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## Anies Baswedan and Indigenous-ness in *Seword.com*: Anti-Out-Group Bias in a Democratized Online Sphere

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### Abstract

This paper investigates discourses related to the notion of *pribumi* (indigenous people) and Anies Baswedan offered through opinion articles published by *Seword.com*. This opinion portal has been actively criticizing Anies Baswedan, the Governor of Jakarta since his candidacy for the 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election, the hardest fought and most segregating election ever held in Indonesia. The campaign and related events leading to the election and afterward had consumed the attention not only Jakarta voters but also most of the Indonesian people. The problem of segregation, the fear of nation disunity, the rise of intolerant discourses and actions, mostly related to religious identity were debated throughout Indonesia. Social media, online news outlets, online pages, blogs and online opinion portals were the boiling venues for such segregating discourses. This warring minds of the public have not ceased after Jakarta Election Commission officially announced Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno as the elected governor and vice governor of Jakarta. It was reflected through the quick, almost instant, online outcry criticizing Anies because of the term *pribumi* (indigenous people) he used in his acceptance speech as Jakarta Governor on Monday, 16 October 2017. Those critics lambasted Anies as implicitly yet deliberately segregating Jakarta people even more. This research employed critical discourse analysis in investigating how do opinion articles published in *Seword.com* portray Anies in relation to indigenous people-related issues.

**Keywords:** Indigenous People, *Seword.com*, Anies Baswedan, 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election, Online Opinion Portal

The 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election might be one of the hardest fought and most segregating elections ever held in Indonesia. The campaign and related events leading to the election and afterward had consumed the attention not only Jakarta voters but also most of the Indonesian people. The problem of segregation, the fear of nation disunity, the rise of intolerant discourses and actions, mostly related to religious and social identities were widespread throughout Indonesia. Social media, online news outlets, blogs, online forums, and online opinion portals were the boiling venues for such segregating discourses. This warring mind of the public has not ceased after Jakarta Election Commission officially

announced Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno as the elected governor and vice governor of Jakarta (Ramdhani, 2017; Hutabarat and Habibi, 2017; Rat, 2017). It is reflected through the quick, almost instantly, online outcry criticizing Anies because of the term *pribumi* (indigenous people) he used in his acceptance speech as Jakarta Governor on Monday, 16 October 2017.

Those critics assumed that the word *pribumi* or indigenous people was carefully chosen by Anies and his team to imply that there are two kinds of Indonesians, the indigenous people and non-indigenous people. Furthermore, they argued that the non-indigenous people referred by Anies in his speech was Indonesian Chinese and that it is an indirect attack toward Anies' former rival, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (widely known by his nickname, Ahok). Apart from being widely criticized online, Anies was also reported to Indonesian Police Department on the grounds that he has committed ethnic discrimination and segregating the community (Movanita, 2017). One of the online venues actively criticizing Anies is *Seword.com*. This opinion portal has been actively criticizing Anies since the campaign period prior to the 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election.

During October 2016-March 2017 or at the height of 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial campaign and election period, *Seword.com* was very popular. It recorded total visit of 56.7 million which put it as the largest online opinion portal in Indonesia. In terms of traffic, *Seword.com* even perform better than *Tempo.co* (47.5 million) and *Republika.co.id* (43.7 million), two Indonesian influential conventional media which were the principal sources of news items for both Anies-Sandi and Ahok-Djarot supporters. Total visit to *Seword.com* was only next to *Kompas.com* (199 million) and *Detik.com* (357.8 million), two giants of Indonesian online news outlet (Lim, 2017, pp.418). The fact that *Seword.com* is the largest online opinion portal in Indonesia and its nature as the opposition headquarter for Anies position It as one of the most significant players in constructing the public opinion related to 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election.

Therefore, this research investigates how do opinion articles published in *Seword.com* portray Anies in relation to *pribumi* or indigenous people-related issues. This paper discusses online sphere as part of the public sphere in which people and machine (algorithmic network) interact, thus this paper does not follow the perspective that put algorithmic network as more powerful in shaping the interactions online.

Theories on public sphere and identity are the backbone literature for this paper. The reason for this is that opinion portal is part of the online sphere, a rather new public sphere for most of Indonesians, to which many people flock into debate many things. Identity still plays a very important role in Indonesian politics, be it in elections and in the online debates which put Identity-laden topic as the most hotly debated topic online. One of the identity-laden topics is indigenous people.

Habermas formulated public sphere as space in which citizens can share information, ideas, suggestions as well as creating discussions and debates about anything worthy of their life. Habermas stressed the importance of freedom of interaction for the public sphere to flourish.

“Citizens behave as a public body when they confer in an unrestricted fashion – that is, within the guarantee of freedom of assembly and association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions” (Habermas, Lennox and Lennox 1974, p.49).

Habermas put his concept of public sphere within the historical background that the bourgeois discusses their situation and aspiration among them as a counterweight to the state that at the time was holding an almost absolute power. Fraser (1990, p.57) noted that the bourgeois public sphere experiences a shift on its function from scrutinizing what the state was doing (so that it will not harm their interest) to conveying their aspirations to the state to fulfill. They will ask, criticize and press the government if their aspirations are not met and they do it through democratic mechanisms such as press publications, rallies, and through their representatives in the parliament.

In this regard, the online sphere is public sphere too. The online sphere in its various and intertwined forms of social media, news outlets and their comment sections, opinion portals, online groups and chat applications are undoubtedly a big space or layers of spaces in which citizens can share their opinion, demand, suggestion, criticism, and other forms of aspirations to be acknowledged and followed up by both fellow citizens and the government. The online sphere has been proven as a productive space to initiate socio-political movements, such as the Coin for Prita and Love Coin for Bilqis (Lim, 2017, pp.414-415; Supardi and Primasyahrizal, 2012, p.153-164).

The fact that online sphere is actually a public sphere is also reinforced by the history of the public sphere itself. The history suggests that public sphere as the place to mobilize political forces is shifting from the once empirical and tangible places such as the parliament building, the church, the coffee shop, the field and others, into less tangible spaces of mass media. The community has no longer discuss and debate things in city corners or in church, but in newspapers, magazines, radio, and television (Poster, 1995). The fact that people nowadays are seldom using conventional mass media to have a discussion and debate about political issues and rather have it online is a historical continuity or a sort of evolution from the public sphere itself.

Some events of governments tried to control the interaction online is another evidence that online sphere is really a part of the public sphere and exercise the same function (Phillips, 2017; BBC Monitoring, 2017; Rife, 2015). McNair (2011, p.18) argued that public sphere consists of “the communicative institutions of a society” that circulate facts and opinions which later helps the creation of citizen’s common stock of knowledge, an important factor for the creation of collective political action. Here, McNair connects the spheres and political actions that can be bred there. This is quite similar to Josef Ernst’s definition of the public sphere which is the “‘distinctive discursive space’ within which ‘individuals are combined so as to be able to assume the role of a politically powerful force’” (Ernst,1988, p.47 cited in McNair, 2011, p.18). The functioning public sphere, according to Dahlgren (2005, p.148) is the one exercised in an unfettered manner or there is no one who limits the dynamics within the sphere. Dahlgren pointed the government as the one having the power to alter or influence the dynamics within a public sphere, hence he suggested that the more democratic a country

the more functioning public sphere it will have (*ibid.*). The online sphere is usually detached from the realm of the government, in the sense that the government cannot fully control it, even in less democratic countries.

The public sphere is contested sphere and has constantly competed for by many actors. It is the venue to mobilize supports for different actors and varied causes. Actors use public sphere to throw an issue and diligently guide its course in the desired direction in order to better serve their interest. The act of 'guiding' the course of the issue includes intervention on the discussions and debates about the issue. A period when an issue is discussed or debated by the public is very crucial since it potentially produces proliferation of actors and fragmentation of issue. The proliferation of actors might happen naturally (more people engage on the discussion/debate because they have genuine interest or curiosity about the issue), or by intervention (one core actor or several core actors mobilize people to involve in the discussion and/or debate to influence the course of the issue). The proliferation of actors might potentially cause issue fragmentation, a situation when an issue was split into several new issues, whether they are related to each other or not. This is a crucial phase in the opinion-making and support-garnering process during which the original actor that first place the issue in public sphere faces other actors that have a differing stance and interest about the issue. Fragmentation of issue and the way people react toward the issue determine actors' success in exploiting the issue to serve their interest.

This research argues that online sphere is actually a public sphere. The argument is simple: the online sphere is a sphere, albeit materially less tangible, and it facilitates individuals to assemble, converse, discuss, debate, and mobilize power to reach their interests. The reasoning capacity of any individual and group within the online sphere is no different from those operate within public sphere in the traditional sense. One feature that we can see is that online sphere is becoming more and more democratized in the sense that people from all social levels interact each other more or less equally. It is in the online sphere that the hierarchy respected very much in the offline interaction lost its recognition. Academic competence, for example, determines people's authority in commenting on specific academic field offline. However, people from all levels of academic competence can comment about something academic almost equally online. This situation applies to all fields. Muslims acknowledge that some people are more competent than the others in terms of understanding and interpreting religious teachings. Therefore, they recognize a social structure in which those with better religion knowledge entitle more authority in deciding matters related to religion. However, this authority is widely challenged online. More and more people debating religion-related issues equally online, disregard of their authority levels. It is what Mark Poster (1995) termed as democratization in the online sphere since "the acts of discourse are not limited to one-way address and not constrained by the gender and ethnic traces inscribed in face-to-face communications". Furthermore, he said:

The "magic" of the Internet is that it is a technology that puts cultural acts, symbolizations in all forms, in the hands of all participants; it radically decentralizes the positions of speech, publishing, filmmaking, radio and television broadcasting, in short the apparatuses of cultural production (Poster, 1995).

Apart from its similarity to the public sphere in general, an online public sphere has also distinctive features. The fact that people interact online were represented and mediated by 'accounts' creates a kind of distance which affect the emotion and sometimes the awareness about self, environment and the issue they are absorbed in. The fact that online sphere can lend us a sort of 'mask' also affects the way we react to things which in turn determine the way we display our identity, opinion, and stance.

There are three characteristics of the online sphere which make interactions within it distinct. First, the fact that actors involved in online interaction basically have different understanding about online sphere and possess a different level of capability in utilizing online sphere to serve their interest. It posits that online sphere still has a form of hierarchical structure. Second, online sphere is more democratized compared to other spheres offline, enables more people to involve in an interaction regardless their capacity. Third, although not entirely, but the online sphere remains a relatively more layered place than offline. It enables the emergence of identity vagueness and providing a sort of hideout because of which people with less internet literacy feel secure to share harsh comments, unverified information, and other things they do not do in offline interaction. People with less internet literacy and political literacy are the ones most exploited online. They become the groups which are unable or seldom creating discourse and only consuming the discourse put in place by other groups/actors. The fact that action is controlled by mind makes the competition to influence people's minds online is very crucial. "So, if we are able to influence people's minds, e.g. their knowledge or opinions, we indirectly may control (some of) their actions, as we know from persuasion and manipulation (van Dijk, 2001, p.355).

*Seword.com*, in this regard, is also a public sphere and part of the wider web of public spheres since It is a venue for the public to communicate, interact, and in turn, mobilize power. Trust is always a contested aspect in assessing online platform as part of the public sphere. Those opposing the idea based their argument on the fact that online platforms aggregate accounts rather than 'the real' individuals. Indonesia-based accounts, for example, do not always refer to Indonesians. The real number of participants in an online debate is also constantly problematic. The use of machines to create thousands of 'hollow' accounts undermine the trustworthiness of online platform as a public sphere even further. While we must take these issues seriously in assessing online platforms as public sphere, they do not annihilate the fact that online platforms, including *Seword.com*, perform the function as both space and mediator of public interaction which eventually creating power.

## **Identity**

Identity, in its traditional form such as religion and ethnicity, is tightly attached to Indonesian politics. It is the most utilized tool to gain more support in elections. Throughout the Old Order, most of the Indonesian people vote for political parties they deemed as representing their identity, hence we have political parties exploited religious identity such as Partai Nahdlatul Ulama, Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia (Masyumi), Partai Kristen Indonesia (Parkindo), and Partai Katolik to name a few. Some other parties exploited other types of

identity such as Persatuan Pegawai Polisi Republik Indonesia, Persatuan Rakyat Desa, and Partai Buruh which exploited the socio-occupational identity (Perpusnas.go.id 2017). This tendency persists. Fox and Menchik (2011, 11) found that ethnic symbolism dominated the campaign posters both for national and local elections. While nationalist symbolism is most often used (39%), other identities were also worth noting such as religious (23%), indigenous ethnic (18%) and regional (9%) identities. Islamic identity is the vast majority within the category of religious symbols, while there is a wide range of indigenous ethnic symbols in the posters (*ibid.*).

Identity is also one issue that is easily "flamed" the plebeian groups and therefore used by more capable groups to exploit them. Efforts to defend identity is related to aspects such as social, economic, and political positions of each group in society which then provide the context as well as the trigger for the spark and enlargement of identity-based conflict. Awareness of own position as majority or minority, dominant or non-dominant, powerful or marginal groups all affect how each group interacts, including in the online sphere. Usually, the dominant discourses are made by the majority group. They become the determinants of conversation and become the most powerful parties, including having the ability to create and use labels and stereotypes that are sometimes so systemic that they are not realized and hence considered natural.

"The power of dominant groups may be integrated in laws, rules, norms, habits, and even a general consensus, and so take what form Gramsci (1971) called "hegemony"" (van Dijk, 2001, p.55).

Van Dijk equates majority group as the dominant group. He argued that dominance is not always exercised in abusive ways that reveal exploitation and discrimination. The dominance is often "enacted in the myriad of taken-for-granted actions of everyday life, as is typically the case in the many forms of everyday sexism or racism" (Essed, 1991 as cited in van Dijk, 2001, p.355). The dominant group also has the ability to dominate discourse so that public always refer to their interpretation of things while interpretation by others is considered alien and even dangerous for the stability of the society. Is this what happened in the debate related to 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial Election? This paper investigates whether this pattern is maintained or changed within the election-related opinion articles published by *Seword.com*.

In Indonesian context, some people believe that Muslims are the majority. The question then is twofold: first, is it true that Muslims (as a whole or a particular group in it) are dominant groups? Second, which Muslim group constitutes the majority given the fact that 'Indonesian Muslim' is certainly not a single entity. Muslim placing degrading label toward other Muslim has been one of the prominent features of Indonesian socio-political interactions. Van Dijk stressed that "not all members of a powerful group are always more powerful than all members of dominated groups: power is only defined here for groups as a whole" (2001, p.355).

Identity is closely attached to any political actions and preferences. The Rwandan genocide took place because the Hutus saw the Tutsis as having a different identity. Instead of seeing the Tutsis as Rwandan as they are, Hutus chose to see Tutsis as Tutsis who are different from

and not part of Hutus. Hutus see Tutsis as ‘the other’. When Ambon deadly conflict occurred in 1999-2002, most Ambonese sees themselves either as Muslim or Christian, ignoring the fact that they share the same identity as Ambonese, Moluccan, and Indonesian. In a more recent development, the residents of Jakarta see themselves as the supporters of either Anies Baswedan or Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), rather than as Jakartans seeking the best governor.

Jose van Dijck (2013) elaborates some notions which argue that identity is not completely ‘natural’ but designed. Online sphere, especially the social media, is the place in which identity formation can take place. It is because social media and other platforms in the online sphere utilize what Lim called as an algorithmic enclave that pushes user to interact more with people that they share more similarities or more frequently (Lim, 2017, p.422-423). Therefore, it is important to investigate the relationship between identity and the way people interact within online political debates. The amount of efforts one is willing to put to support his/her group is equal to the degree of identification he/she has with an in-group (i.e. religion). The higher the degree of identification an individual has with a certain religion, for example, the more motivated that individual to defend the name and position of that religion (Hinkle & Brown 1990; Tajfel & Wilkes 1963; Verkuyten & Brug 2004 cited in McKinley, Mastro, and Warber 2014: 3). Brewer (1979, 1999 cited in *ibid.*) argued that “in-group-out-group distinctions typically consist of pro-in-group bias rather than anti-out-group bias”. It means that it might be the case that people jumped to online debates not to attack others in the first place, but more to protect their groups’ position and interest.

Investigating online debate is very important to help us identify whether those debates are truly sporadic, structure-less and have no fixed pattern(s) or just the contrary. If, for instance, the debates within online sphere are well-structured and exhibit a certain degree of pattern, then it is interesting to investigate who control the debates? Is it the one that traditionally considered as the majority group? Do the debates possess a certain degree of similarity with the actual political cacophony? If so, what kind of connection do they have with actors actively engage in the conventional offline political field? This paper will answer those questions in the context of opinion articles on indigenous people published by *Seward.com* after the acceptance speech of Anies Baswedan as Jakarta governor.

## Methodology

There were 115 opinion articles published in *Seward.com*’s Politics rubric during the period of 16-24 October 2017, 5 of which were published twice, therefore total eligible articles to be studied were 110 items. There were 60 articles (55%) talking about Anies and indigenous people issue. This paper analyzed 10 opinion articles in *Seward.com*’s Politics rubric about Anies and/or indigenous people issue which have the largest number of interactivity (views, shares, and comments). The cut-off date was set 24 October 2017, 8 days after the acceptance speech in order to provide sufficient time for *Seward.com*’s contributors to share their opinion. Considering the diversity of opinion, only one article from each opinion writer

included in the list of 10 selected articles. A complete list of the studied articles can be seen in Appendix 1. List of Coded Articles and Their Metrics.

### *Analysis Unit*

All 10 opinion articles are divided into analysis unit. Title, paragraph, and subheading are considered as analysis units given the fact that they conceive meaning in a specific point(s) of thought. This study only investigates analysis units made by the opinion writers that reflect the stance of the writer. Paragraphs quoted from other sources by the writer are not considered as the analysis unit, hence excluded from analysis. Aspects identified on each analysis unit are the target of the statement (whom the statement is talking about); the tone of the statement and specific language attribute used in the statement, which all are contributing to explaining the writers' attitude (perception, assessment) toward the target of the statement. References used by the writers in building his/her argument (and assessment) about the target are also identified to provide clearer and more comprehensive analysis about why the writer assesses the target of his/her article that way.

### *Tone of Statements*

The tone of statements is divided into three categories, namely positive, neutral and negative. Positive statements show hope, praise and/or support toward the actor(s) mentioned in a statement. Negative statements characterize by hostile or impolite utterance according to Indonesian custom. These include swearing, hoping for someone's bad luck, the use of animal words (dog, pig, etc) as pronouns, improper utterances such as 'mouth' and 'sound' rather than 'saying', the use of sarcasm, and the presence of insinuation. Statements which do not show the above-mentioned characteristics are categorized as neutral.

### *Target of Statements*

Target(s) of statements are actors specifically talked and aimed in a statement. Therefore, actors who were mentioned in a statement as additional information and were not specifically talked and aimed at the statement are not considered as the target of the statement. There are possibly more than one targets of the statement in one analysis unit. Actors whose name are not mentioned in the unit of analysis but whose position is known based on the coherence of sentences and paragraphs are still regarded as targets of statements.

### *Specific Language Attributes*

These refer to language attributes that create meaning and help direct readers' interpretation to a certain direction. Main attributes identified here are:

- a) Strong words (words that are considered strong, unique and/or specific which their selection reflects effort to create a certain meaning)
- b) Figure of speech (including proverb and parable)
- c) Insinuation (sentence that indirectly or implicitly claim something about the target of the statement)

## d) Sarcasm

*Main attitude toward the target of statement*

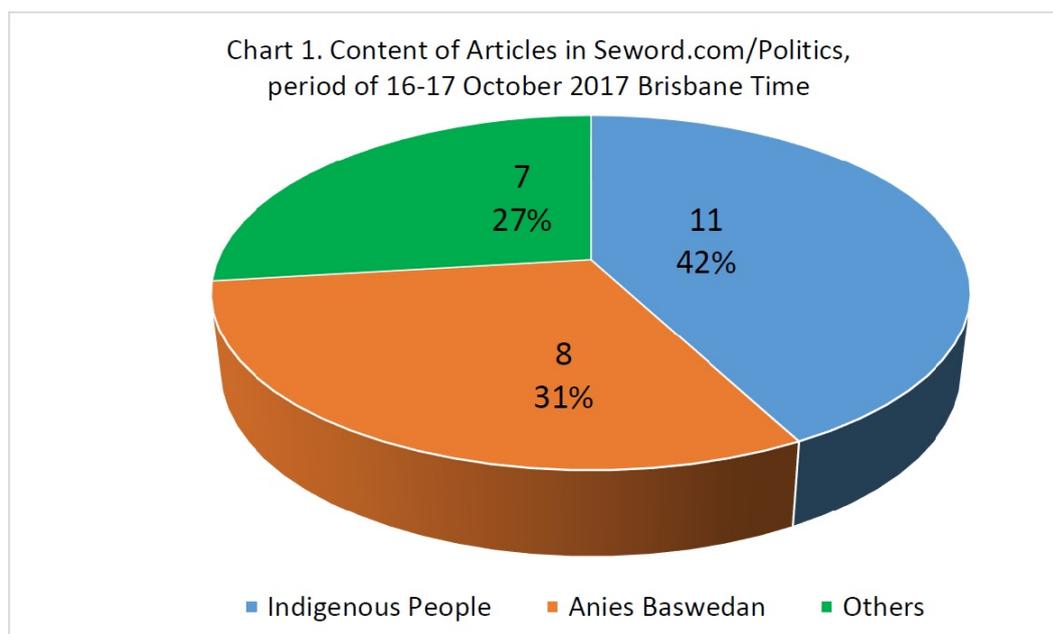
The conclusion that readers' most probably infer about how the writer react and assess the target of the statements. This conclusion is derived from each analysis unit as a whole (for example the conclusion is derived from a paragraph, not from each sentence within a paragraph). Each article is considered as one analysis unit for 'main attitude'.

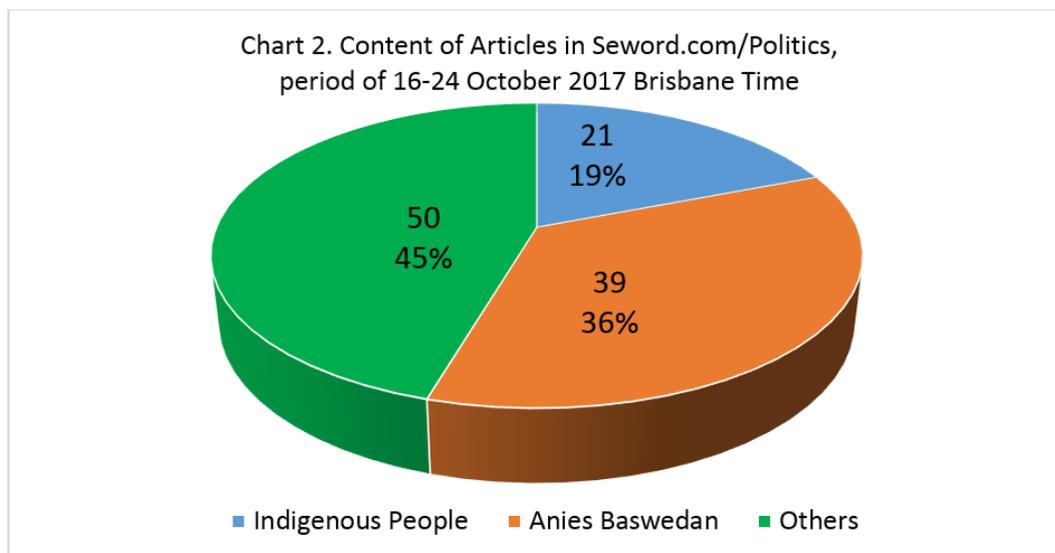
*References*

Any reference used by the opinion writers to support their arguments. The references could be both clearly stated and implied in the paragraph. A judgment without specific external reference will fall into the category of 'writer's opinion/assessment'. Any prediction and analysis without quoting external references will be categorized as 'writer's analysis'. This part will help readers to see whether the writers develop their arguments mainly based on their own opinion or that they try to include more of external references implying a higher degree of objectivity.

**Findings**

Chart 1 and 2 show us that Anies Baswedan (Jakarta newly elected governor) and the indigenous people were two main topics in *Seword.com*'s Politics rubric. During the first 2 days of the acceptance speech, there were 15 articles made focusing on Anies and indigenous issue which accounts for 58% of total articles in the Politics rubric (see Chart 1). The fervor to talk about Anies and indigenous people issue last until a week after the acceptance speech. During the period 16-24 October 2017, there were 60 opinion articles written about Anies and indigenous people which account for 55% of the total articles in the Politics rubric.





### *Who these articles are talking about?*

Table 2. The target of Statement (see Appendix 2) shows us that Anies Baswedan, the new elected Jakarta governor and Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno as Jakarta's new governor and vice governor couple are the most discussed by all opinion article writers. Five articles mostly talked about Anies while other 5 articles focused their attention talking about Anies-Sandi. In total, Anies was talked in 70 analysis units while Anies-Sandi were discussed in 53 analysis units. A bit surprisingly, there are very little analysis units dedicated to Ahok and Ahok-Djarot (3 and 1 respectively). The third largest target of statements is Anies-Sandi's supporters (20 analysis units). There are 5 prominent supporters of Anies-Sandi specifically mentioned in the articles (highlighted yellow, see appendix 2) and none of Ahok-Djarot's prominent supporters were specifically mentioned in the articles. It seems that these opinion writers focus on commenting about Anies rather than comparing between Anies (and Anies-Sandi) and his rival (Ahok and Ahok-Djarot). Jakarta people and articles' readers are two biggest target groups under the 'Other' category (highlighted pink).

### *How were these articles assessing Anies and Anies-Sandi?*

Table 2 (see Appendix 2) shows us that Anies-Sandi as the newly elected governor and vice governor of Jakarta were assessed negatively. Anies as an individual was assessed even worse. Anies-Sandi were aimed at 53 analysis units in which 20 of them are negative, while Anies was talked in 70 analysis units in which 47 of them are negative. This tendency applies also for Anies-Sandi's supporters in which 10 out of total 20 analysis units assessed them negatively.

*What language did they use to talk about Anies and Anies-Sandi?*

The language used to talk about Anies and Anies-Sandi were very harsh. The selection of specific words such as *'buang'* (throw away); *'tantang'* (challenge); *'nekat'* (recklessly, desperately); *'balas dendam'* (take a revenge) have developed an impression that Anies really is an ambitious and opportunist politician rather than someone sincerely fight for public causes. Another set of words such as *'hanya bualan belaka'* (it was only a joke) and *'munafik'* (hypocrite) aimed at saying that Anies was an untrustworthy person. Some writers even used impolite mode of the utterance such as by utilizing the words like *'mulutmu'* (your mouth) and *'bunyi'* (sounds, rattles), which in Indonesian context is considered impolite. Indonesian culture encouraged Indonesians never use 'mouth' to infer of someone talking about something and not to equalize men with things such as by the use of words like *'berbunyi'* (rattle). Rather than saying *'berbunyi'* (rattle, sound), Indonesians are encouraged to use *'berkata'* (say) (see Appendix 3).

Some figurative speeches, including proverb and parable, were used by the writers. They use "membuang" (throw away) to emphasize that Anies is someone who does not hesitate to completely dump anyone –including former coalition partner—to chase his own dream (see Appendix 4. Specific Language Attributes - Figurative Speech). The selection of this parable emphasizes Anies as an ambitious person (in the negative sense of that word). Writers see Anies as someone below the par of the former Jakarta governor, Ahok. Comparing Anies to Ahok, according one of the writers is like *'Mengharapkan salju di musim panas'* (hoping for snow during summer) which is impossible. Anies was also seen as someone responsible for the segregation among Jakarta people, and even among Indonesians. His campaign strategy was considered as *'merobek tenun kebangsaan'* (tear out the weave of nationhood) (see Appendix 4).

Not only his character, Anies' programs were also scrutinized. Many writers labeled them as "angin surga" (the wind of the paradise), an Indonesian parable referring to something too good to be true and unattainable (see Appendix 4).

Sarcasm is another obvious feature of language that widely used by writers in commenting about Anies and Anies-Sandi. When they talk about Anies' temperament which is much softer and more polite than the one of Ahok, writers wrote "Dengan bahasa santun menawan hati semua makhluk di Bumi (using the polite language that captivates all beings on Earth)" (see Appendix 5).

Writers seem to remind readers again and again that Anies was reshuffled by President Joko Widodo. The insertion of this information is a sarcastic style to say that Anies is of low quality and not capable of handling his position (see Appendix 5).

However, the most sarcastically opposed by writers is the notion of indigenous people. They sarcastically questioned Anies credibility in discussing the term given the fact that Anies himself is of Arab descent and hence considered as not belonging to indigenous people. Writers used sarcasm such as *'Apakah seorang keturunan Arab seperti Anies termasuk kalangan pribumi sebagaimana dengan yang dia maksud?'* (is an Arab descent like Anies can

be considered indigenous people?) and ‘Heh Tong’ (Hi kid, implying impoliteness) ‘jangan-jangan lu juga setengah “pribumi” lagi’ (perhaps you yourself [Anies] is only half indigenous) when questioning Anies’ indigenuity (see Appendix 5).

Another obvious language attribute was insinuation. Writers tend to not believing good deeds of Anies and at many times implicitly accusing Anies and Anies-Sandi of committing something wrong or at least have the potential to do so. For example, they wrote: ‘Anies menampakkan diri sebagai pribadi yang santun, elok, dengan tutur kata penuh kebijaksanaan tanpa cela’ (Anies *projected himself as* a polite, elegant person, with a flawless word of wisdom) which questioning whether Anies is *really* polite. Another example of insinuation is ‘Anies *projects* himself as a Pancasilaist, an NKRI, pluralism, diversity and Pancasila-lover, care for the nation's children's education, intellectual, and humble” which is an explicit display of not believing these characteristics in Anies (see Appendix 6).

The writers also implicitly accused Anies as belong to and behave like radical groups. A sentence like ‘Selama ini kita tahu bahwa Anies Sandi adalah pasangan gubernur dan wakil gubernur yang didukung oleh ormas radikal nan intoleran. Bahkan ormas pendukung Anies Sandi ada yang sudah dibubarkan oleh pemerintah’ (we have known it for a while that Anies and Sandi are governor and vice governor supported by intolerant radical groups. Some of those groups have been disbanded by the government)” shows nothing but indirect accusation that Anies is part of radical groups (see Table 6).

They even questioning something that is widely recognized by most people, that Anies is an intellectual. Writers wrote “[Anies] menampakkan diri menjadi bagian kaum intelektual ([Anies] projects himself as part of intellectuals) as if Anies is not really an intellectual (see Appendix 6).

All language attributes used by writers show efforts of displaying Anies as an ambitious person who is ungrateful; Anies as a fake person rather than sincere; and that Anies is part of radical groups who are not really loyal both to Indonesia and Indonesia’s ideology, Pancasila.

*How were the attitude of these articles’ writers toward Anies and Anies-Sandi?*

Writers’ attitudes were mainly focused on Anies, Jakarta people, and the term pribumi (indigenous people) and its controversy. One most obvious attitude is that writers assessed Anies negatively. They extensively discussed Anies characters that portrayed as very bad. Anies were seen as an ambitious –in the negative sense of the word— person who is more than willing to copy others’ successful strategy (hence Anies is not original) and to break up from his former supporters if it does not benefit his political endeavor (therefore he is portrayed as ungrateful and non-loyal politician). It is shown in statements such as:

*Sifat Anies cenderung sebagai pribadi yang ambisius dan penuh pencitraan* (Anies is an ambitious person who staged all of his behaviors) (article 1, paragraph 2)

*Dari sini, Anies yang berkecenderungan oportunistis dan penuh pencitraan, terus merangsek ke berbagai kalangan termasuk yang paling spektakuler: kalangan FPI dan HTI* (From here,

Anies who is tend to be opportunist and full of staged behaviors, continuously build up his support basis, including the most spectacular one: FPI and HTI) (article 1, paragraph 5)

*Godaan untuk mengikuti jejak Jokowi menjadi semakin menghantuinya. Segala hal yang berbau Jokowi ditiru, bahkan dalam pembuatan foto pun, dia menampilkan diri di daerah kumuh...* (The temptation to copy Jokowi haunts him. Everything about Jokowi was copied by Anies, including taking a picture in the slum area...) (article 1, paragraph 12)

*...semenjak mengenal kekuasaan, anda memang sudah menjadi pribadi yang berbeda.* (...you became a different person after you have tasted power) (article 8, paragraph 14)

*Setelah mencapai kursi Gubernur DKI, Anies sangat potensial untuk mencapai kursi RI-1. Anies pun saya yakin ingin menuju kursi RI-1. Munafik jika Anies tidak ingin kursi RI-1.* (After winning the seat of Jakarta governor, Anies is very potential to win the Indonesian president position. It is a hipocrisy if Anies does not want it) (article 9, paragraph 13)

Anies was also assessed as unauthentic in the sense that whatever he is doing is not original, not sincere and only to project a good image for himself.

The second aspect of Anies widely scrutinized by writers is his supporting groups which were portrayed as radical, intolerant, and ignorant. Anies' supporters were also seen as those who want to replace Indonesian democracy with Islamic system and to replace Indonesian united statehood in khilafah. Anies victory was seen as the victory of anti-Pancasila groups. This is a very serious allegation since Pancasila is Indonesia's ideology and the basis for all laws in the country.

*Selama ini kita tahu bahwa Anies Sandi adalah pasangan gubernur dan wakil gubernur yang didukung oleh ormas radikal nan intoleran. Bahkan ormas pendukung Anies Sandi ada yang sudah dibubarkan oleh pemerintah karena berseberangan dengan Perppu Ormas Anti Pancasila.* (We have known it that Anies-Sandi are the candidate for governor and vice governor supported by intolerant radical groups which some of them already been disbanded by the government as they have violated Law about Mass Organization and Pancasila) (article 6 paragraph 1)

*Maka tidak berlebihan jika kemenangan Anies Sandi dapat dikatakan sebagai kemenangan ormas radikal nan anti Pancasila* (It is fair to say that Anies victory is actually the victory of anti-Pancasila radical groups) (article 6, paragraph 3)

*Gaya blusukan Jokowi pun ditiru agar ambisi untuk menjadi RI-1, maju menyingkirkan Prabowo berhasil. Itu mimpi kebablasan Anies pada hari 1 dilantik menjadi pemimpin 58% manusia Bumi datar DKI Jakarta.* (The blusukan strategy of Jokowi was copied by Anies to serve his ambition to be Indonesian president. That is too much a dream for the leader of 58% flat-earthers) (article 1, paragraph 13)

Anies' close relationship with radical groups is believed affecting his strategies in winning the Jakarta gubernatorial election. Anies was seen as implementing a strategy that highly segregating the society and even endangering Indonesia's unity. Anies and his supporters

were accused of exploiting sensitive issues such as SARA<sup>1</sup> which particularly aimed at cornering Indonesian Chinese and Ahok as its central figure.

*Saya yakin Anies paham tentang Inpres No. 26 ini. Saya menduga ada udang dibalik batu dibalik pernyataan kontroversi ini. Entah apa tujuan Anies menyebut istilah pribumi, saat ini yang tahu hanya dia dengan Tuhan. Yang pasti pidato Anies kembali membuat suasana gaduh. Pendukung Ahok yang sedang mencoba move on kembali dibuat kecewa dengan pernyataan Anies yang sarat akan sara. (I am sure Anies is aware about the Presidential Instruction No. 26. I suspect there is a ‘shrimp behind the stone’ [a parable implying a hidden agenda] behind this controversial statement. I do not know what Anies’ intent by uttering the term indigenous people. What I know is that this speech has created a rowdy atmosphere. Ahok's supporters who are trying to move on are again disappointed with Anies' SARA statement) (article 9, paragraph 3)*

*Apalagi menggunakan isu-isu SARA yang bisa merobek tenun kebangsaan, bisa mengedorkan sendi-sendi kebangsaan, sangat berbahaya sekali (exploiting the SARA issues can tear down the unity of the nation which is very dangerous) (article 8, paragraph 12)*

*Tampaknya, politisasi SARA yang sebelumnya dihidupi dengan begitu bergelora telah meninggalkan jejak yang permanen di dalam jiwanya. Dan hal itu terbukti hari ini (16/10/2017). Pidato pelantikan Anies menceritakan semuanya. (Apparently, the politicization of SARA which had previously been so vibrant lived has left a permanent imprint on his soul. And it was proven today (16/10/2017). Anies's inaugural speech tells the whole story) (article 7, paragraph 1)*

The way writers assessed Anies’ supporting groups and election strategy brought them to discuss the issue of indigenous people. Here the writers were trapped in a paradox. All writers talking about indigenous people urged people not to use the term in their interaction – especially in political encounters, hence they criticized Anies for using this term in his acceptance speech as Jakarta governor. These writers accused Anies of segregating the society and discriminating those deemed as non-indigenous groups. However, these writers were also assessed Anies’ level of indigenous-ness. They were extensively questioning Anies’ indigenous-ness. They claimed that Anies are not credible to talk about indigenous people because he himself does not belong to Indonesian indigenous people. This argument implies that indigenous people as a term and as a socio-political category does exist, and hence contrasting writers’ claim that there is no indigenous people in Indonesia.

Apart from Anies and the issue of indigenous people, writers also aimed their assessment to Jakarta people, both Anies’ supporters and Ahok’s supporters. Most of them label Anies’ supporters as radical, intolerant and ignorant. They used the term “kaum bumi datar” or the flat-earthers to imply that Anies supporters were not using their logic and they live in the darkness just like those in the medieval century who believe that the earth is flat. In contrast, they label Ahok’s supporters as rational and the proponent of pluralism. Writers tend to label

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<sup>1</sup> SARA stands for “suku, agama, ras, dan antar golongan” or ethnic, religion, race, and group, something taboo to be discussed in the public. This is the legacy of New Order regime that do not want people to talk about SARA-related issues that is considered as sensitive and dangerous.

Ahok's supporters as the true defender of Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia (NKRI or the unitary state of Republic of Indonesia) and categorize Anies' supporters as Muslim fanatics who have the tendency to change Indonesia into khilafah under Islamic regime and system. However, there is a writer who urged Jakarta people to support Anies-Sandi as the new governor and vice governor regardless the candidate they voted for during the election.

*What references used by articles' writers in assessing Anies and Anies-Sandi?*

There are five big groups of references used by opinion articles in commenting about Anies and Anies-Sandi, namely:

1. Writers' own opinion and analysis
2. Events and socio-political situation during the campaign period and their impacts toward society
3. Statements and promises made by Anies
4. Government regulations
5. Others

Writers' opinion and analysis dominated the references (59 out of 98 identified references). It shows that these opinion article writers do not really care to support their opinion with external references. They take the advantage of freedom of expression to deliver their assessment about Anies and Anies-Sandi. They also offered their own analysis about the situation, future political constellation and why things happened the way they did.

*Anies akan membuang Prabowo dan menantang Presiden Jokowi di 2019.* (Anies will dispose of Prabowo and challenge President Jokowi in 2019) (article 1, paragraph 1).

*Saya yakin JK tentu tidak ingin kehilangan pengaruh setelah lengser nanti. Mengorbitkan Anies bisa menjadi alternatif dirinya untuk menanamkan pengaruhnya di Indonesia.* (I'm sure that JK certainly did not want to lose influence when he is no longer in the government. Orbiting Anies could be an alternative for himself to instill influence in Indonesia) (article 9, paragraph 15).

*Namun, sekali lagi, berkat kemampuan mencitrakan diri yang aduhai, dia mulus masuk. Pernyataannya yang mengecam dengan elegan terhadap Prabowo dan Timses-nya membuat dia menjadi magnet kalangan rasional. Bahkan setelah kemenangan Jokowi, atas rekomendasi Jusuf Kalla ke Rini Soemarno, Anies yang dinilai sukses di dunia pendidikan, dipercaya menjadi Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (semua tahu akhirnya dia dipecat).* (However, again, thanks to his fantastic imaging capabilities, he smoothly enters the inner circle (of Jokowi). His eloquent criticism of Prabowo and his success team made him as a magnet for rational people. Even after Jokowi's victory, on the recommendation of Jusuf Kalla to Rini Soemarno, Anies who was considered successful in education was then named as Minister of Education and Culture (all people are aware that he was finally fired) (article 1, paragraph 8).

This shows us that there is no more knowledge/expertise authority in online sphere. Online sphere is a democratized sphere as argued by Poster (1995). People engage in online debate,

as shown by these opinion articles, are very confident to offer their own assessment and analysis even without a formal degree or proven experience in the area. People tend to deny knowledge-based hierarchy within the online debate, one thing that still applicable and well recognized in off-line interaction such as in conventional media as well as education and governmental institutions.

The second clear tendency is the opinion writers' focus toward Anies. Three strands of external references they used were all focusing on Anies. The first strand of reference was events and socio-political situation during the campaign period and their impacts toward society. Here the writers highlighted events took place during the campaign period such as:

*Setelah serangkaian proses politisasi ayat Al-Maidah besutannya Buni Yani dan demo nomor togel berjilid-jilid, serta ngancem-ngancem mayat, akhirnya Jakarta hari ini punya pemimpin baru, yaitu bapak Anies Baswedan dan bapak Sandiaga Uno.* (After a series of politicization of Al-Maidah verse by Buni Yani and series of rallies and threatening the corpses, finally Jakarta today have new leaders, namely Mr. Anies Baswedan and Mr. Sandiaga Uno) (article 2, paragraph 1).

*Jika Anies-Sandi gagal dalam membawa Jakarta lebih baik dari sebelumnya, yang sangat terpuuk semestinya yang memilihnya. Karena dengan berbagai cara dilakukan untuk memenangkannya. Dari menyentil sentimen agama sampai sentimen suku bangsa.* (If Anies and Sandi fail in bringing Jakarta better than before, the worst hit should be those who have voted for them. They employed all ways possible to win the election, utilizing religious sentiments to ethnic sentiments) (article 3, paragraph 14).

*Bahkan sempat seorang Haji Djarot pun diusir dari rumah ibadatnya, hanya karena ia dianggap menjadi wakil dari Ahok. Keberpihakan semacam ini adalah bentuk keberpihakan kepada intoleransi dan ontaleransi.* (There was even an event when Haji Djarot was expelled from his own worshipping house just because he was considered as a representative of Ahok. This kind of alignment is a form of alignment to intolerance and ontaleransi (article 6, paragraph 7).

Segregation within the society caused by campaigning actions and discourses; and the widespread use of SARA issues (including the issue of indigenous people) to gain support from potential voters. These highlights were mostly negative and aimed to share a negative impression toward Anies and Anies-Sandi. The second strand of external reference was Anies' statements and campaign promises. Anies' acceptance speech as new governor of Jakarta, delivered in his inauguration, 16 October 2017, was used by these writers to corner Anies. They focus their attack on Anies statement on his acceptance speech which includes the notion of indigenous people. While Anies and his supporters said that the statement was referred to Jakarta's history as a place in which local people experience the colonialism that should not take a place for the second time, but all the writers referred to it as Anies' deliberate strategy to segregate the society and further cornering Ahok and Chinese minority groups. Writers mockingly question the right of Anies in bringing about such issue. According to writers, Anies is not competent to talk about indigenous people because he himself does not belong to Indonesian indigenous people. This is a paradox given the fact that

these writers opposing the use of 'indigenous people' term and denying its existence while at the same time they use it to negate Anies' credibility in talking about the issue. The third strand of external reference is government regulation. Here the only one government regulation quoted was Presidential Instruction No. 26/1998 on The Termination of the Use of the terms of Pribumi (Indigenous People) and Non Pribumi (Non-Indigenous People). Writers brought this external reference for two purposes. First, to mock Anies as ignorant that even he belongs to intellectual group (he was a rector of a well-known private university; he is the initiator of education volunteering movement Indonesia Mengajar and he was minister of national education) but he did not know that the use of the term 'indigenous people' is prohibited and its existence is no longer recognized by the Government of Indonesia. Second, to portray Anies as someone who violated a regulation (presidential instruction) and hence he is not fit for the position that requires him to embrace all groups. External reference that falls into the 'others' category were 'white color' and its semiotic meaning. White is associated with Muslims that implies Anies prioritize Muslim and will neglect others. It is one way to delegitimize Anies' suitability to be in the position of Jakarta governor.

## Discussion

There are four main findings arise from the analysis of opinion articles published on *Seward.com*. First, Mark Poster's argument that online sphere presents a more democratic sphere where people can share opinions without considering the level of expertise about what is being said. No less than 60% of the references used by writers to support their opinion is their personal judgment. They do not seem to need to quote the opinions of experts or observers who are generally considered more knowledgeable, nor do they feel the need to strengthen their opinions with the data. This shows that they are confident in their own opinions and show that they are equal to anyone, including with experts who in offline interaction are still highly respected and heard.

Second, the fragmentation of issue really took place. Anies in his acceptance speech underscored the need to build social welfare and justice for all citizens of Jakarta by citing Jakarta's current strategic position as well as in the past. However, the content of this speech was addressed by debating the position of the indigenous and non-indigenous population simply because there was an 'indigenous' term in Anies' speech. This shows that *Seward.com*'s opinion writers were bowing to their own understanding of the term 'pribumi' (indigenous people) and neglecting the context of the term in Anies's speech which actually refers to all Jakartans as opposed to the colonial ruler.

Third, the opinion articles in *Seward.com* defy Brewer's argument that said any interaction related to in-group and out-group are mostly "consist of pro-in-group bias rather than anti-out-group bias" (1979, 1999 cited in McKinley, Mastro, and Warber, 2014, p.3). *Seward.com*'s opinion articles show anti-out-group bias rather than pro-in-group bias. This is evident from the dominance of negative assessments toward Anies and Anies-Sandi's programs. Very few of these opinion articles discussed or defended Ahok. Most assessments were on Anies, especially on his personal character which described very negatively as hypocritical, opportunistic, and ambitious in pursuing the public position.

Fourth, these opinion articles indicate the contradiction in the attitude of the opinion authors toward the term pribumi (indigenous people). They criticized Anies for using the term, but they did criticize him by assessing Anies' level of indigenous-ness. This is not only pointing out the contradictions on the part of opinion authors but also indicates that the term 'pribumi' and its definitions do exist and socio-politically have positions and roles in Indonesian contemporary society.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1. List of Coded Articles and Their Metrics

No	Title of the Articles, Names of writers and URLs	About Indigenous People	About Anies Baswedan	Others	Comment	Recommend	Share
1	<a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/anies-dilantik-jadi-gubernur:-buang-prabowo-untuk-tantang-jokowi-jadi-ri-1">Anies Dilantik Jadi Gubernur: Buang Prabowo untuk Tantang Jokowi Jadi RI 1</a>		1		34	11	0
	Ninoy N. Karundeng <a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/anies-dilantik-jadi-gubernur:-buang-prabowo-untuk-tantang-jokowi-jadi-ri-1">https://www.Seword.com/politik/anies-dilantik-jadi-gubernur:-buang-prabowo-untuk-tantang-jokowi-jadi-ri-1</a>						
2	<a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/puji-tuhan-alhamdulillah-hari-ini-jakarta-punya-pemimpin-baru">Puji Tuhan Alhamdulillah, Hari Ini Jakarta Punya Pemimpin Baru</a>		1		76	8	0
	Argo <a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/puji-tuhan-alhamdulillah-hari-ini-jakarta-punya-pemimpin-baru">https://www.Seword.com/politik/puji-tuhan-alhamdulillah-hari-ini-jakarta-punya-pemimpin-baru</a>						
3	<a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/selamat-datang-gubernur-dki-yang-baru-akan-banyak-yang-iri-jika-janji-janjimu-terpenuhi">Selamat Datang Gubernur DKI yang Baru, Akan Banyak yang Iri Jika Janji-janjimu Terpenuhi</a>		1		54	8	0
	Cak Anton <a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/selamat-datang-gubernur-dki-yang-baru-akan-banyak-yang-iri-jika-janji-janjimu-terpenuhi">https://www.Seword.com/politik/selamat-datang-gubernur-dki-yang-baru-akan-banyak-yang-iri-jika-janji-janjimu-terpenuhi</a>						
4	<a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/apakah-anies-baswedan-seorang-pribumi?">Apakah Anies Baswedan Seorang Pribumi?</a>	1			27	13	0
	Daniel Setiawan <a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/apakah-anies-baswedan-seorang-pribumi">https://www.Seword.com/politik/apakah-anies-baswedan-seorang-pribumi</a>						
5	<a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/kepada-gubernur-baru-ingat-jakarta-punya-semua-orang">Kepada Gubernur Baru Ingat Jakarta Punya Semua Orang</a>		1		0	4	0
	Hisar Ivan Hutabarat <a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/kepada-gubernur-baru-ingat-jakarta-punya-semua-orang">https://www.Seword.com/politik/kepada-gubernur-baru-ingat-jakarta-punya-semua-orang</a>						
6	<a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/absu-didoakan-pendeta-dan-pribumi-harus-toleran">ABSU Didoakan Pendeta dan Pribumi Harus Toleran</a>	1			9	5	0
	Hysebastian <a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/absu-didoakan-pendeta-dan-pribumi-harus-toleran">https://www.Seword.com/politik/absu-didoakan-pendeta-dan-pribumi-harus-toleran</a>						
7	<a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/anies-yang-rasis?ketika-supremasi-pribumi-diteriakan-seorang-keturunan-arab">Anies yang Rasis? Ketika Supremasi Pribumi Diteriakan Seorang Keturunan Arab</a>		1		47	15	0
	Nikki Tirta <a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/anies-yang-rasis-ketika-supremasi-pribumi-diteriakan-seorang-keturunan-arab">https://www.Seword.com/politik/anies-yang-rasis-ketika-supremasi-pribumi-diteriakan-seorang-keturunan-arab</a>						
8	<a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/apa-yang-aneh-ketika-anies-baswedan-memakai-kata-pribumi">Apa yang Aneh ketika Anies Baswedan Memakai kata pribumi</a>	1			7	7	0
	Glen Joshua <a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/apa-yang-">https://www.Seword.com/politik/apa-yang-</a>						

	aneh-ketika-anies-baswedan-memakai-kata-pribumi					
9	<a href="#">Polemik Pribumi, Anies Tak Perlu Khawatir, Ada JK yang Membelanya</a>	1			23	8
	Saefudin Achmad					
	<a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/polemik-pribumi-anies-tak-perlu-khawatir-ada-jk-yang-membelanya">https://www.Seword.com/politik/polemik-pribumi-anies-tak-perlu-khawatir-ada-jk-yang-membelanya</a>					
10	<a href="#">Pakaian, Identitas, dan Pesan Penyingkiran</a>	1			8	10
	Siti Zainatul Umaroh					
	<a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/pakaian-identitas-dan-pesan-penyingkiran">https://www.Seword.com/politik/pakaian-identitas-dan-pesan-penyingkiran</a>					

## Appendix 2. Target of Statements

Target of Statements	Tone of Statements*			Total
	Positive	Neutral	Negative	
Anies Baswedan	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(1); (0); (1); (8); (1); (0); (2); (6); (4); (0) = (23)	(16); (2); (0); (7); (2); (0); (6); (9); (5); (0) = (47)	70
Anies-Sandi	(0); (0); (2); (0); (0); (4); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (6)	(0); (3); (5); (1); (5); (6); (0); (0); (0); (7) = (27)	(2); (4); (4); (0); (4); (0); (1); (0); (1); (4) = (20)	53
Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (1); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (2)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0); (0) = (1)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	3
Ahok-Djarot	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0) = (1)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	1
Supporter Anies-Sandi	(0); (0); (2); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (2)	(0); (0); (3); (0); (0); (4); (0); (1); (0); (0) = (8)	(0); (1); (1); (0); (0); (6); (0); (0); (2); (0) = (10)	20
Supporter Ahok-Djarot	(0); (0); (3); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (3)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0); (1); (1); (0) = (3)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	6
Prabowo	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (1)	1
JK	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (7); (0) = (7)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0) = (1)	8
FPI	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(1); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (1)	1
HTI	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0); (0); (0) = (1)	1

Pandji Pragiwaksono	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (1); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (1)	1
prominent supporter of Ahok and Djarot	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	0
Jokowi	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (2); (0) = (2)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	2
Sandiaga Uno	(0); (0); (0); (0) (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0) (1); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (1)	1
Jakarta people	(1); (0); (0); (0); (3); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (4)	(0); (0); (1); (0); (2); (0); (0); (1); (0); (1) = (5)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	9
Indonesian people	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0); (0); (0) = (1)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (1)	2
Article's readers	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (1)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (3); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (3)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (2); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (2)	6
Writer	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (2); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0); (0) = (1)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	1
Anies-Sandi's program	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0) (1); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (1)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	1
History of Indonesian people	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0); (0); (0) = (1)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	1
Book source	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0); (0); (2) = (3)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	3
Javanese proverb	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1) = (1)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	1
White color and white dres	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (5) = (5)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	5
Color selection and color's political meaning	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (3) = (3)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	3
Human appearance	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1) = (1)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	1

\*sequence of bracket with number reflects the sequence of article

Yellow = Actors within the category of prominent supporters of Anies-Sandi

Pink = Actors which coded as 'other'

### Appendix 3. Specific Language Attributes - Strong Words

Article	Paragraph	Words and/or terms
1	Title	Buang (throw away); tantang (challenge)
1	Par. 1	Buang (throw away); tantang (challenge)
1	Subheading 1	Ambisius (Ambitious)
1	Par. 2	Ambisius (Ambitious); penuh pencitraan (full of staged behaviors); kehidupannya jauh dari idealisme AR Baswedan (his life is a far cry from AR Baswedan's idealism, note: AR Baswedan is Anies' grandfather and one of Indonesia's national hero)
1	Par. 4	diam-diam (silently); faksi garis keras Muhammadiyah (hardliners faction of Muhammadiyah)
1	Par. 5	oportunis (opportunist); pencitraan (projecting good image);
1	Subheading 2	membuang (dumped) Prabowo
1	Par. 10	nekat (recklessly, desperately)
1	Subheading 3	Balas dendam (revenge) to Jokowi
1	Par. 11	dendam (revenge); makin bernafsu (more passionate) [to be the next president]
1	Par. 13	ambisi (ambition); menyingkirkan Prabowo (eliminate Prabowo); manusia bumi datar (flat-earthers)
3	Par. 1	Pasangan Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur Anies Sandi sudah terpilih dengan sah dalam proses demokrasi (Governor and vice governor Anies-Sandi have been elected legitimately through a democratic process)
4	Par. 13	Anies mencederai keberagaman Indonesia; Anies telah mengingkari keinginannya berdiri di atas semua pihak (Anies tears up Indonesia's diversity; Anies denies his own promise to stand for everyone)
5	Par. 17	Firza (name of a woman which said as having an affair with Habib Rizieq, the leader of FPI, one of Anies' primary supporting organizations)
6	Par. 4	direbut (seized by)
6	Par. 9	Ontaleran (intolerant combined with onta, Indonesian word for camel, the way Ahok-Djarot's supporters mockingly identify Anies-Sandi's supporters)
7	Par. 2	begitu rusak (very bad); bedebah sekali caranya (a means that is very bad)

7	Par. 3	sebelum mulut Anies berbunyi (before Anies' mouth rings). The use of words "mouth" and "ring" is considered impolite in Indonesian culture.
8	Title	aneh (strange)
8	Par. 3	sangat-sangat blunder (a serious blunder)
8	Par. 6	mulut Anda (your mouth). An impolite utterance in Indonesian culture
9	Par. 2	hanya bualan belaka (it was only a joke)
9	Par. 13	Munafik (hipocrite)
10	Par. 7	kultus dewa raja (king god cult)
10	Par. 16	pelenyapan (annihilation); pembersihan (extermination); menghantui (haunted); mimpi buruk (nightmare)
10	Par. 17	kamufase (camouflage)
10	Par. 20	kekonyolan (a joke)
10	Par. 21	gegabah (reckless)

#### Appendix 4. Specific Language Attributes - Figurative Speech

Article	Paragraph	Figurative Speeches
1	Title	Buang (throw away); tantang (challenge)
1	Par. 1	Buang (throw away); tantang (challenge)
1	Par. 8	Magnet (the magnet) for rational voters
1	Par. 13	mimpi kebablasan (too much dream)
2	Par. 4	janji angin sorgawi (literally means 'the promise of wind of heaven', but usually understood as something too good to be true.
2	Par. 5	Perang Badar (the Badar war, one of wars in the time of Prophet Muhammad pbuh)
2	Par. 6	Perang Badar (the Badar war, one of wars in the time of Prophet Muhammad pbuh)
3	Par. 6	angin surga (wind of heaven, a parable of almost impossible-to-materialize promises)
4	Par. 1	...banyak harapan warga Jakarta yang ditaruh di pundak Anies Baswedan, ... (there many many hopes of Jakarta people are put on anies' shoulders)
4	Par. 10	merobek tenun kebangsaan (tear out the weave of nationhood); merobek (tear out' rip off)
6	Par. 17	you say you pay

7	Par. 1	Lumpur yang menelan mereka sudah terlalu pekat, terlalu gelap menghisap (the mud that absorbed them is too thick and and too dark)
7	Par. 2	membakar kembali isu SARA (flaming the SARA issues)
8	Par. 6	tenun kebangsaan (the weave of nationhood)
8	Par. 12	Apalagi menggunakan isu-isu SARA yang bisa merobek tenun kebangsaan, bisa mengedorkan sendi-sendi kebangsaan, sangat berbahaya sekali
9	Par. 4	Mengharapkan salju di musim panas (hoping for snow during summer)
9	Par. 5	Selain telah memiliki jabatan, ada faktor lain yang membuat Anies lebih percaya diri untuk melontarkan pernyataan yang dia suka. Posisi Anies semakin kuat. Dia mendapat dukungan dari Wakil Presiden Jusuf Kalla. Selain itu, Gerindra dan PKS juga siap menjadi bampor untuk Anies.

### Appendix 5. Specific Language Attributes - Sarcasm

Article	Paragraph	Sarcasm
1	Par. 1	Selamat (congratulation)
1	Par. 2	Dengan bahasa santun menawan hati semua makhluk di Bumi (using the polite language that captivates all beings on Earth); Top (fabulous; superb)
1	Par. 6	Sama sekali tidak terbayangkan oleh publik bahwa Anies akan ngomong DP NOL persen yang sangat tidak rasional itu pada saat itu (the public has never imagined that Anies will put [a complete nonsense of] 0% housing downpayment as one of his campaign promises)
1	Par. 8	semua tahu akhirnya dia dipecat (Everyone knows that eventually Anies was sacked from his position as Minister of Education)
1	Par. 11	Nah, sifat pribadi dan konstelasi politik yang berkembang, ditambah adanya dendam terhadap Jokowi karena dipecat dan dukungan Jusuf Kalla, dipastikan akan membuat Anies semakin bernafsu untuk menjadi calon presiden (Well, personal trait, current political constellation coupled with a grudge against Jokowi for sacking him [as minister of national education] as well as the support from Jusuf Kalla, will certainly make Anies increasingly eager to become a presidential candidate)
2	Title	Puji Tuhan Alhamdulillah, Hari Ini Jakarta Punya Pemimpin Baru?
2	Par. 4	entah ini downgrade atau bukan (I don't know ehther it is a downgrade or not)
2	Par. 5	Gusti ora Sare (Javanese proverb which means 'God has never been sleeping', implying that whoever committed good and bad deeds will get the appropriate rewards)
3	Subheading 1	Janji kampanye tidak mesti ditepati

3	Subheading 2	<b>Janji kampanye itu surga jika terwujud</b>
3	Par. 7	janji lebih indah (more attractive promise)
4	Title	Apakah Anies Baswedan Seorang Pribumi? (Is anies belongs to indigenous people?)
4	Par. 15	Darimana Anies Baswedan bisa mengklaim dirinya adalah pribumi? Apakah karena Kakeknya turut serta memperjuangkan kemerdekaan Indonesia, sehingga layak disebut dengan kata pribumi? (How come anies claim himself as indigenous people? Is it because his grandfather was a national hero fighting for Indonesian independence?)
5	Par. 2	Sang Gubernur barupun terlihat rendah hati sekali, kemarin itu diantar dengan mobil biasa tidak perlu mobil mewah. Katanya sih mau ke istana naik Helikopter pinjaman rekannya yang pengusaha itu tapi malu mau ngomong sama Pak Presiden yang katanya ndeso itu. Moso helikopter sudah pinjam, helipadnya juga pinjam terus sampeyan modalnya apa (the new governor seemed so humble. He went to his inauguration in the presidential palace usiang ordinary, not the luxury car. Rumours said that he previously plan to go to the palace using his friends' helicopter but he was so embarrassed to the president who is very humble and characterized as 'backward'. When he borrow both the helicopter and the helipad, so what do you actually have, Sir?).
5	Par. 10	Kapan lagi boo bisa punya rumah di Jakarta. Ingat ya, di Jakarta bukan pinggiran Jakarta (when will again in the history we can afford a house in Jakarta. Be aware, in Jakarta, not in the outskirts of it)
5	Par. 11	Ketika anda membohongi diri anda sebenarnya anda sudah mengingkari keluarga anda juga secara tidak langsung itu seharusnya menjadi pemikiran anda di awal pencaangan program ini (when you lied to yourself, it is actually you lied to your whole family and you have had thought about it before)
7	Title	Ketika Supremasi Pribumi Diteriakan Seorang Keturunan Arab (when the indigenous people supremacy is urged by an Arab descendant)
7	Par. 2	Apakah seorang keturunan Arab seperti Anies termasuk kalangan pribumi sebagaimana dengan yang dia maksud? (is an Arab descendant like Anies is considered indigeneous people?)
7	Par. 9	Heh Tong (Hi kid, implying impoliteness); jangan-jangan lu juga setengah "pribumi" lagi (perhaps you yourself [Anies] who is only half indigenous).
8	Par. 4	mantan menteri pendidikan (former minister of education)
8	Par. 14	Ditambah, semenjak mengenal kekuasaan, anda memang sudah menjadi pribadi yang berbeda (moreover, you have become a different person since you taste the power)
8	Par. 17	sudah ada peraturan Presiden untuk menghentikan penggunaan kata pribumi dan non-pribumi, apakah bapak yang pernah menjabat sebagai Menteri Pendidikan tidak tahu akan hal ini? (the is presidential decree prohibiting the use of indigenous people term, don't you as former minister of education, aware of it?)
9	Par. 2	Tentu lucu mendengar Anies berbicara soal pribumi padahal dia sendiri adalah keturunan Arab (it is funny to hear Anies talking about indigenous people while he is an Arab descent).

9	Par. 4	Dengan jabatan barunya, saya yakin Anies semakin tidak ragu lagi untuk melontarkan pernyataan yang dia suka, termasuk kritik sana-sini (A new position [as Jakarta governor] will make Anies feel free to talk about anything, including criticizing here and there). Mengharapkan karakter Anies seperti Ahok yang melayani rakyat seperti mengharapkan salju di musim panas (Hoping that Anies will be like Ahok who is sincerely serving the public is like hoping for a snow during summer).
10	Par. 5	Sepanjang masa-masa kampanye, Anies-Sandi sibuk bersolek dan mendandani diri untuk terlihat menjadi "pemimpin Islami dan bersih" sebagai jualan mereka. Gaya berpakaian islami juga sering ditampilkan dari partainya yang dikenal jelas juga berbasis orang abangan. Kesan islami dan penampilan sahaja melalui busana mudah memikat hati dan menjaring suara mayoritas pemilih yang beragama Islam dalam kontestasi Pilkada.

### Appendix 6. Specific Language Attributes - Insinuation

Article	Paragraph	Insinuation
1	Par. 2	Anies menampakkan diri sebagai pribadi yang santun, elok, dengan tutur kata penuh kebijaksanaan tanpa cela (Anies appeared to be a polite, elegant person, with a flawless word of wisdom)
1	Par. 3	Anies projects himself as a Pancasilaist, a lover of NKRI, pluralism, diversity, Pancasila, care for the nation's children's education, intellectual, and humble. The result of the whole series [of these projections] is that he is able to strategically seize the University of Paramadina, the symbol of pluralism laid out by one of the fathers of the nation, Nurcholis Madjid.
1	Par. 5	pameran tentang penghargaan yang ia terima dari luar negeri dan dalam negeri (showing off his awards from overseas and domestic)
1	Par. 6	menampakkan diri menjadi bagian kaum intelektual (Anies projects himself as part of intellectuals)
1	Par. 7	Persentuhannya dengan kalangan yang jauh dari idealisme Nawa Cita Jokowi (his interaction with the groups who are not supporting Jokowi's nine agendas)
1	Par. 8	mencitrakan diri (to project good self image)
1	Par. 12	Godaan untuk mengikuti jejak Jokowi menjadi semakin menghantuinya. Segala hal yang berbau Jokowi ditiru, bahkan dalam pembuatan foto pun, dia menampilkan diri di daerah kumuh, meminta lap dari jongosnya dengan bersilang kaki.
1	Par. 13	Gaya blusukan Jokowi pun ditiru (Anies copy the blusukan style of Jokowi)
2	Par. 1	politisasi ayat (politicizing the Qur'anic verse); demo togel berjilid-jilid (series of rally); ngancam-ngancam mayat (threatening the death bodies).

2	Par. 35	Janji-janji itu harus ditepati agar tak ada dusta di antara kita (those promises must be fulfilled so that there will be no lies between us)
4	Title	Apakah Anies Baswedan Seorang Pribumi? (Is anies belongs to indigenous people?)
4	Par. 7	Jika benar demikian, tentu kita sangat miris mendengarnya. Karena selama ini pengrusakan yang dilakukan oleh Basuki Tjahaja Purnama maupun Djarot adalah untuk memindahkan warga Jakarta yang tinggal di tempat kumuh dan dipindahkan ke tempat yang lebih layak. Jika itu dimaksudkan dengan penjajahan kolonial masa kini, maka Anies Baswedan salah besar.
4	Par. 9	Apa yang dimaksudkan dengan pribumi yang ditindas dan dikalahkan? Apakah maksud Anies bahwa selama ini Jakarta dipimpin oleh seorang yang bukan pribumi? Dan apakah Anies menganggap bahwa Basuki Tjahaja Purnama itu bukan orang pribumi? Sehingga dianggap menindas pribumi?
4	Par. 14	Jika kita ingin memperlakukan tentang pribumi dan non-pribumi, kita juga ingin mempertanyakan apakah Anies Baswedan termasuk seorang pribumi? Karena kita tahu Anies Baswedan adalah keturunan Arab. Dan apakah keturunan Arab dibedakan dengan keturunan India, Pakistan, Tionghoa dan lainnya? Sehingga yang lainnya boleh dibilang non-pribumi sedangkan keturunan Arab boleh dibilang pribumi?
4	Par. 15	Darimana Anies Baswedan bisa mengklaim dirinya adalah pribumi? Apakah karena Kakeknya turut serta memperjuangkan kemerdekaan Indonesia, sehingga layak disebut dengan kata pribumi? Bagaimana dengan keturunan Tionghoa yang juga sama-sama turut serta memperjuangkan kemerdekaan Indonesia seperti Siauw Giok Tjhan yang turut serta dalam perjuangan kemerdekaan Indonesia, apakah tidak layak disebut pribumi?
5	Par. 14	Korupsi adalah musuh bersama warga Jakarta. Jadi jangan khianat terhadap amanah dari rakyat. Menjaga uang APBD adalah otoritas anda berdua, jumlahnya luar biasa besar. Lebih dari tujuh puluh trilyun dalam masa satu tahun yang dianggarkan Provinsi ini untuk bisa terus maju sejajar dengan kota besar lainnya. Dengan anggaran besar tersebut anda berdua harusnya bisa membuat skema penerimaan dan pengeluaran yang transparan tanpa perlu birokrasi tertutup yang biasanya menggoda keimanan seseorang menjadi runtuh.
5	Par. 16	tidak perlu gengsi (don't be ashamed to copy Ahok's good programs)
5	Par. 17	Tuanku yang baru (my newly majesty)

6	Par. 1	Selama ini kita tahu bahwa Anies Sandi adalah pasangan gubernur dan wakil gubernur yang didukung oleh ormas radikal nan intoleran. Bahkan ormas pendukung Anies Sandi ada yang sudah dibubarkan oleh pemerintah (we have known it for a while that Anies and Sandi are governor and vice governor supported by intolerant radical groups. Some of those groups have been disbanded by the government)
6	Par. 3	Maka tidak berlebihan jika kemenangan Anies Sandi dapat dikatakan sebagai kemenangan ormas radikal nan anti Pancasila (It is fair to say that the victory of Anies-Sandi IS the victory of radical group that opposing Pancasila), karena apa yang sudah digembar-gemborkan di rumah-rumah ibadat, berhasil membuat para pengikutnya ketakutan dan tidak berani memilih gubernur baik ([the agitation] loudly socialized through woshipping places [mosques] made their supporters fear (the wrath of God] and finally did not vote for the good governor [Ahok]))
6	Par. 5	Apapun cara yang ditempuh, tetap saja dianggap sah (whatever the means [to win the election] was, it is still considered as legitimate).
6	Par. 13	Karena kita tahu bahwa seseorang dianggap manusia jika mereka menjalankan apa yang sudah dikatakan. Jika tidak, maka, panggillah mereka dengan sebutan... Ah sudah lah... Tidak perlu saya lanjutkan... Nanti saya dipersekusi.
6	Par. 16	Apapun motivasinya, mereka tertunduk dan ikut berdoa, dengan tata cara Kristen (whatever the motivation was, they wee solemnly praying among the congregate that use the Christian liturgy)
7	Par. 2	Entah apa maksudnya, ingin menggaet media dan perhatian publik hingga ia mengeluarkan pernyataan yang begitu rusak? Apakah karena begitu kesalnya ia pada kondisi pemberitaan media yang tidak pernah meliput dirinya setelah pilkada DKI Jakarta? Kalau hanya demi penaikan pamor dan citra, bedebah sekali caranya. Membakar kembali isu SARA antara “pribumi” dan “non-pribumi”. Namun pertanyaannya, siapakah yang pribumi maupun yang non pribumi? Apakah seorang keturunan Arab seperti Anies termasuk kalangan pribumi sebagaimana dengan yang dia maksud?
7	Par. 6	Sebagian suku yang dahulunya pendatang ini telah menetap, beranak cucu, dan secara turun temurun menjadi kelompok suku yang membentuk komposisi dari ragam etnik di Indonesia. Selama 1000 tahun lebih para pendatang ini telah hadir dan menetap di sini. Pertanyaannya sekarang, jikalau memakai logika Anies yang masih belum jelas itu, siapakah mereka? “pribumi” atau “non-pribumi”? Lalu bagaimana dengan keluarga Anies sendiri yang almarhum kakeknya sendiri merupakan seorang pendatang dari jazirah Arab?

7	Par. 9	Heh tong dari zaman nenek moyang lu masih getok-getokan pake batu, gugusan pulau-pulau Nusantara udah jadi ajang pertukarang budaya dan manusia. Karena itu sejarah bangsa kita dibangun oleh beragam budaya dan aliran agama besar di wilayah Asia. Mulai dari Hinduisme, Budhisme, Konfusioneisme, dan masih banyak lagi. Jadi coba cek dulu di garis keturunan nenek moyang lu itu, jangan-jangan lu juga setengah “pribumi” lagi.
8	Par. 3	Jadi yang perlu digaris bawah yang dikatakan Anies bukanlah sebuah ketidaksengajaan seperti seorang yang sedang berada di penjara (so we need to underline that what was said by Anies was not unintentional, the one said by someone in the prison [Ahok] was)
8	Par. 7	Lalu bagaimana dengan warga keturunan Arab yang, jika anda lupa, mengalir di darah anda sendiri? (So, how about the Arab blood that runs in you?)
8	Par. 10	ketika anda masih mempunyai kepribadian yang berbeda dari hari ini (when your character was not the one you have now)
8	Par. 14	Ditambah, semenjak mengenal kekuasaan, anda memang sudah menjadi pribadi yang berbeda (moreover, you have become a different person since you taste the power)
8	Par. 17	sudah ada peraturan Presiden untuk menghentikan penggunaan kata pribumi dan non-pribumi, apakah bapak yang pernah menjabat sebagai Menteri Pendidikan tidak tahu akan hal ini? (the is presidential decree prohibiting the use of indigenous people term, don't you as former minister of education, aware of it?)
9	Par. 2	Lebih lucu lagi Anies adalah mantan Menteri Pendidikan yang sepertinya hampir mustahil dia tidak mengetahui sejarah bagaimana pada tahun 1998, BJ Habibie sudah meneken Instruksi Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 26 tentang penggunaan istilah pribumi dan non-pribumi yang pada intinya menghapus penggunaan istilah pribumi dan non-pribumi (it is even funnier that Anies who is former minister of education does not aware about President Instruction Number 26 year 1998 prohibiting the use of indigenous people and non indigenous people terms).
10	Par. 18	identik dengan rezim tiran Orde Baru (...identical to the attitudes of tyranic regime of New Order)
10	Par. 20	Patut disayangkan cara-cara pengeksklusian pakaian semacam ini masih dihidupkan oleh penguasa di negeri yang telah sepakat memuja pluralisme (It is a pity that this kind of exclusion is still practiced by the government in a country that worshipping pluralism)

10	Par. 21	Jika benar hatinya seputih bungkusnya, harusnya tidak perlu ada lelucon dress code putih dalam undangan (if their hearts are truly since, they will need no joke such as white dress code).
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