 paragraph (1) in KHUP.

"Menyikapi hal ini kemenangan pasangan calon (paslon) nomor satu Edy Rahmady-Musa Rajeksha (Eramas) mengaku belum pernah menyepakati poin-poin kesepakatan tersebut meski sebelumnya Bawaslu ada mengundang mereka untuk rapat koordinasi terkait hal ini...."

"To response to this the number one candidate pair (paslon) winning Edy Rahmady-Musa Rajeksha (Eramas) **claimed to have never agreed** on the points of the agreement even though Bawaslu had previously invited them to a coordination meeting on this matter"

“Surat edaran Badan Pengawas Pemilu (Bawaslu) Sumut ihwal penyampaian kesepakatan bersama pola kampanye bagi pasangan calon partai politik pendukung dan relevan dibulan suci Ramadhan menuai polemik.”

“Circular of the Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) of North Sumatra regarding the delivery of an agreement along with campaign patterns for pairs of candidates for supporting and relevant political parties in the holy month of Ramadan **reaps polemics**”.

*“Pria 59 tahun itu **terlihat marah** ketika petugas keamanan untuk menggiringnyapergi dari Kapel St George's di Kastil Windsor, Berkshire...”*

“The 59-year-old man **looked angry** when security officers to lead himgo from St George's Chapel in Windsor Castle, Berkshire”

There was an unpleasant act towards the winning team Eramas paslon. Grammatical unit which indicates that the Eramas winning team is nohappy that is: in the context of the text there is a clause reaping polemic, never before agreed, we declined, we never felt we made it, we haven't received it, never made a deal.

There is an unpleasant act towards an aged man 59 years old. This 59-year-old man feels unhappy because of the marriage security guard Harry - Meghan. The grammatical unit that indicates displeasure is in the clause look angry.

7) Intolerance

Intolerance can manifest itself in a wide range of actions from avoidance through hate speech to physical injury or even murder. Intolerance is a lack of respect for practices or beliefs other than one's own. It also involves the rejection of people whom perceive as different, for example members of social or ethnic group other than ours, or people who are different in political or sexual orientation such as **forcing people** to believe our religion, **destroying the holy place** other religion, **make a noising** when others religion is worshiping, etc.

8) Body Shaming

Body shaming has the power to hurt in the act or practice of negatively judging someone based on the physical appearance. People are body shamed when someone appear overweight or underweight or do not fit society's view of thin and beautiful. For examples, "You need to eat and put some meat **on your bones**", "You are **so fat!**", and "Your body is **disgusting**".

9) Prejudice

Prejudice is the practice of representation that describe something with full prejudice, negative connotation and subjectives (Eriyanto, 2011: 126-127). Prejudice is frightening, blustering, threatening, mocking (quipping, making joke negatively) to insult, giving negative nicknames and harsh insults in the form of curses, swearing or invectiving. For examples, **cina kafir, mulut jambang, bodoh, monyet, anjing, ect.**

2.5.3 Aspects of Hate Speech

Hate Speech as intended, aims to incite and incite hatred towards individuals and groups of people in various communities as distinguished from:

1) Tribe

Tribe: Seek general support, by inciting violence, discrimination or hostility resulting in social conflict between tribes.

2) Religion

Insulting on the basis of religion, in the form of incitement to violence, discrimination or hostility.

3) Race

Showing hatred or hatred towards others for treating, discriminating, limiting, or choosing based on race which results in revocation or reduction in the recognition or exercise of human rights.

4) Skin Color

Showing hatred or hatred towards others because of differences in skin color resulting in revocation or reduction in the recognition or implementation of human rights

5) Gender

Any form of distinction, exclusion, or restriction that has an influence or purpose to reduce or eliminate recognition,

6) Sexual Orientation,

gender expression, Igniting hatred or hatred towards other people who have sexual orientation so that discrimination occurs against these people.

7) Inter-group Relation

Spread of hatred between groups of people with intent to incite people to commit violence, discrimination or hostility.

8) Ethnicity

Showing hatred or hate for others because of treating, differentiating, limiting, or choosing based on ethnicity that results in revocation or reduction of recognition or implementation of human rights.

2.5.4 The Harms of Hate Speech

Hate speech and hate-based propaganda constitute an affront to a person's core identity, effectively causing ethnocentric dignitary harms, hate speech being constituted by advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility, violence or hatred, with the hate message often meant to curtail inclusiveness, and given that the purveyors of hate speech aim at spreading degrading falsities that damage group reputations, defame, intimidate, or incite to hatred, with dehumanizing, degrading, defamatory, and exclusionary intent, then these, like defamation, can be limited without violating the First Amendment, especially and since it is recognized and evidenced that hate speakers aim to convert their targets into „social pariahs, to disparage and disenfranchise them, and to get others to do the same”, robbing them of “the dignity of inclusion. Moreover, the accumulation of vilifying comments which by being an “intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment”, creates an atmosphere of fear, silencing, and shame for the targets.

Further, hate speech fundamentally attacks the dignity of a group, a practice the U.S. Supreme Court labeled “group libel” [defamation], the intent being to render via false and defamatory imputations an individual's membership in a group a liability by denigrating group-defining characteristics or associating them with bigoted factual claims, against the public good of inclusiveness and communal/societal cohesiveness. Indeed, despite hiding under democratic mantle of freedom of expression, it is now increasingly recognized that hate speech has little or no social and political value, and given the social harms of hate speech, the extensive danger posed to both individuals and to society by expressions of

misethnic animus generally outweigh bigots' private interests of venting their hatred, and courts have critically accepted the authority to restrict expressions that significantly undermine the common good.

2.6 Twitter

In Indonesia is one of the most users of internet in Southeast Asia especially in social media. The director general of post and information technology resources of the ministry of communication and information is Budi Setiawan reported to Gatranews, Jakarta that the development of the world of technological development is very rapidly in the world, including Indonesia by ranking in Asia for the number of internet users. There are 44.6 million facebook users and 19.5 million twitter users in Indonesia. "Indonesia has become the fifth largest twitter user under the UK and other large countries," he said. Most of users social media post their activities or status of situation happen in daily life. Some of users comment the status in different way like hate speech. There are a lot of people who make fake account for bullying someone they hate or dislike through social media such as facebook, twitter, instagram, blogger and so all.

On Twitter, subjects do not only produce text, but also consume text. In the context of hate speech, they might reject these practices, but sometimes they consume it. For the example, IyutVb and Fersap enjoy twitwar which sometimes it contains hate speech. They also sometimes respond other tweets with harsh words. All of subjects claimed they had never posted tweet that contained hate speech. Yet, we have to remember that they have their own definition and interpretation of hate speech. When Fersap sarcastically is producing tweets that insinuate certain group, some users may consider it as hate speech. But he denies

that his tweets are included as hate speech, because it is based on fact and does not harm any people.

While other subject maybe does not produce hate speech, technically, but in the context of presumption, they might have a role in expressing the idea. Like Irdun for instant, he admits that he does not support any group in recent Jakarta electoral dissent, but he agrees that muslim have to choose muslim leader, because his religion said so. But when I asked that what is his opinion about the floating discourse that tries to justify muslim who do not choose muslim leader as infidel, he answered with “no comment”. Some practices maybe based on religion or personal value, but sometimes it might preserve other group’s right, like any other discourse towards LGBT community or so.

One subject, Iyutvb, admits that he sometimes produces tweets that is on the borderline of the definition of hate speech. He sometimes attacks another group harshly. In the dissent of Jakarta electoral on 2017, he usually mocks Ahok’s supporters. He does this, because he likes debating with others, and one strategy to invite other people is with provocative message. He also uses provocative message to gain attention from public. He needs to get the attention to make public discourse. He is familiar with this strategy from his capacity of labor activist and advocates. He realizes that workers, or himself on twitter, always related with power relation. They only get the attention when they destabilize dominant groups, with provoking their value, their opinion, or their belief. That is why he produces provocative tweet or discourse on Twitter. Sometimes, he attacks popular common belief, challenging religion discursive, or defaming certain social class.

Recently, all the users worry about the signification of law in Indonesia. They worry that their activities somehow could outrage some groups or individuals and being accused as hate speech. Eventually they try to discipline themselves. They usually re-read their tweet before publishing it, they always consider first, whether it might be potential to be accused as hate speech or not. Users like Fersap or Iyutvb admitted that their past tweets could be accused as hate speech in the recent moment in Indonesia. It becomes problematic, because sometimes they reluctant to criticize dominant group or government, because of the implication of the law no 11 of 2008 on Electronic Information and Transactions. It affects on how they express on twitter. They also feel new trend on Twitter, that certain controversial tweet gets public attention, and the producers are bullied by public. They perceived twitter as new space and new reality to practice and express certain things, including hate speech. But recently they feel that Twitter is not that safe anymore, because of the implication and normalization. They discipline themselves, so they can suit on the recent practice value on Twitter. IyutVb, for the example never tweets provocatively with mentioning certain subjects. He also reluctant explicitly attacks someone's religion. Hate speech is wrong when it is limiting and harming other people. Based on this recent situation in Indonesia, the topic of hate speech becomes problematic because it might be affecting on how people express themselves in cyberspace, especially in Twitter, Media attempting to dismantle ideological values conveyed (Pawito, 2014).

Hashtags, using the Twitter history of the users, we plot word clouds for each type of users. As we can observe, there are several hashtags such as

“#maga”, “#fake-news”, “#worldcup”, “#newprofilepic” that are common for both the types of users. The hate accounts used hashtags such as „#whitegenocide” which is commonly used by whitenationalist/supremacists.

2.7 Anies Rasyid Baswedan’s Profile

Anies Baswedan was born with the full name Anies Rasyid Baswedan. He was born on May 7, 1969 in Kuningan, West Java province. Anis Baswedan was born in an Academic family. He is the first child of Drs. Rasyid Baswedan, S.U. who works as a Lecturer in the Faculty of Economics at the Islamic University of Indonesia. His mother's name is Prof. Dr. Aliyah Rasyid, M.Pd. who works as a Professor and Lecturer in the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences at Yogyakarta State University). Anies went to high school for 4 years between 1985 and 1989 because she was selected as a participant in the AFS program, a student exchange program organized by Bina Antarbudaya, for one year in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, United States (1987-1988)..

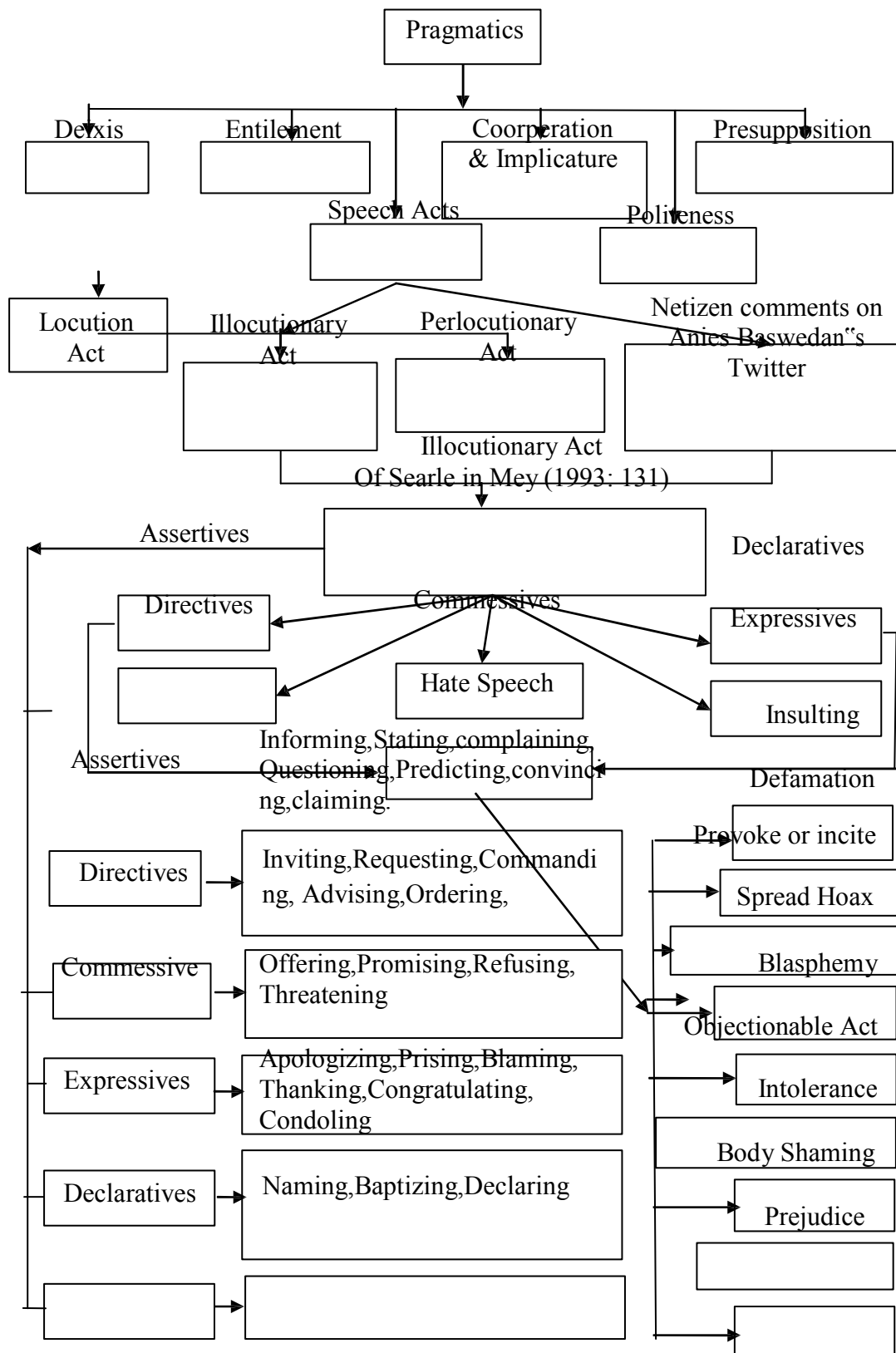
On May 15, 2007, Anies Baswedan was appointed rector of Paramadina University. Anies became the chancellor replacing the position once occupied by Muslim intellectuals and intellectuals, Nurcholish Madjid. At that time Anies was only 38 years old and became the youngest chancellor in Indonesia. Foreign Policy magazine included Anies in the list of 100 World Public Intellectuals. In 2008, he started the Scholarship Program at Paramadina University named Paramadina Fellowship. This program adopts the concept commonly used in universities in North America and Europe by embedding the name of the sponsor as the title of scholarship recipient. If student A gets a scholarship from institution

B, which is indeed one of the sponsors, behind the student's name is the name of the sponsor, becomes A, Paramadina, B Fellow Institution.

Then after Jokowi - Jusuf Kalla was appointed as Indonesia's president and vice president in 2014, Jokowi then appointed Anies Baswedan as Minister of Education and Culture. When leading the ministry of education, Anies Baswedan then overhauled organizations in the sphere of the ministry of education such as the Directorate General of Higher Education to be separated. And combined with the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education.

Many achievements were made by Anies Baswedan while serving as Minister of Education in the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla administration. Anies Baswedan served as minister of education from 2014 to mid-2016. After that he was later replaced by Muhadjir Effendy. After not serving as minister of education, Anies Baswedan was then promoted by the Gerindra party to advance as a candidate for governor of DKI Jakarta in partnership with Sandiaga Uno as a candidate for deputy governor of DKI Jakarta. He was later elected as the Governor of DKI Jakarta in 2017 together with Sandiaga Uno as his Deputy defeated the pair Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or Ahok and Djarot Saiful Hidayat in the DKI Jakarta elections which were held in two round.

2.8 Theoretical Conceptual Framework



2.3 Related Research

The researcher has read some of the thesis from Sanata Dharma University. Eko Prasetyo Nugroho Saputro state Sanata Dharma University of Yogyakarta. The researcher had like to give the conclusion of the related literature this followings:

This study was done by Eko Prasetyo Nugroho Saputro (2015), "*The Analysis of Illocutionary Acts of Jokowi's Speech*". In this study, the researcher want to describe the Illocutionary Acts which dominant presented by Jokowi's speech. Firstly, the researcher wants to know the function in the Illocutionary act are used in the speech and classified into types. The researcher is used the qualitative methods to analysis the data. The data in this research is speech video. The researcher use teori based on Searle's categorization of speech acts. Which included representatives; directives; commissives; expressives; and declaratives. Then, the writer finds that After analysing and summary all the types of illocutionary act from Jokowi's speech consist of assertives 49 (52,1%), commissives, expressives, and directives which occur 27 (28,7%), 10 (10,6%) and 8 (8,5%) respectively.

The next researcher was done by Okafor Virginia, C & Alabitaofeek Olanrewaju (2017), "*The Speech Act Analysis of Hate Speeches in the 2015 General Election Campaign in Negeria*". on this research, the researcher want to describe illocutionary act analysis (direct and indirect) which bring the total speech acts performed to 40 (forty). The researcher use perlocutionary effects of the illocutions as measured from the illocutionary force of each utterances. The researcher use the speech acts theory of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) as

theoretical framework. The finding revealed serve as weapon of intimidation, blackmail, incitement and coercion and thus created an atmosphere of fear and anxiety within the polity.

The next researcher was done by Hordecki (2014), "*Contemporary Research On Hate Speech In News Websites' Comments From The Perspective Of Jürgen Habermas's Theory Of Knowledge*". The main point of this research was to find out the characteristic and compared the cognitive matter which is dominant comments that contained of *Hatespeech* on the News Websites by used Habermas's Theory. The result of this research concluded commonly that in the form of hate speech text to integrates with developing discourse. Most of the quoted text contains self-manifested emancipation. Nevertheless a deep understanding of the reasons for hatred that occurs in public spaces does not appear very often.

CHAPTER III RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research Design

This chapter discusses about the method and procedure that are used to solve the problems of the research. The researcher has written some theories in the previous chapter in order to describe research design, data resource, data collection and data analyzing method.

This research is based on qualitative research description. As keegean (2009: 1) stated that “Qualitative research explores questions such as what, why, and how, rather than how many or how much; it is primarily concerned with meaning rather than measuring”. The researcher use qualitative research as the procedure to analyze the data.

3.2. Research Instruments

In addition, researcher use the main instruments in this study for supporting tools such as notes, pens, laptop and handphone as a tool to screenshot the data through account twitter Anies Baswedan in social media.

3.3 Data And Source of The Data

The researcher has taken the data by browsing the internet especially on twitter account. The researcher only took the data about politician issues against Anies Baswedan policy. The politician issues only focused forflood in Jakarta and rehabilitation of Monas.

Futhermore, the researcher took some of journals to support the data and the reseacher study the data until understand as well such as language, pragmatics, speech acts and the theory of Searle (1969) stated that illocutionary consist of assertives, declaratives, commissives, directives and expressives.

3.4 Technique of the Data Collection

The researcher has taken some of steps in collecting data. According to Subroto (1992), the data in a research are the fixed materials which are suitable to solve the research problem. The data are collected in form of word, phrases, sentences found in politician issues of flood in Jakarta and rehabilitation of Monas which have been screenshotted on twitter account.

The researcher utilized the documentation technique in collecting the data. Then the researcher browsed and downloaded the politician issues text against Anies Baswedan on twitter. The data was then transcribed and analyzed.

3.5 Technique of the Data Analysis

The next step, after data collection, was data analysis. According to Moleong (2000), data analysis is a process of organizing and classifying data into certain pattern, category and basic unit of analysis so that the theme can be found and working hypothesis suggested by the data can be formulated. the purpose of the data analysis are oraganizing, classifying and summerizing the data, thus, the data can be better comprehended, interpreted or related to some dicision of user wishes.

The next continued step is classifying the data based on speech acts classification proposed by Searle (1969) which consisted of representatives or assertives, directives, commissives, expressives, and delcaratives. The researcher use the table to illustrate the data in order to recognize easily the accurance of speech acts in the following table.

Table 3.1

| No | Illocutionary acts | Illocutionary force | Frequencies | Precentage |
|----|--------------------|--|-------------------------------|------------|
| 1. | Assertives | 1) Informing 2) Convincing 3) Questioning 4) Stating 5) Complaining 6) Suggesting | 14 1 4 16 13 2 | 50% |

This categorizing of speech act, to illustrate data analysis. The next step is discussing. The researcher confirmed the findings with the theories that were employed in the analysis. Then the researcher also explained the findings in order to answer the objectives of the research.

Then continued by reporting data. The data was reporting the findings and finally the researcher also added some points of conclusions and suggestion.