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SOCIAL ACTOR REPRESENTATION OF MOCHAMAD IRIAWAN IN REPUBLIKA.CO.ID AFTER HIS INAUGURATION AS THE GOVERNOR OF WEST JAVA, INDONESIA

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui representasi aktor sosial dalam pemberitaan pelantikan Pj. Gubernur Jawa Barat 2018 dalam perspektif model Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Theo van Leeuwen (2008). Representasi aktor sosial yang kami amati adalah mereka yang dilaporkan pada media massa online *Republika.co.id* selama 3 hari pemberitaan, pada tanggal 18, 19 dan 20 Juni 2018. Pelantikan Iriawan menimbulkan polemik di masyarakat karena pelantikannya dianggap tidak sah mengingat dia masih aktif sebagai Kapolda Jakarta. Untuk pengumpulan data, kami menggunakan metode observasi. Data diperoleh dengan teknik copy-paste dari *Republika.co.id*. Metode analisis yang digunakan adalah deskripsi, interpretasi, dan eksplanasi. Kami mendeskripsikan kata dan kalimat yang digunakan untuk merepresentasikan aktor sosial, menafsirkannya dalam praktik wacana, dan menjelaskan interpretasi tersebut dalam praktik sosiokultural. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa bagi seluruh aktor sosial yang mendukung pemerintah, pelantikan Iriawan sebagai Pj. Gubernur Jawa Barat saat itu merupakan kewenangan pemerintah yang telah ditinjau kembali sesuai peraturan perundang-undangan yang berlaku, sehingga tidak dapat dinilai telah melanggar hukum. Di sisi lain, bagi aktor sosial yang tidak mendukung pemerintah, pelantikan dianggap inkonstitusional, membodohi rakyat, melanggar demokrasi, menipu publik, membuat keributan yang tidak perlu, kontraproduktif, dan sebagainya. Perbedaan representasi aktor sosial di atas sangat mungkin disebabkan oleh perbedaan ideologi (nasionalisme versus Islamisme) dan kepentingan politik menjelang pemilihan presiden 2019. Dengan demikian, hal itu membuktikan bahwa penggunaan bahasa (wacana), ideologi, dan kekuasaan tidak terpisahkan.

Kata kunci: representasi aktor sosial, CDA, media online

Abstract

This study aims to investigate the representation of social actors in the news of the inauguration of West Java Governor in 2018 under the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) using Theo van Leeuwen's (2008) model. We observed the representation of social actors from the news in the online media, *Republika.co.id*, in 3 days from 18, 19 to 20 June 2018. Iriawan's inauguration caused a polemic in the community because his inauguration was considered invalid since he was still an active Regional Police Chief in Jakarta. We collected the data by using observation method. The data was obtained by copy-

pasting technique from *Republika.co.id*. The researchers analysed the data by describing, interpreting, and explaining the data. We described the words and sentences used to represent social actors, interpreted them following the discourse theories, and explained the interpretation in sociocultural practice. The findings show that the pro-government actors deem Iriawan's inauguration as compliant to the applicable law regulated under the government's authority, hence it was not considered as law violation. On the other hand, the anti-government social actors considered that the inauguration was unconstitutional, manipulative, non-democratic, deceptive, unnecessary, counterproductive etc. The clashes of representation might have happened due to differences in ideology (nationalism versus Islamism) as well as the political interests prior to the 2019 presidential election. Thus, the findings prove that the use of language (discourse), ideology, and power are interconnected.

Keywords: representation of social actors, CDA, online media

INTRODUCTION

The transition of public officials often causes polemic. This case includes the case of governors transition in West Java, Indonesia, which happened several days before the governor election in 2018, and a few months prior to the 2019 presidential election. The inauguration of Commissioner General Mochamad Iriawan (Iwan) as the acting Governor of West Java on June 18, 2018 has caused political and social debate in various mass media, both printed and electronic media.

Indonesia has a democratic communication system where the discourse (text) will be different from the authoritarian ones. Specifically, mass media greatly influence the process and the form of representation. This fact shows that the production of discourse (text) is not merely out of space and time, yet it is also influenced by the mass media for certain interests. This does not include external targets, such as readers, sponsors etc.

According to van Dijk (1988:4), news media imply these three concepts: (a) new information about events, things, or persons. (b) a type of program (TV or radio) in which news items are presented, and (c) a news item or news report, i.e., a text or discourse on radio, TV, or newspaper, in which new information is given about recent events. Van Dijk focuses more on the third concept. That is, we deal with a type of text or discourse as it is expressed, used, or publicized through news media or in the other media, such as TV, radio, and the newspaper.

This study follows van Dijk's third concept, namely that discourse is expressed and used with a specific purpose. Such discourse studies are of course inseparable from the social, political, and economic interests of the mass media or certain social figures. Discourse studies relating to such social practices are more appropriate to be examined under the perspective of the CDA.

According to van Dijk (2008:4), CDA is an analytical-critical discourse investigation that concentrates on investigating the abuse of social power, dominance, and imbalance in which discourses in social and political relations are authorized, reproduced, and opposed. Fairclough (1989: 19) states that such use of language is called sociocultural practice and this practice is determined by the social structure existing at the time the discourse is produced. Thus, discourse is not a neutral entity, yet it is a platform designed by certain social actors who control the communication process for political-economic purposes.

This study discusses the news about the inauguration of Commissioner general of police Iriawan as the Governor in West Java. The news are chosen because this province is a very strategic area to gain people's vote for the 2019 presidential election in Java. This study aims to

investigate (a) the representation of the social-political actors reported by the online media (Republika.co.id) and (b) the ideological-political messages are implied to the public.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Representation in Media

“The media do not portray reality, they create reality.” [...]. Media representations are the ways in which the media portrays groups, communities, experiences, ideas, or topics within a particular ideology or perspective. They aren’t always completely accurate, and they can create representations which can build a new reality. A clear example of media representation can be found in beer advertisements. Advertisers make beer advertisement by portraying drinking beer as a key entertaining component of a party. They build a connotation that their product lives up the party. This imagery helps them promoting their product. (Khalfyard, 2015 <https://www.slideshare.net/khalfyard/representation-in-media-56064486>).

Hall (1977) states that regardless the complexity of communication, we should not undermine the strong impact of media throughout the world. This statement is correlated to how media perceive the truth. Hall sees that our everyday world is the place where the truth and power intersect. Hall understands that communication is always linked with power, and those groups who leverage their power in the society influence what are represented in the media. Hall believes on both ideas that a) messages work in complex ways and b) they are always connected with the way the powerful figures operate in the society (see *The Chicago School of Media Theory*, <https://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/mediatheory/keywords/representation/>).

Representation in media refers to “creating new means by which we can understand reality”. Hall (1997) argues that the study of representation is different from the more conventional methods. In the conventional spectrum, analysing representations means examining whether the portrayal of a figure in the media is different from reality or associated with one strict ‘reality’. In fact, media representation is affected by interpretation. Responding to this matter, Daniel Chandler states that “media representation moves away from stereotyping—something that has always been a major factor in the media industry” (see *The Chicago School of Media Theory*, <https://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/mediatheory/keywords/representation/>).

On the other hand, Hall discusses the relationship between politics and representation and the systems representing both. Hall takes up the politics of representation in his text entitled *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. He finds that objects and people do not have stable, true meanings, yet “their meanings are produced by human beings, participants in a culture, who have the ‘power’ to make things meaningful or signify something” (<https://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/mediatheory/keywords/representation/>). In this case, he summarizes that representation involves the understanding on how language and systems of knowledge production work together to produce and circulate meanings. Representation becomes the process or medium where these meanings are both created and reified. Like the poststructuralist approach, Hall’s approach to representation involves looking at representation as something larger than one method of representation.

How can social actors be represented in the English discourse? According to van Leeuwen (Rosa Caldas-Coulthard & Malcolm Coulthard, eds., 1995: 32), this question can be answered with a grammatical approach. Halliday takes grammar as a ‘meaning potential’ (‘what can be said’) rather than a set of rules (‘what must be said’). Yet, unlike many other linguistically

oriented forms of Critical Discourse Analysis, we shall not start out from linguistic operations such as nominalisation, passive agent deletion, or transitivity. Instead, we draw a socio-semantic inventory to display the ways social actors are represented and eventually see the sociological and critical relevance of the inventory before turning to the next sequence, which is how representation is realised linguistically.

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Discourse and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The term “discourse” is primarily concerned with language use in social context, particularly with the dialectical relationship between language, the main semiotic modality, and society, as well as with the interactive or dialogic properties of everyday communication as social practice (Fairclough, 1989; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) in the written and/or spoken modes (or according to van Dijk, 2009, “text” and “talk”, respectively). Fairclough (1995: 4) defines “text” as “the written or spoken language produced in a discursive event”, which includes visual, sound, and other semiotic forms that are the parts of the multi-semiotic character of texts, such as television language. According to Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter (2000), discourse analysis is a relatively recent approach to the examination of systematic bodies of knowledge arising from the traditions of critical social theory and linguistic analysis. Following van Leeuwen (2005: 90), the concept of ‘discourse’ is the key of studying how semiotic resources are used to construct representations of what is going on in the world. In other words, through discourse, the mass media wants to convey a certain message either implicitly or explicitly.

Meanwhile, Fairclough (1989) argues that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) seeks to understand how discourse is implicated in relations of power. Discourse has the ‘hidden power’ in mass media. For van Dijk (2008), CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality. Behind the discourse, there is a “physical reality” people are striving for. However, discourse experts disagree on which parts of our world are real. In other words, they take different ontological stances. Extreme constructivists argue that all human knowledge and experience is socially constructed and there is no reality beyond discourse (Potter, 1997). Critical realists, on the other hand, argue that there is a physical reality that “talks back” as we engage with it (Sperber 1996). This reality is represented through discourse (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996).

Media, Power, and Ideology

Sujiman and Zoest (1992) say there are three actions taken by the media when constructing the representation, namely (a) the selection of symbols, (b) the choice of facts presented (framing), and (c) willingness to give a place (setting) in reports.

The researchers took the news from Republika.co.id for this research regarding the report of Commissioner General Mochamad Iriawan as Acting Governor in West Java. We assume that the main actor is represented differently based on the lexical choices, grammatical structures, the amount of news in a certain period etc. According to Louw (2001: 9; 2005: 30), the lucky social actors are those who have their own media because they have full control in representing certain social actors, and they are supported by the media, especially the mainstream ones. Through such

patterns of power relations, every social actor will be positioned or represented differently based on ideological, political, and economic interests (Tebba, 2005). Thus, there is a significant relationship between language and power in the practice of discourse. This practice is imaginary, yet it is clearly portrayed in the media. This practice is transformed based on the ideology of interest (Fairclough, 1989: v).

According to van Dijk (1998), "ideology" involves cognitive and social psychology, sociology, and discourse analysis. Ideology is the social cognitions that are shared by the members of a group. Ideology is also the social dimension which explains what kind of groups, relations between groups, and institutions are involved in the development and reproduction of ideologies. The discourse dimension of ideologies explains how ideologies influence our daily texts and talk, how we understand ideological discourse, and how discourse is involved in the reproduction of ideology in society. 'Ideology' is as the basis of social practices (Fairclough, 1989:8). One of the crucial social practices influenced by ideologies are language use and discourse, which in turn, also influence how we acquire, learn, or change ideologies (Fairclough, 1989:9).

Network System in Discourse

Van Leeuwen (2008: 53) sets the network system where linguists can use. To use this system, linguists can incorporate several distinct lexico-grammatical and discourse-level linguistic elements, such as transitivity, reference, the nominal group, rhetorical figures etc. Along with the elements, van Leeuwen develops a related network to unveil social actor representation, which are deletion, rearrangement, and substitution. The correlation between network and elements can be explained as (i) deletion involves voice, and nominalization and adjectivization; (ii) rearrangement principally involves transitivity; while (iii) substitution is initially realized by aspects of the structure of the nominal group—the deictic and the post deictic, that is, the system of reference.

Van Leeuwen (2005: xi) states that there is a change of focus when we are analyzing representation. The focus of analysis changes from the 'sentence' to the 'text' and its 'context' as well as from 'grammar' to 'discourse'. In social semiotics, the focus changes from the 'sign' to the way people use semiotic 'resources' both to produce communicative artefacts and events and to interpret them—which is also a form of semiotic production—in the context of specific social situations and practices. According to him (2005: 6), social practices are socially regulated ways of doing things.

Social Actors

Social actors can be defined as either individuals or collectives (e.g., political parties, trades unions, social movements) who become the agents as opposed to constraining social structures (<https://www.thestudentroom.co.uk>). Van Leeuwen (2008: 28) elaborates that representation refers to how people, groups, and ideas are presented in the mass media. Van Leeuwen creates a socio-semantic inventory as a framework of analysing representation. He further mentions that *deletion, rearrangement or role allocation, and substitution* are the three main types of categories to dissect social actors' representations. The three categories display social actors verbally and or non-verbally (visually).

Van Leeuwen (2008: 28) states that deletion is a major aspect in CDA. Deletion consists of inclusion and exclusion. He adds that "representations" include or exclude social actors to

adjust their interests and goals in relation to the reader for whom they are included. Exclusion is one of the processes of removing a social actor from the news. Van Leeuwen believes that an important aspect of CDA is exclusion (2008: 28). The exclusion is a common phenomenon in mass media and political speech. Inclusion is another process of representation. The inclusion of social actors is used to meet the needs and goals of discourse producers (mass media) and readers.

Rearrangement is correlated to the identification of what role is allocated to certain social actors from the attributed grammatical features, such as activation, passivation, participation (beneficiation) etc. In terms of activation and passivation, social actors can be activated, i.e., represented as the active, dynamic forces in an activity, or passivated i.e., represented as undergoing the activity, or as being the recipient. Passivated social actors can be subjected (treated as objects in the representation) or beneficialized (positively or negatively, benefiting from the action). Beneficialization may be realized by participation where the beneficialized participant is the recipient or client in relation to a material process, or receiver in relation to a verbal process (Halliday, 1985: 132–33 as cited by van Leeuwen, 2008:34).

24 The substitution can be done with some discursive features and through these features social actors are represented, such as with functionalization, identification, personalization, nomination, individualization etc. Functionalization occurs when social actors are referred to in terms of what they do. Identification occurs when social actors are defined in terms of what they are (including age, gender, provenance, class, wealth, ethnicity, religion etc.). Impersonalization can be realized through abstraction or objectivation. The former occurs when social actors are represented by means of a quality assigned to them. The latter occurs when social actors are represented by means of reference to a place or thing closely associated either with their person or with the activity they are represented as being engaged in. Nomination is typically realized by proper noun, which can be formalization (surname only, with or without honorifics), semi-formalization (given name and surname), or informalization (given name only). Individualization is realized by singularity and assimilation by plurality (van Leeuwen, 2008:37). “Experts” are collectivized (“the committee”, “the surveys”), which helps to signal their agreement. In the remainder of the article, however, they are often individualized, which allows their titles, credentials, and institutional affiliations to be showcased (van Leeuwen, 2008:38).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The researchers collected the data using the observation method. The data are sought by direct observation on *Republika.co.id* (See <https://www.jotform.com/data-collection-methods/>). See also Sudaryanto 1993: 133-134). We read the news regarding the inauguration of Police Commissioner General Iriawan as Acting Governor in West Java in online media *republika.co.id* reported in 3 days from 18, 19, to June 20, 2018. The time selection was based on the data's adequacy and polemic around the inauguration. Then, we copied and pasted the news from the online media. The data of this research contained the discourse which portrays the representation of the social actor. *Republika* was chosen based on its ideology, of which this media is a non-pro-government one, especially when reporting about Iriawan's inauguration. The researchers described, interpreted, and explained the discourse to analyse the data. Specifically, the researchers examined the words and sentences used to represent social actors, interpreted them in the discourse practice, and explained these interpretations in sociocultural practice (see Fairclough, 1989: 109-141).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In three days (18-20 June 2018), *Republika.co.id* posted 68 news regarding the inauguration of Police Commissioner General Iriawan as the Governor of West Java. We also see the gap of reporting with *MediaIndonesia*. We found a gap of 45 reports between both online platforms. The gap can help us conveying the difference of ideological-political messages from the media to the reader. The selection of vocabulary and grammar is also considered to convey messages that support or contradict the government's value. Table 1 contains the details regarding the news from *Republika*.

Table 1. Number of News in *Republika.co.id*

No	News Online	Number of reports (n)	Annotation
1	<i>Republika.co.id</i>	68	The news of Iriawan's inauguration as the temporary Governor of West Java on 18-20 June 2018. As a comparison, we also see the amount of news in <i>MediaIndonesia.com</i> . We can see a significant difference of the amount reports ($68 - 23 = 45$ or 291.30%). The owner of <i>MediaIndonesia.com</i> is M. Surya Paloh, chairman of the Democratic National party who supported the presidential candidate, Joko Widodo, during the presidential campaign in 2019. Conversely, R Harry Zulnardy (the chairman of <i>Republika</i>) did not support the nomination of Joko Widodo as a presidential candidate; he supported another candidate Prabowo Subiyanto.
2	<i>MediaIndonesia.com</i>	23	
3	Gap of total relevant news between both media	45	

Republika is a national newspaper that was established by the Muslim community in Indonesia. The publication was the result of a long effort of Indonesian Muslims. The young professional journalists, led by former *Tempo* reporter Zaim Uchrowi, had taken various steps to finally made the media published to the community. The idea was initiated after the presence of the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association (ICMI), which was then chaired by BJ Habibie. The organization could break government restrictions on freedom of media association. Later, *Republika* was firstly published on January 4, 1993 ([https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republika_\(surat_kabar\)](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republika_(surat_kabar))).

At the same time, West Java is a Muslim-dominated province. According to *Republika.co.id*, this region voted the most for the winning governor candidate, Sudrajat – Ahmad Syaikh (from *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*). They are the candidate who are supported by *Republika*. They tried to maintain their domination from another duo, which is Ahmad Heryawan – Deddy Mizwar (from *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*).

Deletion

In Table 2, we could see the inclusion and exclusion of social actors reported by *Republika.com*. There are 11 social actors who came from executives and government institution, which are *the Government, the Palace, the President, Ngabalin, the Minister of Home Affairs, Tjahjo Kumolo, the Acting Governor, Iriawan, the replaced Governor (Aher), the National Defence Agency (Lemhannas), National Police Commission (Kompolnas)*. The actors are presented under different

frequency (n): Iriawan was included 298.52% (the highest inclusion), followed by Minister of Home Affairs (*Mendagri*) (179.41%), governor's interim (*Pjs Gubernur*) (119.11%), Tjahjo (111.76%), Government (*Pemerintah*) (45.58%), President (*Presiden*) (36.76%), Aher: replaced Governor (*Aher: Gubernur terganti*) (17.64%), the National Defence Agency (Lemhanas) (16.46%), National Police Commissioner (Kopolnas) (8.69%), Palace (*Istana*) (4.41%), and Ngabalin, Main Expert Staff of the Presidential Staff Office (KSP) (4.41%). *Republika.co.id* portrays the Government (via the Minister of Home Affairs, Tjahjo Kumolo) negatively, especially on the responses of opposing political parties (see explanation in Table 3) and to the observers of politics (see Table 4).

According to the Minister of Home Affairs, the selection of M. Iriawan had been in accordance with Government Regulation Article 201 of Law Number 10 of 2016 regarding Election of regional head. Mr. Iriawan's position was the appointed Governor. He was chosen not because of his job, yet it was because of his position as the Main Secretary of Lemhanas. He was not an active police officer. On the other hand, the Minister of Home Affairs stated that Iriawan was right to lead West Java because he had served as West Java Police Chief. He was also born in West Java. Thus, the government and the opposition, including political observers, argue that their arguments are the right one.

Table 2. Inclusion and Exclusion of Irawan's Inauguration as Acting Governor of West Java in Republika.co.id (Executive/Government/Government People)

Inclusion/ Exclusion	Executive/Government/Government Officer											Annotation
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Pemerintah n=47	45.58	4.41	36.76	4.41	179.41	111.76	119.11	298.52	17.64	16.46	8.69	The news of the inauguration of M. Iriawan as the Governor in West Java on 18-20 June 2018
Inclusion %												
Pemerintah n=25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	The news of the inauguration of M. Iriawan as the Governor in West Java on 18-20 June 2018
Exclusion %												

Notes:

Pemerintah (Government), *Istana* (Palace), *Presiden* (President), *Ngabalin* (one of the presidential expert staff), *Mendagri Tjahjo* (Minister of Home Affairs Tjahjo), *Pj. Gubernur* (Acting Governor), *Iriawan* (name of Acting Governor), *Aher: Gubernur terganti* (Aher, replaced Governor), *Lemhannas* (National Defence Agency), *Kompolas* (National Police Commission).

n = number of reports

The “n” refers to the number of social actors presented in *Republika.co.id* for 3 days (18-20 June 2018). The percentage was obtained from the analysis of 68 news of Iriawan's inauguration as a temporary governor in West Java during 3 days of news (18-20 June 2018).

Table 3 below summarizes the inclusion and exclusion of social actors from the legislative or political parties reported by *Republika.co.id*. Social actors are sometimes omitted/suppressed or backgrounded to serve socio-political purposes. According to van Leeuwen (2008: 29), in the case of suppression, there is no reference to the social actor(s) in question anywhere in the text. In the case of backgrounding, the exclusion is less radical. The excluded social actors may not be mentioned in relation to a given action, but they are mentioned elsewhere in the text. Later, we can infer with reasonable (though never total) certainty regarding who they are. They are not completely excluded, yet they are deemphasized and pushed into the background.

As an illustration, *The National Police Chief Gen. Tito Karnavian* on the news of the Inauguration of Komjen Police M. Iriawan on Tuesday 19 June 2018 was excluded from the report on the two titles, *Perludem: Pelantikan Iriawan Tenggelmakan Isu Publik Cagub* and *Polemik Pj Gubernur Iriawan, Ketum PAN: Kebijakan Blunder*, even though he was the chief of the Indonesian National Police. Meanwhile, *Ahmad Heryawan*, whose term as Governor of West Java expired on June 13, 2018, was only mentioned once as an object, not as a news subject. It means that he was backgrounded. It can be seen in sentences (1) and (2) below.

- (1) *Perwira Tinggi Polri yang juga Sekretaris Utama Lembaga Ketahanan Nasional Komjen Mochamad Iriawan resmi dilantik sebagai Penjabat Gubernur Jawa Barat menggantikan Ahmad Heryawan yang masa jabatannya sebagai Gubernur Jawa Barat habis pada 13 Juni 2018.*
- (2) *Iriawan dilantik sebagai pj gubernur Jabar menggantikan Ahmad Heryawan yang habis masa jabatannya pada tanggal 13 Juni 2018 oleh Mendagri di Gedung Merdeka, Bandung, Senin (18/6).*

After identifying them, we found 11 social actors: consisting of 10 political parties in the House of Representatives (DPR), they are PDIP, Golkar, NasDem, Hanura, PKB, PPP, PAN, Demokrat, Gerindra, and PKS. They have different frequency of presentation (n). Among 10 political parties in the DPR, PDIP, Golkar, NasDem, PPP, PKB, and Hanura are pro-governments, while Demokrat, Gerindra, and PKS are government opposition. Meanwhile, PAN is a neutral party, which supports both the government and the opposition. PDIP as the main supporter of President Joko Widodo and his government was mostly included (24.99%). Meanwhile, the largest inclusion of opposition parties came from Demokrat and Gerindra (11.76%). In general, *Republika.co.id* represents PDIP and the government negatively which unloads the burden of Mr. Iriawan, where he has to coordinate West Java Provincial House of Representatives (DPRD), monitor traveller, conduct high quality elections, ensure the neutrality of all Civil Servants (ASN), etc. NasDem as a pro-government party was included in 5.88%, and it was represented on mentioning that M. Iriawan's inauguration was constitutional.

In semio-semantic terms, *Republika.co.id* quoted the oppositions' claims which deemed the inauguration of M. Iriawan as unconstitutional, manipulative, non-democratic, deceptive, unnecessary, counterproductive etc. Therefore, the House of Representatives was threatened by the parties as they want to use their right of investigating the law (*Hak Angket*). Opposition parties (especially Demokrat and Gerindra) argued the Government violated the Police Law No. 2/2002 about the banning of government inauguration for a policeman that holds concurrent position.

Iriawan was still an active police officer, so he was prohibited from being chosen as governor. They also questioned the neutrality of Iriawan because the vice governor candidate came from the police as well, namely Anton Charlyan who was paired with Tubagus Hassunudin.

The government implies a message to its political opponents that West Java is one of the most strategic provinces for winning presidential and legislative elections in 2019. This province is densely populated. All governor candidates made serious efforts to win the governor election in the province. PKS (Gerindra and PAN) as political parties in power during two periods distrusted the inauguration of M. Iriawan as Acting Governor because it could threaten their political dominance and agenda in 2019, which focused on presidential and legislative elections. They had already built popularity and political identity since a few years ago. According to Eric Louw (2005: 96), political identity must be constructed (and hold together). Constructing communities involves creating a sense of 'groupness' and getting people to identify this group. This involves constructing a sense of 'self' (individual identity) that draws upon the stories, mythologies, and beliefs of the constructed group (collective identity) that is shown in Table 3 below.

We can also see in Table 3 that Nasdem, Demokrat, and Gerindra were backgrounded. Observe examples (3) – (8).

- (3) *Fraksi Partai Demokrat akan segera menggulirkan hak angket. "Yang jelas saat ini kami sudah kordinasi persyaratan hak angket itu diajukan oleh 20 anggota DPR lebih dari dua fraksi ini persyaratan ini sedang diikuti dan dalam waktu secepatnya akan disampaikan kepada pimpinan DPR," kata Agus.*
- (4) *Didik mengatakan Fraksi Demokrat mendorong DPR membentuk Panitia Khusus Hak Angket untuk mengoreksi kebijakan tersebut.*
- (5) *"DPR harus menjadi penyeimbang dan pengawas jalannya pemerintahan, kami berpandangan saat yang tepat bagi Fraksi Demokrat DPR RI dan DPR RI menggunakan Hak Angket mengingatkan dan mengoreksi pemerintah agar tidak terkoreksi oleh rakyat dan sejarah," kata Didik di Jakarta, Selasa (19/6).*

The 20 members of the DPR in (3) and the DPR in (4) and (5) are the forms of backgrounding for the members of Nasdem, Gerindra, and other political parties. Yet, the Democratic Party (*Partai Demokrat*) is included explicitly in the news.

Table 3. Inclusion and Exclusion in Irawan's Inauguration as the Governor of West Java in Republika.co.id (Political Parties/Legislative)

Inclusion/Exclusion	Political Parties/Legislative										Annotation
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	PDIP n=17	Gol- kar n=1	Nas- Dem n=5	Ha- nura n=2	PKB n=2	PPP n=1	PAN n=2	Demokrat n=9	Gerindra n=9	PKS n=1	
Inclusion %	24.99	1.47	5.88	2.94	2.94	1.47	2.94	11.76	11.76	1.47	The news of the inauguration of M. Iriawan as the Governor in West Java on 18-20 June 2018
Suppression %	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Exclusion											
Backgrounding %	0	0	1.47	0	0	0	0	1.47	1.47	0	

Notes:

PDIP, Golkar, NasDem, Hanura, PKB, PPP, PAN are political parties which supported the presidential nomination for Joko Widodo in 2019. Gerindra, PKS, Demokrat are political parties which supported presidential nomination for Prabowo Subianto in 2019. n = number of reports

- (6) *Pasangan berikutnya yang dianggap akan mendapat misi politik dari penunjukan tersebut adalah pasangan Ridwan Kamil dan Uu Rihzanul. Alasannya partai pendukung pasangan tersebut seluruhnya adalah partai pendukung pemerintahan Jokowi.*

The pro-Jokowi's party who supports the government in the Working Cabinet (Kabinet Kerja) in this context referred to the NasDem Party. The Gerindra and Demokrat parties were not parties that supported Jokowi's government at that time. Thus, the NasDem Party was backgrounded while the Gerindra and Demokrat parties were excluded from the news.

- (7) *"Kalau saya dipanggil DPR ya akan hadir. Sebab keputusan saya sudah sesuai dengan undang-undang," ujar Tjahjo dalam keterangan tertulisnya kepada wartawan, Selasa (19/6).*
- (8) *Komisaris Jenderal (Komjen) Pol M Iriawan meminta masyarakat tidak perlu ragu terkait penunjukan dirinya sebagai Penjabat (Pj) Gubernur Jawa Barat oleh Presiden RI. (NasDem, Demokrat, Gerindra juga anggota masyarakat).*

Furthermore, another form of backgrounding appears in sample (7) as *DPR*. The NasDem, Demokrat, Gerindra, and other political parties were backgrounded. *Masyarakat* (community) in (8) is also a form of backgrounding for all groups of people, including political parties in the *DPR* (especially Nasdem, Demokrat, and Gerindra).

Then, in Table 4 below, we could see the deletion of social actors from non-executive and non-legislative parties that are reported by *Republika.co.id*. All social actors were included. After identifying the data, we found 10 social actors consisting of *Political Observers (Pengamat Politik)*, *People (Rakyat)*, *Candidates 'Paslon'*, *Muhammadiyah Youth Organization*, *Opponents*, *Executives*, *Independent Election Monitoring Committee (KIPP)*, *Kapitira (Lawyers and legal practitioners)*, *ASN*, *Religious Person (AA Gym)*. They are portrayed in different frequency (n). The social actors with high percentage of inclusion are political observers 'Pengamat politik' (10.29%), ASN (29.41%), and People 'Rakyat' (22.05%). For *Republika.co.id*, the three actors above could be used to legitimize the views of those who reject the inauguration of Iriawan as Governor. The neutrality of ASN should be well-monitored because some political parties opposed the inauguration of M. Iriawan as the Governor. The political parties were suspicious that the ASN will cheat their way to win the governor election, especially for Tubagus Hasanuddin-Anton Charliyan. In this case, Charliyan came from a police background. In general, *Republika.co.id* represents (i) its support to the political observers and (ii) ASN as the basis of legitimizing the views of government and government opposition. The findings are detailed in Table 4.

Table 4. Inclusion and Exclusion in Irawan's Inauguration as Governor of West Java in Republik.co.id (Non-Executive — Non-Political Parties — Non-Legislative)

Inclusion/Exclusion	Non-Executive—Non Political Parties—Non-Legislative									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	Pengamat Politik n = 7	Rakyat n=15	Paslon Gubernur n = 6	Ornani-sasi Kepermu-daan n = 1	Lawan n=1	Pelaksana n = 3	Komite (KIPP) n=1	Praktisi Hukum n = 3	ASN n=20	Tokoh Keagamaan n = 3
Inclusion	10.29	22.05	8.82	1.47	1.47	4.41	1.47	4.41	29.41	4.41
Suppression %	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exclusion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Backgrounding %	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Notes:

Pengamat Politik (Political Observer), *Rakyat* (Citizens), *Paslon Gubernur* (Pair of candidates for Governor), *Organisasi Kepemudaan* (Youth Organizations), *Lawan* (Rival), *Pelaksana* (the officer), *Komite (KIPP)* (Committees (KIPP)), *Praktisi Hukum* (Legal Practitioners), *ASN* (Civil Servants), *Tokoh Keagamaan* (Religious Figures).
n = number of reports

Role Allocation (Rearrangement)

According to the van Leeuwen's (2008) framework, the role allocation one of the three main types of representation. Role allocation or role reallocation tries to identify what role is allocated to social actors through features, such as activation/activated, passivation/subjected, and benefits (beneficialization/beneficialized). Table 5 shows the activation, passivation, and beneficialization of the executive and government institutions reported by Republika.com. As an illustration, examples (9) to (12) below provide some ideas how the actors' role allocated.

- (9) *Menteri Dalam Negeri (Mendagri) Tjahjo Kumolo menyatakan pelantikan Iriawan sebagai penjabat gubernur Jawa Barat tidak melanggar undang-undang.*
- (10) *Tjahjo mengatakan tidak ada pertimbangan khusus terkait dipilihnya Iriawan sebagai penjabat Jawa Barat, terlebih latar belakang Iriawan dari kepolisian.*
- (11) *Status Iriawan dipermasalahkan karena dianggap masih sebagai pejabat aktif Mabes Polri.*
- (12) *Saya juga ingin mengukir nama baik dan sukses sebagai penjabat gubernur Jabar," ungkap Iriawan saat dihubungi via telpon, Senin (18/6) malam.*

Social actor *Menteri Dalam Negeri (Mendagri)* (The Minister of Home Affairs) Tjahjo Kumolo in (9) and Tjahjo in (10) were represented as the active one. Meanwhile, Iriawan in (11) and in (12) were represented as the passive object who underwent activities. In (11), Iriawan was negatively beneficialised as "dipermasalahkan". Yet, in example (12), he was positively beneficialised as "dihubungi".

We analysed the role allocation from 12 social actors came from government executives and institutions, namely *Pemerintah* (government), *Istana* (the palace), *Presiden* (president), *Ngabalin*, *Menteri Dalam Negeri* (Ministry of Home Affairs) *Tjahjo Kumolo*, *Pjs. Gubernur* (temporary governor), *Iriawan*, *Wiranto*, *Gubernur terganti* (replaced governor), *Lemhannas* (National Defence Agency), *Kompolnas* (National Police Commission) with the different frequency percentage (n). We can see that the *Pemerintah* (government), *Menteri Dalam Negeri* (Ministry of Home Affairs)/Tjahjo, and *Pjs. Gubernur* (Temporary Governor)/Iriawan are activated, passivated, and beneficialized in a high percentage. They are mainly allocated as the "actor" or "agent." As the social actors, *Pemerintah* (government) got 22.05%, *Menteri Dalam Negeri* (Ministry of Home Affairs) got 179.41%, and Iriawan got 291.17%. Furthermore, as patients/target, *Pemerintah* (governor) obtained 36.76%, Minister of Home Affairs got 0.00%, Iriawan got 19.11%. Finally, as a "recipient", the *Pemerintah* (government) had 10.29%, *Menteri Dalam Negeri* (Ministry of Home Affairs) obtained 179.41%, and Iriawan got 291.17%. Why did those social actors become a "recipient"? We could say that the government via his *Menteri Dalam Negeri* (Ministry of Home Affairs) got "ideological-political" benefits directly by inaugurating Iriawan who is a loyal pro-government man. Meanwhile, Iriawan also has benefits which are official benefits and power with all the privileges. Briefly, the *Pemerintah* (government), *Menteri Dalam Negeri* (ministry of home affairs), and *Pjs. Gubernur* (temporary governor) are represented as the important "agent" to the successor of the former Governor of West Java, Ahmad Heryawan (from *PKS*, the government's opposition), and the three social actors became the "patients" or "goals" from the executive (government). 29

According to Halliday (1978 cited by van Leeuwen, 2005: 3), that grammar is not only a set of linguistic rules, but it is also a source of meaning (van Leeuwen calls it "semiotic resources") in a specific context (historical, cultural, institutional). The way a person speaks of something can also be a source of meaning. For example, the active structure means the social actors becoming

“actor” or “agent”. This agent looks like the powerful subject. Meanwhile, the passive structure signalizes the "patient" or "goal". The removal of the agent means the concealment of the agent. The nominalization form eliminates the action of the "agent". Moreover, van Leeuwen (2004: 3) extends this idea to the other 'grammar', the semiotic mode, and defines the semiotic resources as actions and artefacts we use to communicate, whether they are physiologically produced - with our vocal apparatus; with the muscles we use to create facial expressions and gestures, etc. - or by means of technology - with pen, ink and paper; with computer hardware and software; with cloth, scissors and sewing machine, etc. Traditionally it is called as a 'sign'. For example, wrinkles would be a sign of disapproval, a red colour of alarm etc. Therefore, the discourse is multimodal if, in the words of Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (1996: 183), 'its meaning is realized through more than one semiotic code'. In that case, Kress and van Leeuwen go on the question arises whether the products of the various codes should be analysed separately or in an integrated way; whether the meanings of the whole should be treated as the sum of the meanings of the parts, or whether the parts should be looked on as interacting with and affecting one another. They consider what is involved in analysing multimodal discourse 'in an integrated way', paying attention both to the workings of different semiotic systems and to the interactions between them.

For supporting the type of actor's social activities in the current study, we used Halliday's transitivity model (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The reason for using this model is that, based on Halliday's transitivity model, the different type of social actors' activity can be analysed.

Based on the data in Table 5 below, it appears that the active structure is more dominant than the passive structure. The active structure accentuates the central role of the social actor in their actions, while the passive structure is accentuating the "patient" they are discussing (see examples (11) and (12) above). Thus, these active and passive structure give different meanings; and this different meaning also affects the reader's perception in society socio-politically.

Table 5. Role Allocation in Irawan's Inauguration as Governor of West Java in Republika.co.id (Executive/Government/Government People)

Activated/ Subjected/ Beneficialized	Executive/Government											Annotation
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Pemerintah n=47	Istana n = 9	Presiden n = 25	Ngabalin n = 3	Mendagri / Tjahjo n=189	Saya n = 2	Dirinya/ -nya n = 2	Iriawan /Pj. Gubernur -nur n = 81	Wiranto n = 2	Gubernur Terganti (Aher) n = 2	Lemhanas n = 5	Kompolnas n = 2	
Activated ("actor" / "agent") %	22.05	5.88	14.70	4.41	179.41	0	0	291.17	2.94	2.94	0	2.94
Subjected "patient" / "goal" %	36.76	7.35	22.05	0	98.52	2.94	2.94	111.76	0	0	4.41	0
Beneficialised ("recipient") %	10.29	0	0	0	0	0	0	19.11	0	0	2.94	0

Notes:

Pemerintah (Government), *Istana* (Palace), *Presiden* (President), *Ngabalin* (one of the presidential expert staff), *Mendagri Tjahjo* (Minister of Home Affairs Tjahjo), *Saya* (I (first person singular pronouns)), *Dirinya/-nya* (Himself), *Iriawan Pj. Gubernur* (Acting Governor Iriawan), *Wiranto* (the coordinating minister of politics and security), *Aher: Gubernur terganti* (Aher: replaced governor), Lemhannas (National Defense Agency), Lemhannas (National police commission).
n = number of reports

Next, we could see the role allocation for social actors from the political/legislative parties reported by *Republika.co.id*. We focused on the 10 political parties, namely PDIP, Golkar, NasDem, Hanura, PKB, PPP, PAN, PD, Gerindra and PKS who were the "actors" or "agents" in the news regarding Iriawan inauguration as the Governor of West Java. Specifically, PDIP and Nasdem, which are pro-Jokowi parties, were presented the most in 23.52% and 7.35% respectively (asides of being the "target" in 1.47%). In contrast, Demokrat and Gerindra, which are the government's opposition, received high role allocation. They are allocated in 13.23% and 11.76% respectively (Gerindra also received 1.47% as "target"). These two parties are the important social actors in *Republika.co.id* news. The other parties' allocated for 1.47% to 2.94%. From the allocation, *Republika.co.id* intends to show the readers that the opposition (Demokrat, Gerindra, PAN, and PKS) threatened the government which had raised the issue of "lawlessness" to the House of Representatives. They wanted to execute their right of investigating the law if the government does not immediately cancel the inauguration of Iriawan.

Table 6 below shows the domination of active sentences used by *Republika.co.id*. The active sentences were used to highlight the central role (power) of the social actor. Meanwhile, passive sentences are used to highlight the "target" or "patient" they were talking about, the inauguration of Police Commissioner General Iriawan as the Governor of West Java. The active and passive structures do not only give different meaning, but they also affect the society socio-politically. Foucault mentions that power and knowledge are not seen as independent entities but are inextricably related. Further, knowledge is always an exercise of power. (See (<http://routledgesoc.com/category/profile-tags/powerknowledge>)). Thus, the mass media (online) have the "power" to produce and reproduce meaning according to their purpose.

For more details, we investigate how the social actors actively and passively represented in examples (13) – (18) below.

- (13) *PDIP menyatakan* tak ikut campur soal penunjukan mantan Kapolda Metro Jaya Komjen M Iriawan sebagai Pj Gubernur Jawa Barat.
- (14) *Politikus perempuan dari Fraksi PDIP DPRD Jawa Barat ini juga berharap*, Iriawan bisa berkoodinasi dengan pihak terkait, ...
- (15) *Ketua DPP Partai Golkar Ace Hasan Syadzily mengatakan* partainya secara tegas menolak usulan pembentuk Hak Angket terkait pelantikan Komjen Mochamad Iriawan sebagai penjabat gubernur Jawa Barat.
- (16) *Fraksi Partai Gerindra di DPRD Jabar juga sudah mengambil* sikap tegas terhadap pelantikan tersebut.
- (17) *Iriawan diberi* jabatan tinggi madya di lingkungan aparat sipil negara (ASN) hanya untuk mengulang model pengangkatan Inspektur Jenderal Polisi Carlo Brix Tewu sebagai Pj Gubernur Sulawesi Barat pada 2016, ...
- (18) *Sesudah namanya ditarik* Menko Polhukam, Iriawan kemudian *dimutasi* ke Lemhanas, dijadikan Sekretaris Utama.

PDIP in (13), PDIP DPRD Jawa Barat in (14), Ketua DPP Partai Golkar Ace Hasan Syadzily in (15), and Fraksi Partai Gerindra in DPRD Jawa Barat in (16) were represented as the active, dynamic forces, but Iriawan in (17) and *Namanya* (his name) in (18) were represented as the passive actors. In example (17), Iriawan was positively beneficialised as *diberi*, but in (18) he was negatively beneficialised as *ditarik* and *dimutasi*.

Table 6. Role Allocation in Irawan's Inauguration as Governor of West Java in *Republika.co.id* (Political Parties/Legislative)

Activated/Subjected/ Beneficialized	Political Parties/Legislative										Annotation
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
PDIP n=17		Gol- kar n = 1	Nas Dem n = 5	Ha- nura n = 2	PKB n = 2	PPP n = 1	PAN n = 2	Demo- krat n = 9	Gerin dra n = 9	PKS n=1	
Activated ("actor"/"agent") %	23.52	1.47	7.35	2.94	2.94	1.47	2.94	13.23	11.76	1.47	The news of the inauguration of M. Iriawan as the Governor in West Java on 18-20 June 2018
Subjected ("patient"/"goal") %	1.47	1.47	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.47	0	
Beneficialized ("recipient") %	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Notes:

PDIP, Golkar, NasDem, Hanura, PKB, PPP, PAN are political parties which supported presidential nomination for Joko Widodo in 2019. Gerindra, PKS, Demokrat are political parties which supported presidential nomination for Prabowo Subianto in 2019.
n = number of reports

Table 7 shows the role allocation of social actors from non-executive and non-legislative parties reported by *Republika.co.in*. There are 11 social actors consisting of *Pengamat politik* (political observer), *Rakyat* (society), *Paslon* (candidates), *Organisasi Kepemudaan Muhammadiyah* (Muhammadiyah Youth Organization), *Lawan* (Opponent), *Eksekutif* (Executive), *KIPP*, *Kapitra* (*Pengacara dan praktisi hukum*) (Kapitra (Lawyers and legal practitioners), *ASN* (civil servants), *SBY*, *AA Gym* (*tokoh agama Islam*) (muslim public figure). However, there is a difference in the allocation of "agent", i.e., *Pengamat politik* (political observer) got 7.35%, *Rakyat* (society) 2.94%, *Kapitra* 4.41%, *ASN* 4.41%, 7.35% *SBY* 4.41%, and *Paslon tertentu* (candidates) 0.00%. Meanwhile, the social actor of the *Organisasi Kepemudaan Muhammadiyah* (Muhammadiyah Youth Organization), *Lawan* (Opponent), *Pelaksana Pilkada* (Regional election committee), *KIPP*, and *AA Gym* received 4.41% each.

Republika.co.id intends to project that *Pengamat politik* (political observers), *Organisasi Kepemudaan Muhammadiyah* (Muhammadiyah Youth Organization), and *Tokoh agama Islam* (muslim public figure) gave socio-political pressure to the government. Likewise, *SBY*, who is a part of the government's opposition, played an active role as he wants to reject the inauguration of Iriawan that it could "threaten" the candidate whom he supports (Deddy Mizwar – Dedi Mulyadi).

The role of social actors *Rakyat* and *ASN* in the news as "patients" are very high, where both got 22.05% and 20.58% consequently. Hence, it can be interpreted that the *Rakyat* and *ASN* become the social actors who became the basis of the argumentation of two parties, pro-government and anti-government. There is a sharp political conflict for the candidates of governor election. *Rakyat* and *ASN* also became the "recipients" who received the benefit of the inauguration of M. Iriawan. In addition, certain candidate (TB Hasanuddin-Anton Charlyan whose came from inactive status of Indonesian National Armed Force (*TNI*) and Indonesian National Police (*POLRI*)). Finally, the opponents and election committee were also allocated as "patients" for 4.41% and 2.94%. The opponents refer to the government's opponents, while the election committee are suspected by the opposition, especially those from the executive elements, such as *ASN*, *TNI*, and *POLRI*.

Table 7. Role Allocation in Irawan's Inauguration as Governor of West Java in Republik.a.co.id (Non-Executive - Non-Legislative - Legislative)

Activated/Sub-jected/Benefi-cialized	Non-Executive - Non-Legislative										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	Pengamat Politik n = 7	Rakyat n = 18	Paslon tertentu n = 6	Orgnanisasi Pemudaan n = 3	Lawan n = 4	Pelaksana Pilkada n = 3	KIPP n = 1	Kapitra n = 3	ASN n = 19	SBY n = 14	Tokoh Keagamaan (AA Gym) n = 3
Activated ("actor"/"agent") %	7.35	2.94	0	4.41	1.47	1.47	1.47	4.41	4.41	7.35	4.41
Subjected ("patient"/"goal") %	0	22.05	0	0	4.41	2.94	0	0	20.58	13.23	0
Beneficialized ("recipient") %	0	1.47	8.82	0	0	0	0	0	2.94	0	0

Notes:

Pengamat politik (political observer), *Rakyat* (society), *Paslon* (candidates), *Organisasi Kepemudaan Muhammadiyah* (Muhammadiyah Youth Organization), *Lawan* (Opponent), *Ekssekutif* (Executive), *KIPP*, *Kapitra* (*Pengacara dan praktisi hukum*) (Kapitra (Lawyers and legal practitioners), *ASN* (civil servants), *SBY*, *tokoh agama* (muslim public figure).

n = number of reports

For more details, examples (19) – (22) show how the social actors actively and passively represented.

- (19) "Berkaitan dengan Pilkada, ASN harusnya netral dan beresiko jika tidak netral, karena akan ada sanksi jika tidak netral," jelas mantan Kapolda Jawa Barat ini.
- (20) "Kami akan mengawal pilkada ini, dengan estafet nanti akan memberikan pada gubernur definitif kami dan kami akan mengawasi ASN untuk netral,
- (21) "DPR harus menjadi penyeimbang dan pengawas jalannya pemerintahan, kami berpandangan saat yang tepat bagi Fraksi Demokrat DPR RI dan DPR RI menggunakan Hak Angket mengingatkan dan mengoreksi pemerintah agar tidak terkoreksi oleh rakyat dan sejarah,"
- (22) **Pengamat Politik** dari Universitas Indonesia (UI) Cecep Hidayat mengatakan pelantikan Komjen Pol Iriawan berdampak secara sosial pada tahun politik ini.

ASN in (19), Rakyat in (21), and Pengamat Politik (22) above were represented as the active ones, but ASN in (20) was represented as being the object of the sentence.

- (23) Apa mungkin saya mencoreng muka saya sendiri di depan **para sesepuh Jabar dan rakyat Jabar**?
- (24) Menurutnya, tidak ada hubungan dilantiknya Iriawan dengan rencana pemenangan **pasangan calon (paslon) tertentu** di Pilkada Jabar 2018.
- (25) "Tidak mungkin netralitas kami pertaruhkan hanya untuk kemenangan **paslon tertentu**," tambahnya.

Meanwhile, *para sesepuh* and *rakyat* in (23) was presented as circumstantial element of location. The actors refer to 'place' (di depan para sesepuh Jabar dan rakyat Jabar) when the process happens. Yet, *Pasangan calon (paslon) tertentu* in (24) was presented as circumstantial element of contingency. The actor refers to 'concession' (there is no relationship between Iriawan's inauguration and the plan to win a particular candidate ('paslon') in the 2018 West Java regional election) when the process happened. The social actor in (25) was presented with circumstantial element of cause. The actor refers to a 'purpose' (for certain candidate's win) when the process happened.

Based on Tables 5, 6, and 7 above, we can see that the active sentences dominated the information in *Republika.co.id*. The active structures highlight the central role of social actors in their social actions, while passive structures emphasize the "patients" or "target" the media discussed. Thus, these active and passive structure give different meanings; and this different meaning also affects the reader's perception in society socio-politically.

Substitution

According to van Leeuwen (2008:40), social actors can be represented either by their uniqueness, by being nominated, or by their identities and functions they share with others (categorization). It is interesting to investigate which social actors are categorized or nominated in this research. Van Leeuwen (2008:41) states that there are some discursive features can be used to represent social actors. In terms of substitution, social actors can be represented by nomination and categorization. Nomination is typically realized by proper nouns, which can be formal (surname only, with or without honorifics), semiformal (given name and surname), or informal (given name only).

In Table 8, we can see the data of nomination, categorization, and personalization for the executive and the government agents reported by *Republika.co.id*. As an illustration, examples (26) dan (29) below show how Irawan is nominated (informalization) in (26), while *Direktur Eksekutif Perludem* Executive Director of Perludem) *Titi Anggraini*, *Komjen Polisi* (Police Commissioner General) *M. Iriawan*, *Penjabat Sementara (Pj) Gubernur* (Temporary Governor) in (27) are nominated (formalization). In (28) and (29), *Bupati* (Head of Regency), *Wali Kota* (City Major), *TNI* (Indonesian Armed Forces), and *Polri* (Indonesian National Police) are categorized (functionalization).

- (26) *Iriawan* menjabat sekretaris utama Lemhanas sehingga tidak bisa dinilai melanggar UU.
- (27) *Direktur Eksekutif Perludem Titi Anggraini* menilai pelantikan **Komjen Polisi M. Iriawan** sebagai **Penjabat Sementara (Pj) Gubernur Jawa Barat** justru menimbulkan kegaduhan yang tidak perlu.
- (28) **Pjs. Gubernur** dari perwira tinggi polisi sempat menimbulkan kontroversi dan polemik di masyarakat...
- (29) Tidak hanya itu, dia akan bekerja sama dengan para **bupati dan wali kota, TNI serta Polri** dalam mengamankan Jawa Barat di masa tenang Pilkada serentak.

We finally categorized 15 social actors from government executives and institutions, which are *Pemerintah* (Government), *Istana* (Palace), *Presiden* (the President), *Ngabalin*, *Menteri Dalam Negeri* (Ministry of Home Affairs), *Tjahjo*, *Pjs. Gubernur* (Temporary Governor), *Komjen Pol.* (Police Commissioner General) *Iriawan*, *Iriawan*, *Iwan Bule*, *Gubernur terganti* (replaced governor), *Lemhannas* (National Defence Agency), *Saya* (I), *Kompolnas* (National Police Commission). *Pemerintah* (Government), *Presiden* (the government), *Menteri Dalam Negeri* (Ministry of Home Affairs), *Pj. Gubernur* (Current Governor), *Gubernur terganti* (replaced Governor), *Lemhanas* (National Defence Agency), and *Kompolnas* (National Police Commission) were categorized (functionalization), while *Komjen Pol. Iriawan* was nominated (formalization). *Ngabalin*, *Iriawan*, and *Tjahjo* were nominated (informalization), but *Iriawan Bule* was represented as a specific individual. Eventually, *Saya* (I) was represented as personalization of human being.

In van Leeuwen's theory, the social actors' substitution in *Republika.co.id* has social-political context. In Table 8 below, *Republika.co.id* prefers functionalization to nomination (formalization and informalization) to represent the actors. The representation shows that the media "seek socio-political support" by exposing the political function of the government institutions (*Pemerintah* (government), *Presiden* (the president), *Menteri Dalam Negeri* (Ministry of Home Affairs), *Pjs. Gubernur* (temporary governor), *Gubernur terganti* (replaced governor), *Lemhannas* (National Defence Agency), and *Kompolnas* (National Police Commission)). The media exposed that the government violated Police Law No. 2/2002 about concurrent positions for active police (http://hukum.unsrat.ac.id/uu/uu_2_02.htm).

Table 8. Nomination, Categorization, and Personalization in Irawan's Inauguration as Governor of West Java in Republik.co.id (Executive/Government/Government People)

Nomination and Categorization	Executive/Government/Government People																
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
	Peme-rintal n=5	Ista-na n=3	Presi-den n=6	Nga-balim n=3	Kem-endagri n=6	Men-dagri n=12	Tjah-jo n=2	Pj. Gu-ber-nur n=20	Kom-ijen (Pak) Iri-ri-awan n=67	Iri-awa n=3	Iwan Bule n=3	Gu-ber-nur Ter-ganti n=1	Lem-ha-nas n=1	Sa-ya n=2	Kom-polnas n=2	Annotation	
Formalization %	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100.0	89.55	0	0	0	0	0	0	The news of
Semi Formalization %	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	the inauguration of M. Iriawan as
Informalization %	0	0	0	4.47	0	0	2.98	0	0	0	0	1.49	0	0	0	0	the Governor in West Java on 18-20 June 2018
Categorization	7.46	4.47	8.95	0	8.95	17.91	0	29.85	0	0	0	0	1.49	0	2.98	0	
Personalization	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.98	0	

Notes:

Pemerintah (Government), *Istana* (Palace), *Presiden* (the President), *Ngabalin*, *Menteri Dalam Negeri* (Ministry of Home Affairs), *Tjahjo*, *Pjs. Gubernur* (Temporary Governor), *Komjen Pol.* (Police Commissioner General) *Iriawan*, *Iriawan*, *Iwan Bule*, *Gubernur terganti* (replaced governor), *Lemhannas* (National Defence Agency), *Saya* (I), *Kompolnas* (National Police Commission), *Pemerintah* (Government), *Presiden* (the government), *Menteri Dalam Negeri* (Ministry of Home Affairs), *Pj. Gubernur* (Current Governor), *Gubernur terganti* (replaced Governor), *Lemhannas* (National Defence Agency), and *Kompolnas* (National Police Commission).

n = number of reports

In Table 9, we present the differentiation and categorization of the executive and government agency reported by *Republika.co.id*. We included 12 social actors who came from 10 political parties, namely PDIP, Golkar, NasDem, Hanura, PKB, PPP, PAN, PD, Gerindra and PKS. We also include the members of DPR into this category. The 10 social actors PDIP, Golkar, NasDem, Hanura, PKB, PPP, PAN, PD, Gerindra and PKS were represented as differentiation in (30) – (33) and categorization in (34) – (35) as follows.

- (30) **Golkar** Tolak Hak Angket Terkait Iriawan Jadi Pj Jabar.
- (31) **Partai Golkar** menilai bahwa penunjukan tersebut merupakan kewenangan pemerintah.
- (32) **Fraksi Demokrat** mendorong DPR membentuk Panitia Khusus Hak Angket untuk mengoreksi kebijakan tersebut.
- (33) **Fraksi PAN** Dukung Usulan Hak Angket Pj Gubernur Iriawan.
- (34) **DPR** harus menjadi penyeimbang dan pengawas jalannya pemerintahan,
- (35) **Fraksi Demokrat** mendorong **DPR** membentuk Panitia Khusus Hak Angket untuk mengoreksi kebijakan tersebut.

In Table 9 below, *Republika.co.id* also prefers differentiation and categorization. We inferred that *Republika.co.id* seek social-political support by exposing political parties and/or DPR/DPRD ‘House of Representatives’ who both supporting and negating of the inauguration of Iriawan.

Table 9. Differentiation and Categorization in Irawan's Inauguration as Governor of West Java in Republika.co.id (Political Parties/Legislative)

Differentiation / Categorization	Political Parties/Legislative											Annotation	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11		12
Differentiation	Golkar n = 4	Nas Dem n = 5	PKPI n = 0	PPP n = 1	PKB n = 2	Hanu- ra n = 2	PAN n = 2	De- mo- krat n = 8	Gerin- dra n = 5	PKS n = 0	DPR RI n = 4	Ketua DPRD n = 2	The news of the inauguration of M. Iriawan as the Governor in West Java on 18-20 June 2018
Categorization	4.47	7.35	0	1.47	2.94	2.94	2.94	10.44	5.88	0	0	0	2.98

Notes:
 PDIP, Golkar, NasDem, Hanura, PKB, PPP, PAN are political parties who supported presidential nomination for Joko Widodo in 2019
 Gerindra, PKS, Demokrat are political parties who supported presidential nomination for Prabowo Subianto in 2019.
 n = number of reports

The last role allocation data came from the representation of the executives and government institutions. The substitution's element used in the media are nomination, indetermination, association, and individualization. According to van Leeuwen (2008: 40), social actors can be represented either in terms of their unique identity or by being nominated. He (2008:37) adds that social actors can be referred to as individuals in the process of individualization, or as groups or assimilation. Middle-class-oriented newspapers tend to individualize elite persons and assimilate "ordinary people", while working-class-oriented newspapers quite often individualize "ordinary people". As reported by van Leeuwen (2008: 39), indetermination occurs when social actors are represented as unspecified, "anonymous" individuals or groups, i.e., *Rakyat* (society), *Paslon tertentu* (a particular candidate), *Lawan* (opponent), etc. He also states that there is another way in which social actors can be represented as groups, which is association. Association refers to groups formed by social actors, i.e., *Pelaksana Pilkada* (regional election committee), *Perludem*, *ASN* etc.

After identifying the data, we found 11 social actors who came from non-executive and non-legislative: *Pengamat politik* (political observer), *Rakyat* (society), *Paslon* (candidates), *Danil: Ketua Pemuda Muhammadiyah* (Danil: Head of Muhammadiyah Youth Organization), *Lawan* (Opponent), *Pelaksana Pilkada* (Regional election committee), *Perludem*, *Kapitira* (*Pengacara dan praktisi hukum*) (Kapitira (Lawyers and legal practitioners), *Praktisi Hukum* (legal practitioner), *ASN* (Civil Servant), and *AA Gym* (*tokoh agama Islam*) (muslim public figure). *Pengamat politik* (political observer) was represented with nomination. Meanwhile, *Rakyat* (society), *Lawan* (opponent), and *Paslon tertentu* (a particular candidate) were represented with indetermination. *Pelaksana Pilkada* (regional election committee), *Perludem*, and *ASN* (civil servant) were associated. *Danil: Ketua Pemuda Muhammadiyah* (Danil: Head of Muhammadiyah youth organization), *Kapitira: Praktisi hukum* (Kapitira: legal practitioner), *AA Gym: Tokoh keagamaan* (AA Gym: religious figure), and *Mantan presiden SBY* (former president SBY) were represented with individualization.

Table 10 below shows how *Republika.co.id* used nomination, indetermination, association, and individualization for the respective actors. By using these methods, *Republika.co.id* wants to look for socio-political support. They highlight *Pengamat politik* (political observer), *Ketua Pemuda Muhammadiyah* (Head of Muhammadiyah Youth Organization), *Perludem*, *Praktisi hukum* (legal practitioner), and *Mantan presiden SBY* (former president SBY) who clearly did not support the inauguration of Komjen Pol. (Police Commissioner General) M. Iriawan as the Governor in West Java. Moreover, *Rakyat* (society), *Paslon tertentu* (a particular candidate) are affiliated with the *TNI* (Indonesian National Armed Force), *POLRI* (Indonesian National Police), and *ASN* (Civil Servant) were included to criticize the inauguration by the government oppositions.

Table 10. Nomination, Assimilation, Indetermination, Association, and Individualization in Irawan's Inauguration as Governor of West Java in Republik.co.id (Non-Executive — Non-Political Parties — Non-Legislative)

Nomination, Assimilation, Indetermination, Association, Individualization	Non-Executive—Non Political Parties—Non-Legislative										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	Pengamat Politik n = 4	Rakyat n=16	Paslon tertentu n = 7	Danil: Ketua Pemuda (Muh.) n = 1	Lawan n=1	Pelaksana Pilkada/Harian n = 8	Perlu-dem n = 2	Kapitra: Praktisi Hukum n = 1	ASN n= 26	Gym: Tokoh Agama Islam n = 2	SBY: Mantan Presiden n = 24
Nomination	5.88	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indetermination	0	23.52	10.29	0	1.49	0	0	0	0	0	0
Association	0	0	0	0	0	11.76	2.94	0	38.23	0	0
Individualization	0	0	0	1.49	0	0	0	1.49	0	2.94	35.29

Notes:

Pengamat politik (political observer), *Rakyat* (society), *Paslon* (candidates), *Danil: Ketua Pemuda Muhammadiyah* (Danil: Head of Muhammadiyah Youth Organization), *Lawan* (Opponent), *Pelaksana Pilkada* (Regional election committee), *Perlu-dem*, *Kapitra* (*Pengacara dan praktisi hukum*) (Kapitra (Lawyers and legal practitioners), *Praktisi Hukum* (legal practitioner), ASN (Civil Servant), and AA Gym (*tokoh agama Islam*) (muslim public figure), n = number of reports

Table 10 above shows us that as middle-class-oriented newspapers, *Republika.co.id* tends to (1) individualize elite persons, such as *SBY* as a former president (35.29%), *Danil: Ketua Pemuda Muhammadiyah* (Danil: Head of Muhammadiyah youth organization) (1.49%), *Kapitra: Praktisi Hukum* (Kapitra: Legal Practitioner) (1.49%), and *AA Gym: Tokoh Agama Islam* (Islamic Figure) (2.94%); (2) associate *ASN* (civil servant) (38.23%) and *Pelaksana Pilkada* (regional election committee) (11.76%) as a group that must be neutral in every general election (national/regional); (3) indeterminate *Rakyat* (society) (23.52%), *Paslon tertentu* (a particular candidate) (10.29%), and *Lawan* (opponent) (1.49%) as anonymous groups; and (4) nominate *Pengamat politik* (political observer) (5.88%) with their unique identity.

CONCLUSION

Republika.co.id served critical and thoughtful reporting of the inauguration of Police Commissioner General Iriawan as the Governor in West Java a few days before the 2018 West Java governors election and several months before 2019 the presidential election. *Republika.co.id* used very careful language to represent the social actor and frame their narration. In this case, we see that they have incorporated the elements of van Leeuwen's theories, which are deletion, role allocation, and substitution.

Based on the analysis above, we conclude that all pro-Iriawan actors were represented negatively as the inauguration is deemed as unconstitutional, manipulative, non-democratic, deceptive, unnecessary, counterproductive etc. On the contrary, social actors who oppose the inauguration were positively represented as the ones who obey the law, educative, democratic, honest, etc. The representation social actors is also called 'social practice'. Social practice happens due to the asymmetrical and unequal power between government versus political party. Thus, language (discourse), ideology, and power play important and interconnecting role in social practice because they influence the reports of social, political, and legal events in mass media (*Republika.co.id*). They include three interests in the media, which are: ideology (nationalism versus Islamism), politics (power struggle for governor and president), and economics (strengthening economic systems and managing natural resources (forests, land, water, etc.), human resources, and capital).

This study confirms the three previous researches. Firstly, Sahragard and Davatgarzadeh (2010) find that there is a different representation of male and female actors. Female actors are portrayed as more prominent, successful, active, independent, expressive, and assertive in comparison with the male counterparts. Secondly, Moini (2016) finds that male and female social actors are featured differently using some discursive features in the media. Male social actors are described as more autonomous, successful, and active comparing to the female ones. Thirdly, Taryn (2018) uses van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic framework for analysing the representation of social actors. The research focuses on the discursive devices used by two South African mining companies to construct social actors in CSR and IA reports. From the outset, the research finds that that both implats and gold fields draw on metaphors to construct themselves as having positive human qualities.

Our research has similarities with the three studies above. In this case, journalists or book writers tend to distinguish an individual actor or group from a similar actor or group. They create the difference between the "self" and the "other", or between "us" and "them", as with "others". We believe that journalists or book writers are not neutral because when they write, they have

already had certain political, economic, and social interests. These various interests make them feel "right" to judge themselves or their groups as better than other people or groups. Is this a basic human character? Can this character be changed?

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