

**POLITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF JOKO WIDODO'S POLITICAL  
DYNASTY ISSUES IN JAKARTA POST AND TEMPO REPORTING**

**THESIS**

By:

**Achmad Qodir Maulana Rusdin**

NIM 200302110206



**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE  
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES  
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG  
2024**

**POLITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF JOKO WIDODO'S POLITICAL  
DYNASTY ISSUES IN JAKARTA POST AND TEMPO REPORTING**

**THESIS**

Presented to  
Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang  
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S.)

By:  
**Achmad Qodir Maulana Rusdin**  
NIM: 200302110206

Advisor:  
**Dr. Agus Eko Cahyono, M. Pd.**  
NIP. 1982208112011011008



**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE  
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES  
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG  
2024**

## STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I state that thesis entitled **“Political Discourse Analysis of Joko Widodo’s Political Dynasty Issues in Jakarta Post and Tempo Reporting.”** is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those ones that are cited as references and written in bibliography. Hereby, if there is an objection or claim, I am the only person who is responsible for that.

Malang, 20 October 2024

The researcher



Achmad Qodir Maulana Rusdin


NIM 200302110206

## APPROVAL SHEET

This to certify that Achmad Qodir Maulana Rusdin's thesis entitled "Political Discourse Analysis of Joko Widodo's Political Dynasty in Jakarta Post and Tempo Reporting" has been approved for thesis. Examination at Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, as one of the requirements for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S).


Malang, 17 December, 2024

Approved by  
Advisor,



Dr. Agus Eko Cahyono, M.Pd  
NIP 196911222006041001

Head of Department of English  
Literature,



Ribut Wahyudi, M.Ed., Ph.D.  
NIP 198112052011011007

Acknowledged by  
Dean,



Dr. M. Pansol, M.Ag.  
NIP 197411012003121003

## LEGITIMATION SHEET

This to certify that Achmad Qodir Maulana Rusdin's thesis entitled **Political Discourse Analysis of Joko Widodo's Political Dynasty in Jakarta Post and Tempo Reporting** has been approved for thesis examination at Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, as one of the requirements for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S).

Malang, 17 December , 2024

### Board of Examiners

1. Dr. Agwin Degaf, M.A.  
NIP. 198805232015031004
2. Dr. Agus Eko Cahyono, M.Pd  
NIP.198208112011011008
3. Zainur Rofiq, M.A  
NIP.19861018201802011180

### Signatures

(Chair)

(First Examiner)

(Second Examiner)

Acknowledged by  
Dean,



Dr. M. Faisol, M.Ag.  
NIP. 19741012003121003

## **MOTTO**

“Your Lord has not taken leave of you, (O Muhammad), nor has He detested (you).”  
(93:3 Quran)

“To stop dreaming is the greatest tragedy of human life”.  
-Andrea Hirata, Sang Pemimpi-

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to myself and the number one parents in the world  
Mr. Drs. Rusdin Made Amin & Mrs. Suswati S. H  
And all my family and friends  
still supporting me.  
Of course, for the people in this country still fighting  
for the truth

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Praise be to Allah SWT, the Lord of the universe for all His favors and gifts so that researcher can complete this thesis well. Salutations and greetings are extended to His Majesty the Prophet Muhammad SAW as a guiding light for human life so that with His help the author can complete the thesis entitled “Political Discourse Analysis of Joko Widodo’s Political Dynasty in Jakarta Post and Tempo Reporting”. The researcher also expresses sincere appreciation to various parties who have contributed in various ways such as support, expertise, and valuable input during the process of writing this thesis. Their efforts, consideration and direction, as well as fruitful discussions, have played an important role in the completion of this work. The researcher would like to express his sincere gratitude to:

1. Dr. M. Faisol, M. Ag. serves as the Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, State Islamic University of Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.
2. Ribut Wahyudi, M.Ed, Ph. D. serves as the Chair of the English Literature Study Program at the State Islamic University of Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.
3. Dr. Agus Eko Cahyono, M. Pd. Served as the supervisor for this thesis, providing advice, direction, suggestion, solutions, motivation, and support from start to completion.
4. Abdul Aziz, M. Ed, Ph. D. as my academic advisor has provided guidance and motivation during Lecture.
5. The author's family, Mr. Rusdin and Mrs. Suswati as parents who strive for their children's education. Also, the author's siblings, Mas Rizky, Mas Rahman, Mbak Oca, Mbak Ida, Halima and finally the author's sister-in-law Mbak Zulfi and Mbak Tiara who always motivate the author in completing this thesis.
6. All my best friends Alvio, Rivaldi, Rizvan, Adit, Alvina, Ayu, Bunga, Tata, Iga,



who have been friends for a long time and always provide moral support to me.

7. My college friends Nindita, Andina, and all the big family “ETERIOUS 2020” have accompanied my college days.
8. All staff of the English Literature Students Association (ELSA) for the period 2021 and 2022 which has become a forum for my experience in organizing on campus.
9. And all those who cannot be named one by one, thank you for all your support and prayers.
10. Last but not least, thank you to myself for struggling and being responsible for finishing what I started. I was always willing to learn from mistakes and not give up on completing this thesis.

Moreover, I acknowledge that this undergraduate thesis is not great. Yet, it is intended that this will benefit readers and make a valuable contribution to the field of linguistics research. Therefore, we encourage constructive suggestions and criticism.

Malang 20 October 2024

Achmad Qodir Maulana Rusdin

## ABSTRACT

**Rusdin, Achmad Qodir Maulana** (2024). Political Discourse Analysis of Joko Widodo's Political Dynasty Issues in Jakarta Post and Tempo Reporting. Undergraduate Thesis. Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Advisor Agus Eko Cahyono, M.Pd.

*Keywords: Political Discourse Analysis, Political Discourse, Political Dynasty, Online media.*

---

This research examines political discourse related to Joko Widodo's political dynasty issue regarding his son's candidacy in the 2024 election through online news media. The focus of this research is the comparison of narratives from both Tempo and Jakarta Post. The method uses a quasi-qualitative approach with political discourse analyst theory from Van Dijk (1998) and Fairclough & Fairclough (2012). This research reveals how these two media narrate political discourse analysis with three domains: political actors, political institutions, and political organizations. The finding of this study show the different views of Tempo and Jakarta Post in representing the issue of political dynasties. Tempo emphasizes more direct criticism in the potential abuse of power, while Jakarta Post is more neutral and balanced. The analysis also shows that power and political interests have a significant influence on discourse representation, and the two media use different linguistic strategies to explain this topic. This study makes an important contribution to understanding how dynastic political discourse is produced and disseminated through the media, and how it affects people's perceptions.

## ستخلص البحث

روسدين، أحمد قدير مولانا (2024). تحليل الخطاب السياسي حول قضايا سلالة جوكو ويدودو عبر وسائل الإعلام الإلكترونية رسالة جامعية. قسم الأدب الإنجليزي، كلية العلوم الإنسانية، جامعة إسلام نيجيري مولانا مالك إبراهيم مالانج. المستشار آغوس إيكو كاهيونو، ماجستير.

الكلمات المفتاحية تحليل الخطاب السياسي، الخطاب السياسي، السياسة السلالية، الإعلام الإلكتروني

يفحص هذا البحث الخطاب السياسي المتعلق بقضية السلالة السياسية لجوكو ويدودو فيما يتعلق بترشح ابنه في انتخابات عام من خلال وسائل الإعلام الإخبارية على الإنترنت. ويركز هذا البحث على مقارنة الروايات الواردة في كل من صحيفتي 2024 تيمبو و جاكورتا بوست. وتستخدم هذه الطريقة منهجًا شبه كمي مع نظرية تحليل الخطاب السياسي من فان ديك (1998) وفيركلو: وفيركلو (2012). ويكشف هذا البحث عن كيفية سرد هاتين الوسيطتين الإعلاميتين لتحليل الخطاب السياسي في ثلاثة مجالات الفاعلون السياسيون، والمؤسسات السياسية، والمنظمات السياسية. وتُظهر نتائج هذه الدراسة اختلاف وجهات نظر كل من صحيفة تيمبو و جاكورتا بوست في تمثيل قضية السلالات السياسية. تركز صحيفة تيمبو على النقد المباشر بشكل أكبر في إساءة استخدام السلطة المحتملة، في حين أن صحيفة جاكورتا بوست أكثر حيادية وتوازنًا. ويبين التحليل أيضًا أن السلطة والمصالح السياسية لها تأثير كبير على تمثيل الخطاب، وتستخدم وسيلتنا الإعلام استراتيجيات لغوية مختلفة لشرح هذا الموضوع. تقدم هذه الدراسة إسهامًا مهمًا في فهم كيفية إنتاج الخطاب السياسي السلالي ونشره عبر وسائل الإعلام، وكيفية تأثيره على تصورات الناس.

## ABSTRAK

**Rusdin, Achmad Qodir Maulana** (2024) Analisis Wacana Politik Isu Dinasti Joko Widodo di Media Online. Jurusan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing Agus Eko Cahyono, M.Pd.

*Kata Kunci: Analisis Wacana Politik, Wacana Politik, Dinasti Politik, Media Online.*

---

Penelitian ini bertujuan mengkaji isu dinasti politik Joko Widodo terkait pencalonan putranya dalam pemilu 2024 melalui media berita online. Karena itu banyak kalangan yang memperbincangkan ini, terutama media online. Fokus pada penelitian ini adalah perbandingan narasi dari kedua Tempo dan Jakarta Post. Pendekatan Metode penelitian ini menggunakan kualitatif dengan teori analisis wacana politik dari Van Dijk (1998) dan Fairclough & Fairclough (2012). Penelitian ini mengungkapkan bagaimana kedua media ini menarasikan analisis wacana politik dengan tiga domain yaitu : aktor politik, institusi politik, dan organisasi politik. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan perbedaan pandangan dari Tempo dan Jakarta post dalam merepresentasikan isu dinasti politik. Tempo lebih menonjolkan kritik secara langsung dalam potensi penyalahgunaan kekuasaan, sementara Jakarta post lebih netral dan berimbang. Analisis tersebut juga menunjukkan bahwa kekuasaan dan kepentingan politik mempunyai pengaruh yang signifikan terhadap representasi wacana, dan kedua media tersebut menggunakan strategi linguistik yang berbeda untuk menjelaskan topik ini. Studi ini memberikan kontribusi penting untuk memahami bagaimana wacana politik dinasti diproduksi dan disebarluaskan melalui media, dan bagaimana hal tersebut mempengaruhi persepsi masyarakat.

## TABLE OF CONTENT

THESIS COVER	
STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
APPROVAL SHEET .....	ii
LEGITIMATION SHEET .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
MOTTO .....	v
DEDICATION .....	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .....	vii
ABSTRACT .....	ix
ستخلص البحث .....	x
ABSTRAK .....	xi
TABLE OF CONTENT .....	xii
CHAPTER I .....	1
INTRODUCTION .....	1
A. Background of Study .....	1
B. Problem of Study .....	8
C. Significant of Study .....	9
D. Scope and Limitation .....	9
E. Definition Key of Terms .....	10
CHAPTER II .....	11
REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE .....	11
A. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS .....	11
B. Critical Discourse Analysis .....	12
1. CDA in Van Dijk Concepts .....	12
2. CDA in Fairclough Concepts .....	15
C. Political Discourse Analysis .....	18
1. Domain of Political Discourse Analysis .....	20
D. Media Discourse .....	23
E. Language Properties on Tempo and Jakarta Post .....	24
CHAPTER III .....	30
RESEARCH METHOD .....	30

A. Research Design.....	30
B. Research Instrument.....	31
C. Data and Data Sources .....	31
D. Data Collecting .....	33
E. Data Analysis .....	34
CHAPTER IV .....	35
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION .....	35
A. Findings.....	35
1. Type of Domain Political Discourse Analysis Narrate in Jakarta Post and Tempo .....	35
2. Differences View between Tempo and Jakarta Post .....	68
B. Discussion .....	73
CHAPTER V .....	79
CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION .....	79
A. Conclusion .....	79
B. Suggestion.....	80
REFERENCES .....	82
CURRICULUM VITAE .....	85
APPENDIX.....	86

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents some essential points related to the area of research: the background of the study, the research question, the significance of the study, the scope and limitation, and the definition of key terms. tetek

### A. Background of Study

The development of social issues in society has increased over time. In particular, political dynasties are a major concern in the 2024 presidential election. This issue has been of particular concern since a final decision by the constitutional court to change the age minimum of candidate presidential and vice-presidential. The formation of political dynasties in Indonesia has often occurred in various regions. Political dynasties are modern hybrids that link elite political goals with popular norms of charismatic legitimacy, which provide a major advantage in weak institutions or institutional decay. (Thomson, 2012).

In that situation, Indonesia was affected by political dynasties. The moment of Gibran Rakabuming Raka's nomination as Prabowo Subianto's vice presidential candidate in October 2023 became the case object of this study. Political dynasties are networks of power within families or parties, often dominating and influencing democratic systems, and maintaining control through strategies like neopatrimonialism and charismatic legitimacy. This abuse of power occurred when the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the age limit of presidential and vice-presidential candidates was changed. According to the Election Law No. 7 2017 Article 169 letter q, presidential and vice-presidential candidates are at least 40 years old

(forty), candidates for governor/deputy governor are at least 30 (thirty) years old, and candidates for regent/deputy regent and candidates for mayor/deputy mayor are 25 (twenty-five) years old. Finally, there was a revision through Constitutional Court decision no. 90/PUU-XXI/2023, the Constitutional Court changed the age requirement for presidential and vice-presidential candidates so that someone who is not yet 40 years old but has experience as a regional head or other official elected through elections can run for the presidential election.

This incident allowed Gibran Rakabuming Raka to run as a vice-presidential candidate, even though he was under the minimum age. In addition, it is suspected that there is a family relationship between Joko Widodo and the chairman of the Constitutional Court, Anwar Usman. The relationship between the two is known as the brother and sister-in-law. Because Anwar Usman married Joko Widodo's sister, Idayati, several political experts criticized this phenomenon. Namely Prof Ikrar Nusa Bhakti in a video interview on Abraham Samad's YouTube channel. 'Mr Jokowi hijacked Indonesian democracy, thereby betraying our democracy.' (Bhakti, 2024).

These dynastic politics have occurred in various parts of the world, as happened during the New Order era when President Suharto was in government. In North Korea, leadership is also based on the " Kim " dynasty. This dynasty has been the highest leader in North Korea for three generations. There has also been a recent incident involving the formation of a new political dynasty in the Philippines. When the newest pair of president and vice president of the Philippines was inaugurated. Namely Bongbong Marcos Jr and Sara Duterte. The relationship between these two couples is powerful from previous presidents, namely Ferdinand Marcos Sr. and Rodrigo Duterte.



Discourse analysis uses the relationship between language and social-cultural context, considering what people say, how they work out what people mean, and how language presents different views of the world and different understandings. This study aims to understand the discourse strategies used by media in representing political dynasties in Indonesia. Developed with Political Discourse Analysis in this study which covers the phenomenon of political dynasties surrounding Joko Widodo. In this study, Political Discourse Analysis in its scope finds out the role of what factors influence the dynastic political narrative to develop, starting from politicians, institutions and others. Many online media revealed the growing issue of political dynasties during the 2024 election, and among them were Tempo and The Jakarta Post. These two media are aggressively reporting on matters related to political dynasties. There will be fundamental differences between these two regarding the point of view of revealing new political phenomena that occur in the 2024 election contest on the scale of the presidential and vice-presidential elections.

The Edelman Trust Barometer 2022 survey shows that the level of trust in the media in Indonesia is among the highest in the world, reaching 73%. This reflects public trust in traditional and digital media, including Tempo and The Jakarta Post. Tempo and The Jakarta Post are each recognized as quality media, although they have different audience focuses: Tempo tends to be investigative and progressive, while The Jakarta Post is more conservative and internationally oriented. It is on this basis that these two media are the material for research related to Joko Widodo's political dynasty phenomenon.

The researcher has taken several literature reviews of several previous studies to support this study, including:

First from Dunmire, P. L (2012). This study explains the beginning of the situation of linguistic and political changes that took place in the latter part of the 20th century within the human and social sciences. Different conceptions of what comprises the political and the appropriate objects of study for PDA. Adopting an Inclusive Conception of Politics and Discourse The explanation of political discourse in this book is easy for people to understand.

Second from Kareem and Rijia (2023). This study has good content to explain the political situation in America; this study aims to examine power in some American political interviews by CDA theory between Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama. This study hypothesizes that analyzing some of the speeches on big political issues enables the best recognition of the media's function in terms of power. This journal is clear enough to say about the political condition in America. However, this study showed the relation of power between Barrack Obama and Hillary Clinton in their speech.

Third from Torregrosa, J. et all (2022). This study proposes a study of political discourse and its underlying tension during the Madrid elections (Spain) in May 2021. The main outcomes of this study show that the election campaign is not as negative as citizens perceive and that there is no relationship between the tone of the discourse and its dissemination. This journal case is similar to the condition in Indonesia right now. The candidate for the presidential election used social media to deliver their campaign and persuade people to choose him.

Fourth from Iqbal Z. et al. (2020) focus on Prime Minister Imran Khan's social and political convincing style. Imran uses stable linguistic features to persuade people's minds,

such as maintaining arguments about semi-lockdown or smart-lockdown. This study is great when discussing the power of politics to persuade people during COVID-19. This study integrates Aristotelian rhetoric with social-political discourse analysis (SPDA) to provide a unique perspective on analyzing political speech During the pandemic. Another novelty discussed is the impact of the global crisis due to the Covid 19 pandemic, which has not been discussed in West Asia.

Fifth from Rehman, K.U et al. (2021). These studies explore Imran Khan's ideologies and vision as a leader through the power of language. He delivered his speech at the 74th session of UNGA, which focused on national and international issues like climate change, money laundering, Islamophobia, and the Kashmir dispute. They observe how different linguistic tools have been used to achieve political goals and objectives.

Sixth from Tian, L. (2021). This study analyzed the special relationship between power and traditional ideology in implied discourse. This paper also studies how speakers in political speech use language to shorten the distance between people and win people's affirmation and support from the aspect of transitivity analysis, modality analysis, and personal pronouns. Seven from Atia et al. (2023) study focused on personals in social media. Especially differences between. female and male politicians. This journal was chosen for my previous study because the contextualization of social media and political issues is related to a recent study.

Eighth from Zakiya, and Wahyudi (2022). This study searches for the relationship between women leaders' language and how the word choices represent women leaders on Twitter. They are getting the data from Theresa May's official Twitter account. A sampling of tweets from Theresa May took over the last six months, from January to July 2019. Thus,

all tweets focused on politics and leadership context. This study already adopted four theories to capture and analyze the data from different angles to produce analysis data.

The study revealed several word choices used by Theresa May in four categories: announcement tweets, attack/negative tweets, personal characteristics, and policy. I took a previous study from this journal because there are similarities in the theory used for the object of study. This journal takes the theory of political discourse analysis put forward by Norman Fairclough and Isabella Fairclough. This journal provides a very detailed analysis of the data based on PDA theory. This journal is very suitable for this thesis reference.

Ninth from Hasan et al. (2023). This study concerns how important semiotic discourse is in print media. Semiotic discourse is considered graphics language and intended for everyone. According to the paper, both English and Urdu newspapers are extremely polarized and create semiotic discourse with their target audience in mind, such as the economy, national politics, foreign politics, and social issues. Although this paper focuses on semiotic discourse, this journal can elaborate on political context to deliberate with recent studies.

Tenth from Farkhodovna, T. (2023). The study focused on discourse analysis of media text as a method how interpreting the language and meaning behind media messages. By analyzing media texts in this way, one can gain insight into the underlying beliefs, values, and attitudes the media conveys. Eleventh from Hasiguan et al. (2023), This study focused on Maudy Ayunda as a spokesperson for G20 Indonesia. This paper is interesting because the power of international news can dominate the political issues of national media. The explanation and result of this paper are very close to the Indonesian context.

Twelfth from Ulkhasanah (2019) examined the controversial speech by Donald Trump. This study wanted to show the ideological representation of a speech through several levels of power. In reference to Wodak's theory, this study shows five discursive strategies. These strategies include nomination or referential, predication, perspective, argumentation, and intensification strategies. From the five strategies, this study can find a positive self-presentation.

Thirteenth from Wulandari (2022) examines the types of vocabulary and grammar analysis methods used in online news texts on [Washingtonpost.com](http://Washingtonpost.com) and [guardian.com](http://guardian.com) about ideological representation in Greta Thunberg's speech. This study uses Fowler's analytical framework approach to expose Thunberg's speech in environmental confession. The main focus of this analysis is related to the form of words, phrases, clauses, and sentences in the online news text. This finding results in a neutral view from both media about the news written about Greta Thunberg's speech.

Last, fourteenth from Wing-Chun N.T (2020). This study adopts the CDA method for recontextualizing the Beijing voice in the Hong Kong government. In this context, the government used Beijing's interpretation of Article 104 of the Basic Law in 2016. This article only focuses on two social actors. The response to Beijing's interpretation by the Hong Kong government and an election flyer from a pro-democracy candidate was analyzed using a corpus analysis of pro-Beijing newspapers covering the incident.

The results indicate that the local government utilized Beijing's perspective to establish a predominant portrayal of Beijing–Hong Kong relations, effectively hegemonizing political discourse in Hong Kong. This influence extended to other social

domains, including newspapers and elections. In opposition to this hegemony, the pro-democracy camp leveraged Beijing's perspective to craft an alternative representation to secure votes in the by-election. This paper may benefit from showing the political turmoil in Hong Kong. In Indonesia, the media posts about political issues in the 2024 election are similar. People can judge the government's policy when it is all wrong.

The current study highlights gaps in existing research on political discourse analysis, particularly in regards to the context of Indonesian politics. While previous studies have primarily focused on political discourse in the United States, Europe, and South Asia, there is limited research on the analysis of political discourse in Indonesia. This study aims to fill that gap by examining the political landscape in Indonesia, specifically related to the implementation of the 2024 elections and the issue of political dynasties represented by the son of Joko Widodo, Gibran Rakabuming Raka. With approach by various theories, including Van Dijk's political discourse analysis theory, Norman Fairclough's work, and Isabella Fairclough's insights. By exploring the media's perspective and how they portray the issue of political dynasties in Indonesia, this study brings a fresh and novel perspective to the field of political discourse analysis.

## **B. Problem of Study**

Based on the study background above, this thesis is intended to answer the following problems:

1. What are the discursive strategies used by Tempo and The Jakarta Post in portraying Joko Widodo's political dynasty issues?

2. What are the key differences in the representation of Joko Widodo's dynasty issues between *Tempo* and *The Jakarta Post* from a political discourse analysis perspective?

### **C. Significant of Study**

This study identifies differing discursive strategies and biases between *Tempo* and *The Jakarta Post* in portraying Joko Widodo's political dynasty, revealing how media framing can impact public opinion. Theoretically, this study contributes to political discourse analysis by highlighting the media's role in framing political dynasties in Indonesia. Practically, it aids readers in developing a critical perspective on media biases, particularly in politically charged reporting, thus fostering media literacy among the public. add new insight into political studies in Indonesia.

### **D. Scope and Limitation**

The scope of this study includes an analysis of political discourse on media coverage regarding the Joko Widodo dynasty, focusing on the 2024 presidential election and his son's candidacy as vice president. The study will focus on language strategies in news coverage concerning the political advantages that benefit President Joko Widodo's family, especially his son's candidacy.

The study is limited to news articles published in online media outlets during the final term of President Joko Widodo's administration, specifically focusing on policies that directly affect his son's candidacy. This study only analyzed online media articles and excludes traditional print newspapers and television broadcasts.

## **E. Definition Key of Terms**

The researcher has listed several keywords employed in the study related to the subject matter:

### 1. Political Discourse Analysis

Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) is a critical approach to analyzing discourse that examines how language is used to reproduce and challenge political power.

### 2. Political Dynasty

Refers to the concentration of political power within a single family, where members occupy elected positions sequentially or simultaneously, potentially limiting democratic competition and consolidating influence within a family.

### 3. Online Media

Online Media refers to digital platforms that disseminate news and information through websites, allowing users to access content in real-time and providing a space for rapid dissemination of information and engagement with audiences.

### 4. Discourse Representation.

Discourse representation is closely related to social structures and power. Discourse reflects how certain social groups shape meaning in texts to maintain power or direct people's understanding. (Van Dijk, 1997)



## **CHAPTER II**

### **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

This chapter covers key concepts related to discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis (CDA), political discourse analysis (PDA), and media discourse, specifically analyzing the language properties of online news media in The Jakarta Post and Tempo.

#### **A. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

Discourse Analysis is a linguistic approach that examines language beyond the level of individual words or sentences to explore how language use reflects social identities, relationships, and worldviews (Paltridge, 2012). The patterns of language across text consider the ways that the use of language presents different views of the world and different understandings. It examines how relationships between participants and relations influence the use of language. This approach considers how language creates meaning across texts and how it shapes and is shaped by societal structures and interactions.

This study involves deserved approaches to scrutinizing the text, each grounded in distinct theoretical traditions and emerging from various disciplinary backgrounds. Essentially, there is no universally accepted “discourse analysis” rather, multiple analytical styles exist, each asserting its claim to the title. These approaches are rooted in different theoretical traditions and diverse disciplinary backgrounds, resulting in a lack of a singular, universally accepted definition of “discourse analysis.” Instead, multiple analysis styles coexist, each vying for recognition under the overarching term.

## **B. Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) studies how language constructs and reproduces power dynamics, ideologies, and social structures (Wodak, 2001). Things have generally been the other way around, with a system (grammar. paradigms) generating processes (syntagms), rather than processes (practices) generating systems (institution and objective form of knowledge).

CDA considers both the linguistic structures within texts and the broader social context, helping to uncover hidden power relations embedded in language use. Key elements in CDA include social context, power and ideology, and the distinction between micro- and macro-level analysis (Van Dijk, 2008; Fairclough, 2013). CDA is concerned with understanding how language contributes to social inequality and power relations reproduction. Fairclough emphasizes the interconnectedness of language, discourse, and social practices. Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA consists of three main components: textual analysis, discourse practice, and social practice.

### **1. CDA in Van Dijk Concepts**

Van Dijk expressed several important points regarding deepening critical discourse analysis. Van Dijk's CDA focuses on how discourse reflects and influences power relations and social contexts, examining elements like social context, power and ideology, and discourse structures.

#### **a. Social Context**

Van Dijk's approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) highlights the social context and the complex relationship between language and power in

society. CDA goes beyond analyzing linguistic structures to explore how language operates as a tool for negotiating and reflecting power dynamics. A key aspect is understanding how individuals and groups use language to assert influence and maintain positions in the social hierarchy.

CDA also examines discourse's explicit and implicit power imbalances to uncover how language constructs and perpetuates societal realities. This analysis incorporates the influence of institutions, norms, and cultural practices on language use, emphasizing that discourse shapes and shapes these factors. Historical contexts are critical, as language is deeply embedded in them. Through this approach, CDA seeks to reveal how discourse interacts with social structures to reflect and sustain societal values and hierarchies.

Political Discourse	A politician uses terms like "freedom fighters" for allies and "terrorists" for opponents to frame a conflict in a way that supports their agenda.
Cultural Practice	In some cultures, honorifics like "sir" or "ma'am" are used to show respect, reflecting and reinforcing hierarchical social structures.
Historical Context	The phrase "iron curtain" reflects Cold War-era divisions and continues to be used in discussions of geopolitical separations influenced by history.

### **b. Power and Ideology**

Van Dijk emphasizes the critical relationship between language, power, and ideology within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Power in CDA refers to the ability of individuals or groups to influence, control resources, and shape opinions. Language serves as a vital tool for exercising power, whether through explicit statements or implicit structures and nuances. CDA analyzes how

discourse is used to maintain or challenge power imbalances across various domains like politics, media, and everyday communication.

Ideology, within this framework, represents the set of beliefs, values, and norms that shape and reflect societal structures. Language is not neutral; it is a medium where ideologies are articulated, normalized, or contested. Dominant ideologies are often disseminated to create shared understandings of social realities, but language can also be a tool for resistance by marginalized groups. CDA examines linguistic patterns, framing, and representation to uncover how language reinforces or challenges power dynamics and ideologies. For instance, terms like "illegal immigrants" are strategically used in media to criminalize migrants and perpetuate negative stereotypes, reflecting and reinforcing power structures.

Political Rhetoric	A leader uses the phrase "national security" to justify controversial policies, appealing to public fears.
Media Representation	Media outlets use terms like "illegal immigrants" to criminalize migration and propagate negative stereotypes.
Resistance in Language	Activists use terms like "undocumented workers" instead of "illegal immigrants" to humanize migrant groups.
Framing in Discourse	Environmental activists use the term "climate crisis" instead of "climate change" to convey urgency.

### c. Discourse Structures

Van Dijk explores discourse structures, focusing on how language is organized to convey meaning and influence perception. Discourse structures include the organizational patterns, sequencing of information, and rhetorical

strategies within communication. By analyzing these structures, CDA uncovers embedded power relations and ideological dimensions. Elements such as framing, argument selection, and hierarchical text construction shape discourse and influence how social realities are perceived.

A key component of discourse structures is the representation of social actors and events. The way individuals or groups are positioned, the attribution of agency or passivity, and specific language choices contribute to constructing social realities. Such analysis reveals how language reinforces certain perspectives and marginalizes others. For instance, protests described as "riots" by the media often emphasize violence, prioritizing law and order over civil rights.

Framing of Information	A report on climate change highlights economic costs rather than environmental urgency, influencing perception.
Representation of Events	Media describes protests as "riots," emphasizing violence and undermining the protesters' cause.
Social Actor Positioning	Immigrants are depicted as "job-takers," focusing on competition rather than contributions to society.

## 2. CDA in Fairclough Concepts

Fairclough's CDA model includes textual analysis, discourse practice, and social practice, offering a comprehensive framework to analyze language's role in social inequality and power relations.

### a. Textual Analysis

This dimension, emphasizes the examination of linguistic features within a given text, such as vocabulary, grammar, and discourse structure. The idea is to move beyond the surface-level understanding of language and delve into how

specific linguistic choices contribute to and reflect power relations, ideologies, and social dynamics. (Fairclough, 2003) argues that language is not neutral instead, it plays an active role in shaping and reproducing social realities. By scrutinizing the linguistic elements of a text, analysts can uncover subtle nuances and implicit meanings that may reinforce or challenge existing power structures.

In addition, the choice of words, the framing of arguments, and the overall structure of a text are seen as powerful tools that can either maintain or disrupt existing social hierarchies. Textual analysis, provide a foundational step in the CDA process, offering insight into the micro-level manifestation of power and ideology within language use.

**b. Discourse Practice**

This dimension extends the analysis beyond the immediate textual level and focuses on the broader social practices and processes through which discourse is produced, distributed, and consumed. Fairclough claimed the need to explore the context in which language is situated, understanding the social dynamics that influence and are influenced by the discourse. It involves investigating how power relations are enacted and negotiated in the various stages of discourse production, from the creation of text to its dissemination and reception in society.

In the discourse practice dimension, analysts examine the roles of institutions, organizations, and social actors in shaping and perpetuating particular discourse. This involves considering the power dynamics inherent in media production, educational systems, political institutions, and other societal structures. By scrutinizing the social practices surrounding discourse, Fairclough

aims to uncover how language is used strategically to maintain or challenge existing power relations, and how these practices contribute to the construction and reinforcement of social norms and ideologies. This dimension, therefore, provides a mezzo-level analysis that bridges the micro-level textual features with the broader social context in which discourse operates.

**c. Social Practices**

The third dimension in Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is termed social practice. This dimension extends the analysis to the macro level, focusing on the broader social structures and institutions that shape and are shaped by discourse. Fairclough argues that language is intimately connected with societal structures, and analyzing discourse at the social practice level involves examining how language use contributes to the reproduction or transformation of these structures. This dimension explores the broader power relations, economic systems, cultural norms, and historical contexts that influence and are reflected in the ways language is employed in society.

In the social practice dimension, analysts investigate the long-term and large-scale impacts of discourse on societal structures. This includes examining how language contributes to the maintenance or subversion of social inequalities and how certain discourses become entrenched in societal norms. By scrutinizing these overarching social structures, Fairclough aims to uncover the systemic nature of power relations and ideologies embedded in language use. The social practice dimension, therefore, provides a comprehensive understanding of how

discourse is intertwined with societal structures, influencing and being influenced by the broader social, political, and economic contexts in which it operates.

### **C. Political Discourse Analysis**

Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) examines how language is used in political contexts to build both explicit and implicit meanings, especially within social and political frameworks (Van Dijk, 1998). PDA investigates how discourse can both reinforce and challenge political power structures, with applications in understanding media framing in political reporting. Based on the context of the current situation, it has very high relevance to the current situation. Where the political situation is turbulent in society today. PDAs also play an important role in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, which is characterized by a multitude of complex problems and phenomena, including the development of new media technologies, the global war on terror; and the emergence of popular resistance movements that seek to challenge oppressive regimes (Dunmire, 2012).

Therefore, Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) is understood as the analysis of political discourse from a critical perspective, a perspective that focuses on the reproduction and contestation of political power through political discourse. Aristotle makes some connections between man's political nature and the power of speech. Is to do with man's political nature. Political theory is concerned both with what politics is like and with politics through descriptive and normative. (Cohen, 1985).

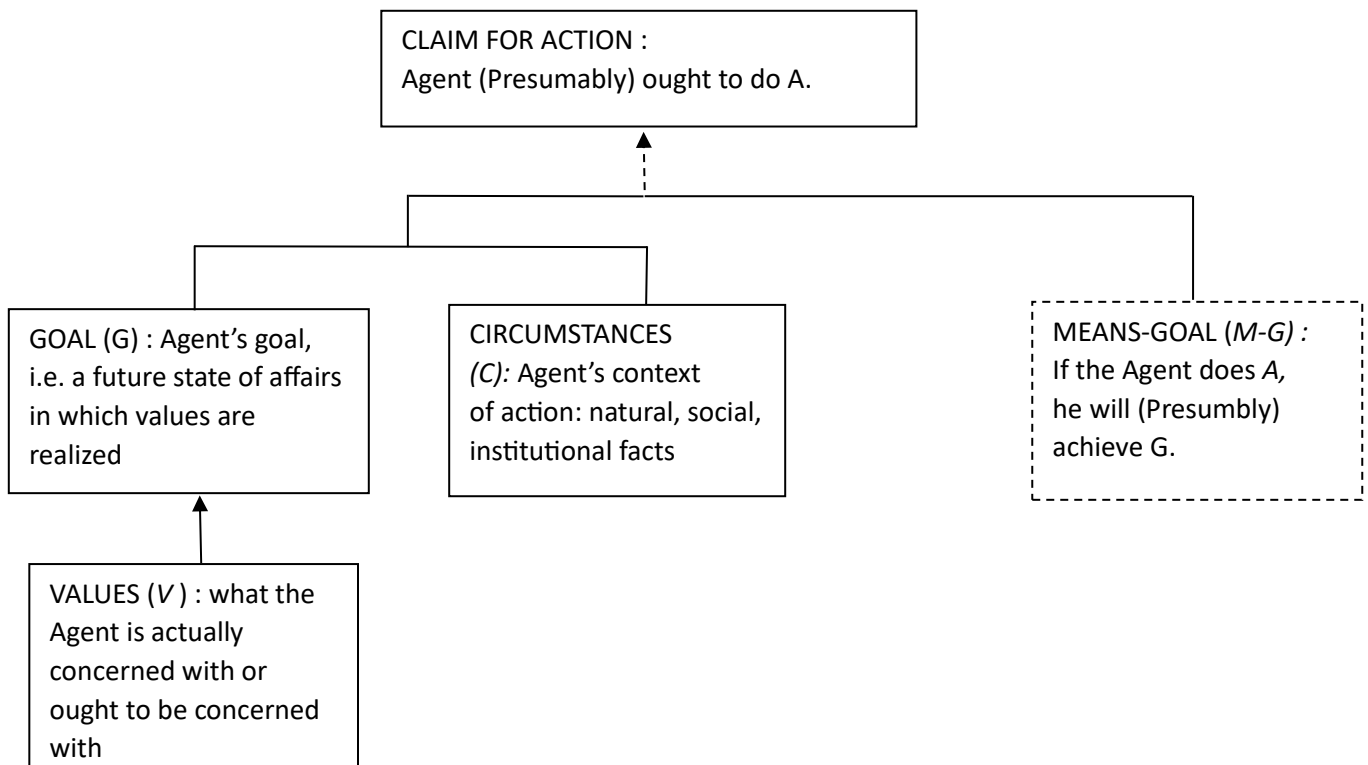
PDA also supports deliberative democracy, because deliberation is intrinsic to democracy. According to (Burke, 1973) democracy is a device for institutionalizing the



dialectical process, by setting up a political structure that gives full opportunity for the use of competition for a cooperating end. Deliberative democracy as a normative ideal means a democratic system where decisions are made by discussion among free, equal, and rational citizens. Supporters of deliberative democracy justify it on grounds of human fallibility. An individual's resources of knowledge and imagination are limited, and by pooling their capabilities together, individuals stand a better chance of making a good decision. (Fairclough, 2012).

In PDA, there are several domains of politics. According to (Van Dijk, 1998) depending on studies in political sciences, politics may thus not only include all official or unofficial political actors, events, encounters, settings, actions and discourses, but also more abstract, political processes. Moreover, like political system (democracy and communism), political ideologies (liberalism), and political groups (such as power, inequality, hegemony, and oppression

**Figure 1.** The model of PDA Fairclough & Fairclough (2012, p. 45)



## **1. Domain of Political Discourse Analysis**

There are several within the domain of politics, acknowledging the complexity of each concept. The key categories include:

### **a. Political system**

These systems are among the most obvious common sense in the domain of politics such as Communism, dictatorship, fascism, or social democracy, among others, and are generally seen as typically “political” in the description of countries, nation-states, political parties, politicians, or political acts.

### **b. Political values**

At most general and abstract levels, shared cultural values may be declared typical of the political system. However, freedom is a political relationship and a basic political value organizing more specific political ideologies and attitudes. Is the same for the values of Solidarity, Equality, and Tolerance. Ideological groups and categories especially also define their goals in terms of preferential values.

### **c. Political ideologies**

Political ideologies define the socio-cognitive of such systems. They are basic belief systems that underlie and organize the shared social representation of a group and their members. Communism or democracy may be seen both as a system and a complex set of basic social representations, involving relevant

values and sustaining specific attitudes about properties (like power, equality, etc.) that characterize the system.

**d. Political institutions**

The domain of politics is typically analyzed as consisting of several political institutions, which, top-down, organize the political fields, actors, and actions, such as the State, Government, Parliament or Congress (the Legislature), city council, state agencies, and so on.

**e. Politic Organizations**

Legally, officials are the large number of political organizations that structure, political action, such as political parties, political club, NGOs, and so on.

**f. Political groups**

Independently of their organization in political organization, collections of political actors may form more or less formal, cohesive, or permanent groups, such as opponents, dissidents, demonstrators, coalitions, crowds, and in general socio-political movements.

**g. Political actors**

Politicians represent class political actors and are commonly defined by those involved in politics. By accomplishing political action, including demonstrators, lobbyists, and strikers. But, in this case, include the Presidential election candidate, the Constitutional Council's Judgment, and Political Parties.

**h. Political relations**

The various structural units identified are connected by multiple relations, some of which are typical for the field of politics: Power, power abuse, hegemony, oppression, tolerance, equality, and inequality, among many others, especially define how the state relates to its citizens, or how certain political groups are positioned relative to others. Probably the pervasive political relation is that of freedom.

**i. Political process**

Moving away from the structural investigation of political systems, organizations, and linkages and towards a more dynamic view of the domain of policies, the political process comprises a wide range of detailed, long-term sequences of political activity. These political processes rely heavily on the government, legislation, opposition, solidarity, agenda setting, and policy formulation.

**j. Political actions**

At the meso and micro level political domain, that are typical for a political domain, such as sessions and meetings of political institutions, organizations, and groups, passing laws, voting, demonstrations, campaigning, revolutions, and so on. Such actions are also defined in terms of their intentions, purposes, goals, and functions within the more complex political process.

**k. Political discourse**

In a significant way, political discourse be singled out as a prominent way of doing politics. Besides parliamentary debates, bills, laws, government or ministerial regulations, and other institutional forms of text and talk, we find

such political speeches, media interviews, political talk shows on TV, party programs, etc.

### **I. Political cognition**

In the same way, as ideologies are the cognitive counterpart of systems, organizations, or groups at the broader, societal, and political macro-level, political actors, action, and discourse are locally guided interpreted, and evaluated by various forms of political cognition. Sharing social knowledge and political attitudes can provide more specific knowledge (models) of political events. That is way most pervasive commonsense notion categorized as public opinion

### **D. Media Discourse**

Media Discourse focuses on how language in media constructs meaning and influences public perception. In the 21st century, media includes both traditional outlets and digital platforms like social media, which broaden the reach and impact of media language (Fairclough, 1995; Bednarek & Caple, 2012). The choices and possibilities for media consumption have expanded significantly, with platforms like YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter becoming central cultural players and news sources. This evolution has led to a broadening understanding of media, transcending its role as a mere conveyor of news. Across disciplines such as cultural studies, media studies, critical theory, semiotics, rhetoric, film studies, and journalism studies, scholars analyze and deconstruct the impacts, roles, and cultural reproductions associated with media. The language and discourse of the media are increasingly scrutinized by linguists, reflecting the interdisciplinary nature of media studies.

Given its global influence and far-reaching impact, media is a subject of extensive intellectual scrutiny in various academic domains. This chapter explores the news media's discourse dimensions, examining narrative, genre, coherence, context, style, participant structure, process, variation, pragmatics, and representation. The chapter also highlights the role of news media in setting or following the agenda for public discussion, emphasizing its continued significance in policymaking, political discourse, and our daily lives. Ultimately, the focus is on understanding news media through the lens of discourse analysis, encompassing both traditional and digital modalities.

#### **E. Language Properties on Tempo and Jakarta Post**

In analyzing *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo*, this study considers each outlet's tone, word choice, and framing strategies. *The Jakarta Post* tends toward neutrality and objectivity, while *Tempo* employs a more critical and investigative approach, reflecting differing editorial stances on political issues in Indonesia. The Jakarta Post often tries to use neutral and objective language. They tend to present information from various sides and use formal and impartial language. This can be seen when they try to quote from various sources and provide a balanced context. Tempo, on the other hand, is known to be more critical and analytical in delivering news. They did not hesitate to use sharper language and sometimes directly attack government policies critically. Tempo also sometimes conducts direct investigations on sensitive issues. They highlighted aspects that other media may not have covered.

The choice of words is also highlighted, from these two online media there are some different characteristics in writing news. Jakarta Post tends to be more subtle and diplomatic. They use more formal language and often avoid words that could be perceived as controversial or provocative. In contrast, Tempo often uses words that are straightforward and bold, reflecting their critical attitude. They not hesitate to use terms that directly show their views on issues in society.

Writing style is a characteristic of writing news in the media. Various media in Indonesia certainly have their own writing styles, including these two online media, Jakarta Post and Tempo. The writing style in Jakarta Post pays more attention to structural and informative writing. Jakarta Post always starts the article with the background of the issue, then followed by statements from various parties, and conducts a deeper analysis. Tempo, on the other hand, leans more towards narrative and investigative. Their articles often start with an anecdote or story that catches the reader's attention, followed by analysis and supporting facts.

Finally, sources of information and references. This is important in writing news because news requires actual and reliable information. Jakarta Post and Tempo have their own segmentation in determining sources of information. Jakarta Post often quotes official sources directly from government officials, academics, and international organizations. They try to present information that is supported by data and statistics. Tempo quotes more anonymous sources or informants in their investigative reporting. This aims to protect the privacy of sources in accordance with the rules of the journalistic code of ethics. Especially with regard to coverage of sensitive issues. In writing news, they often use documents or evidence that support their coverage.

## CHAPTER III

### RESEARCH METHOD

This section focuses on research methods, including research design, data source, research instrument, data collection, and data analysis.

#### A. Research Design

This study used a qualitative approach because it can reveal indications of implicit and explicit meanings regarding the issue of Joko Widodo's dynasty in online news media. Qualitative research tries to understand the partitioning experience with phenomena and natural settings such as ethnographic or case study approaches. (Cresswell, 2009). This explanation is related to the issues formed in various online news. However, how this study can elaborate on the context of the issue with the theory of Political Discourse Analysis, an in-depth explanation must be done to find out how the Political Discourse Analysis theory can explain how the narrative of the political dynasty issue is formed in the online news media.

The theory used in this study is Political Discourse Analysis. The PDA theory used in the study consists of two theories. The first theory is from Van Dijk regarding the political discourse domain. Then, as a compliment, there is a theory from Norman & Isabella Fairclough. The theory is very suitable because it can provide study results on how aspects are involved in developing Joko Widodo's political dynasty issue. Starting from the social actors involved directly or indirectly. The study took online news from trusted media, namely Jakarta Post and Tempo. Some of this news was taken with consideration of the issue of dynastic politics



## B. Research Instrument

The researcher acts as the primary instrument in analyzing and interpreting the data, supported by a framework based on PDA. Data is gathered from online articles in *Tempo* and *The Jakarta Post*, critically categorized according to domains of political discourse. This method allows for the identification of implicit biases and narrative strategies within each media source.

## C. Data and Data Sources

This study uses a purposive sample of 14 articles: six from *Tempo* and eight from *The Jakarta Post*, chosen for their relevance to dynastic politics and the 2024 Indonesian election. These sources were selected based on their reputation for credibility, with *Tempo* recognized as one of Indonesia's top trusted media outlets and *The Jakarta Post* as a verified source by the Indonesia Press Council. The following is study data that reviewed as follows:

1. Civilian Coalition Stages Mass Protest Against Jokowi's Political Dynasty.  
<https://en.tempo.co/read/1789065/civilian-coalition-stages-mass-protest-against-jokowis-political-dynasty>.
2. “Jokowi’s political dynasty in spotlight ahead of court ruling”  
<https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2023/10/10/jokowis-political-dynasty-in-spotlight-ahead-of-court-ruling.html>.
3. “Prabowo Subianto Justifies Political Dynasty, Defends Jokowi”  
<https://en.tempo.co/read/1788291/prabowo-subianto-justifies-political-dynasty-defends-jokowi>.
4. “Mahfud Md: Political Dynasty Exists Everywhere in the World”

<https://en.tempo.co/read/1825990/mahfud-md-political-dynasty-exists-everywhere-in-the-world>.

5. 'Dynasty in the making' as President Jokowi shadow hangs over general elections

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2024/01/30/dynasty-in-the-making-as-president-jokowi-shadow-hangs-over-general-elections-.html>.

6. Constitutional Court sets up panel to investigate complaint over Gibran ruling

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2023/10/24/constitutional-court-sets-up-panel-to-investigate-complaint-over-gibran-ruling.html>

7. Chief Justice demoted over Gibran ruling

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2023/11/08/chief-justice-demoted-over-gibran-ruling.html>.

8. KPU found guilty of ethics breach in handling of Gibran VP bid

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2024/02/05/kpu-found-guilty-of-ethics-breach-in-handling-of-gibran-vp-bid.html>.

9. Indonesia's democracy awaits the final act in Constitutional Court drama

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/opinion/2024/05/07/indonesias-democracy-awaits-the-final-act-in-constitutional-court-drama.html>.

10. These unholy alliances undermine Indonesian democracy

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/opinion/2023/09/15/these-unholy-alliances-undermine-indonesian-democracy.html>.

11. Golkar, PAN declare support for Prabowo in 2024 election

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2023/08/13/golkar-pan-declare-support-for-prabowo-in-2024-election.html>.

12. PDIP to File Lawsuit over Anomalies in 2024 Election

<https://en.tempo.co/read/1851989/pdip-to-file-lawsuit-over-anomalies-in-2024-election>.

13. PDIP Politician Calls Jokowi's Plan to Meet Megawati as Gimmick.

<https://en.tempo.co/read/1856321/pdip-politician-calls-jokowis-plan-to-meet-megawati-as-gimmick>.

14. Jokowi Responds to Issue of Him Building Political Dynasty

<https://en.tempo.co/read/1783523/jokowi-responds-to-issue-of-him-building-political-dynasty>.

15. Constitutional Court Chief Justice Suhartoyo: The More Oversight by Different Parties over Judges, the Better

<https://en.tempo.co/read/1820779/constitutional-court-chief-justice-suhartoyo-the-more-oversight-by-different-parties-over-judges-the-better>.

#### **D. Data Collecting**

Data was collected systematically by visiting each media's website. Article were identified using keywords related to political dynasties, ensuring the selection focused on recent coverage of the 2024 election. Relevant segments within each article were then sampled for analysis.

## **E. Data Analysis**

Data analysis followed Van Dijk's and Fairclough's frameworks of political discourse analysis. Text excerpts were categorized into domains of political actors, institutions, and organizations to reveal implicit and explicit meanings. Differences in reporting tone, content focus, sources, and writing style were identified, highlighting contrasting perspectives in each media's portrayal of Joko Widodo's political dynasty.

## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the result and discussion based on the explanation of the chapter. The result includes an explanation of the data from online news articles by Tempo and Jakarta Post about political dynasty issues in Joko Widodo. In this discussion, the researcher develops the result analysis using the theory of Fairclough & Fairclough (2013) and Van Dijk (1998).

#### A. Findings

The data are present from several articles from online news about Joko Widodo dynasty issues during the presidential election of 2024. The data were taken from Jakarta Post media and Tempo. These media outlets have been aggressively reporting on the 2024 presidential election. The database in the form of news articles is converted into sentences through samples. In this section, already found some data for each type of domain of political discourse analysis, and all data can be seen in the appendix.

#### 1. Type of Domain Political Discourse Analysis Narrate in Jakarta Post and Tempo

##### a) Political Actors

The people active in political action, such as politicians, lobbyists, strikers, and demonstrators.

##### Datum 1

“Civilians Coalition of Reformation's Guard (Kompas Reformasi) staged a protest this afternoon in Central Jakarta. The protesters include students, workers, farmers, and other elements of society, protesting against President Joko Widodo or Jokowi's political dynasty."We suspect a governmental intervention, in this case President Jokowi, to goal his son Gibran Rakabuming Raka a vice-presidential candidate through his uncle, Anwar Usman, the Chief Judge of Constitutional Court (MK)," said Amrin, an orator during the protest, in a written statement today.”

(Access from Tempo English Published on 26 October 2023)

### **Context of Datum 1:**

This datum shows a news item from a Tempo article about community protests. This community protested the nomination of President Jokowi's son, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, as a 2024 vice presidential candidate. Due to the president's partiality towards his son in the presidential election contestation, this layer of society flocked to vent their dissatisfaction regarding Gibran's nomination. This article was published before the 2024 election.

### **Analysis of Datum 1:**

This datum is also part of the political discourse analysis domain, according to Van Dijk (1998), because one of the forms of the domain above is a demonstrator or protester, which is part of a political actor. These political actors are engaged in political activities both inside and outside the government. These demonstrators, as supervisors of government performance, are considered wrong and violate a rule. Where the son of an active president suddenly runs for vice president. Here, public sentiment is very negative because Jokowi intervened in nominating his son as a vice-presidential candidate, creating a stigma that President Jokowi wanted to create a political dynasty, it also created a bad opinion of Jokowi and his family.

### **Datum 2**

"The protestors brought three demands into this protest. First, condemned the alleged nepotism and rejected Gibran's run for vice presidency in the 2024 General Elections allegedly influenced by MK's decision on the age limit case." Chief Judge of MK Anwar Usman should not have been involved in the case based on the principle of *nemo iudex in causa sua*, which provided that judges are not allowed to examine, investigate, and adjudicate a case related to themselves," Amrin said. Second, the protestors declared standing against President Jokowi for his betrayal of reformation. "We refuse to let the law be amended for his family's interest," he said. Third, declaring a vote of no confidence against MK and the Honorary Council of MK. They highlighted Jimly Asshidiqie, the Chief of

Honorary Council of MK who will likely be biased during this case for his support for Prabowo Subianto and familial ties to the Gerindra Party.”  
(Access from Tempo English published on 26 October 2023)

### **Context of datum 2:**

This datum displays the demonstrators' demands of the constitutional *Mahkamah's* poor performance. Therefore, the demonstrators made three demands above, among others: First, condemning the allegations of nepotism and rejecting Gibran's nomination as a vice-presidential candidate in the 2024 elections, which was allegedly influenced by the Constitutional Court's decision on the age limit case. Second, the protesters opposed President Jokowi who has betrayed reform. Furthermore, third, they expressed a vote of no confidence in the Constitutional Court and the Honorary Council of the Constitutional Court. This article was already published before the election of 2024.

### **Analysis of Datum 2:**

This datum displays the actions of the demonstrators who demanded the misuse of the Constitutional Court's regulations. According to Van Dijk (1908), they are political activists who criticize the performance of the Constitutional Court, which has not been appropriate. Not only that, the power relations that influence the Constitutional Court's decision are also what the demonstrators oppose according to the first demand. The use of the word “condemn” shows that the protesters were dissatisfied with the Constitutional Court's policy. According to Van Dijk (2008), strong power relations influence a state policy. Due to the relationship between his son Gibran Rakabuming Raka and President Jokowi, it is

not advisable to change the constitution. In addition, the close relationship between Gibran and Constitutional Court Judge Anwar Usman is a family relationship. This abuse of power relations has resulted in public protests against dynastic politics.

DATUM 3:

“Vice presidential candidate number three Mahfud Md responded to the issue of political dynasty. According to him, political dynasty exists all over the world. This becomes a problem if a political dynasty is used to manipulate the law for the involved party's own interest. Mahfud gave examples of Mahatma Gandhi's dynasty in India and Kennedy's in the United States. "Mahatma Gandhi, then Indira Gandhi, then Rajiv Gandhi. In the United States, there was Kennedy and Bush. It's everywhere," he said during the Tabrak Prof event on Thursday as virtually observed from Mahfud Md's YouTube channel.”

(Access from Tempo English Publish on 26 January 2024)

Context of Datum 3:

This datum shows a statement from the politician Mr. Mahfud MD regarding the response to the dynastic political issue. He expressed his opinion at an event “Tabrak Prof”. Broadcast on Mahfud MD's YouTube channel. He explained to the audience that dynastic politics are very common throughout the world. Mahfud MD mentioned the examples of Mahatma Gandhi in India and John F Kennedy in the United States. He argues that dynastic politics can be a problem because it can manipulate the rules including the interests of the political party itself. This article published before election 2024

Analysis of Datum 3:

This datum shows a statement from a politician, according to Van Dijk (1998), where he is a political actor involved in the contestation of the 2024 presidential election. Mr. Mahfud MD commented on the phenomenon of dynastic



politics that is happening today. Whereas Gibran's candidacy is a form of dynastic politics implementation. This misappropriation

result in the change of a regulation that should not have happened. As he said, “This becomes a problem if a political dynasty is used to manipulate the law for the involved party's own interest.” This speech is intended for candidate pair no. 2, Prabowo Subianto and Gibran, because their own interests can intervene in regulation for the benefit of their own political group or party.

DATUM 4:

“Mahfud Md's statement was in response to a question asked by one of the *Tabrak Prof* participants, Bela. "Political dynasties, turns out have been banned once in Indonesia, then was submitted [for review] to the Constitutional Court]. The ban was then revoked. However, it used to that state leaders, their kids, their uncles, nephews was not allowed to run for candidates for fear of conflict of interest," Bela said.”  
(Access from Tempo English published on 26 January 2024)

Context of Datum 4:

This datum shows a statement from Mahfud MD at the “*Tabrak Prof*” event. He responded to questions from the audience regarding the issue of dynastic politics. He argued that politics should be abolished in Indonesia. It has been tested for material to be banned in Indonesia, but the ban was revoked. However, in the past, the country's leaders, their children, uncles, and nephews were not allowed to run as candidates for fear of conflicts of interest. This article was published before the election in 2024.

Analysis of Datum 4:

According to Van Dijk (1998), this datum refers to the role of a politician, Mahfud MD, who answers and criticizes the phenomena that occur. He also took part in the 2024 presidential election. From the phrase, “Political dynasties, it turns

out, has been banned once in Indonesia, then was submitted [for review] to the Constitutional Court,” he provides an input or suggestion for the state to review and re-implement regulations regarding the prohibition of dynastic politics. Based on Mahfud MD who is also known as an expert on constitutional law, if the state allows this to happen, it’s harmed the democratic system in Indonesia.

#### DATUM 5:

“Prabowo Subianto, a presidential candidate backed by the Onward Indonesia Coalition, responded to critics who accused him of solidifying Jokowi’s political dynasty after naming the President’s eldest son, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, as his running mate in the upcoming presidential election. He argued that a political dynasty is something normal. “This is for national education that political dynasty is normal,” he said after attending the Indonesian Solidarity Party’s (PSI) declaration of support for the 2024 presidential election at the Djakarta Theater, Central Jakarta on Tuesday, October 24, 2023.”  
(Access from Tempo English published on 25 October 2023)

#### Context of Datum 5:

This datum shows Prabowo Subianto's response to the many criticisms directed at him. This criticism was directed at him over the issue of dynastic politics where he picked President Jokowi's son Gibran Rakabuming Raka as his vice presidential candidate. He said that this is for the education of the nation that dynastic politics are common and normal. This was conveyed at the declaration of the Indonesian Solidarity Party at the Jakarta Theater in Central Jakarta on Tuesday, October 24, 2023. So, this article published before Election 2024.

#### Analysis of Datum 5:

In this datum, according to Van Dijk (1998), Prabowo Subianto as a political actor in the article above confirmed the existence of dynastic politics. **“Dynastic politics is normal”**: The use of this phrase aims to normalize the concept of dynastic politics in the eyes of the public, trying to reduce the negative impression

that may be associated with the term. **“This is for national education”**: Using educational reasons to provide moral justification and rationalization for his actions, shifting the focus from the dynastic aspect politics as public education . Meanwhile, Prabowo utilizes power relations according to Van Dijk (2008), as a powerful political actor, using his position to shape public perceptions of political dynasties. This shows how political actors use discourse to maintain and expand their power.

Datum 6:

“Prabowo, who also serves as Defense Minister, also said that he has long been part of a political dynasty as he is the son of Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, a minister in the New Order era, and the grandson of Raden Mas Margono Djojohadikusumo, the founder of state lender BNI who also served in the government of Indonesia's founding father Soekarno. He described the political dynasty as the dynasty of a patriotic family serving the nation. “We belong to a dynasty where our family always fights for the people. What's wrong with that? Don't politicize it,” Prabowo said.”  
(Access from Tempo English published on 25 October 2023)

Context of Datum 6:

The context of the datum above is a statement by Prabowo Subianto, who is now the defense minister. He explained that although his footsteps were associated with dynastic politics as well. This is because he is the son of New Order minister Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, and the grandson of Raden Mas Margono Djojohadikusumo, the founder of Bank Negara Indonesia and also served in the government of Soekarno, Indonesia's first president. Prabowo explained that his family's political dynasty is a patriotic dynasty that always fights for the interests of the people. He emphasized that the dynasty is committed to serving the nation. He said there was nothing wrong with that. As long as it is true and does not deviate, he asked that it not be politicized. This article published before 2024.

Analysis of Datum 6 :

Based on the datum, Prabowo Subianto as the main political actor according to Van Dijk (1998), he tried to make a positive framing of the political dynasty issue in a positive direction. You can see it from the sentence **He described the political dynasty as the dynasty of a patriotic family serving the nation**. Prabowo used this phrase to describe his political dynasty in a positive and patriotic light, attempting to frame the political dynasty as something noble and beneficial. There is also the phrase **“We belong to a dynasty where our family always fights for the people.”** This phrase aims to demonstrate his family's commitment to the public interest and portrays political dynasties as a form of service, not power.

As a politician Prabowo uses his position to shape the narrative of a political dynasty, trying to maintain and expand his power. Prabowo statement above is his attempt to influence the public about political dynasties, he seeks to change negative perceptions to positive ones by emphasizing his family's contribution to the country.

DATUM 7:

“President Joko Widodo or Jokowi responded to the rampant issue that he was building a political dynasty, which recently emerged ahead of the Constitutional Court's ruling on the minimum age for presidential and vice presidential candidates. “Just leave it to the people,” he said shortly after inspecting the harvest in Indramayu, West Java, on Friday, October 13, 2023. The Constitutional Court was expected to announce its ruling on the judicial review of Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections on Monday, October 16, three days before the registration period for presidential and vice presidential candidates on October 19-25.”

(Access from Tempo English published on 13 October 2023)

Context of Datum 7:

The datum from this article explains President Jokowi's response to the issue of him building a political dynasty. The indication of this issue is circulating

because the Constitutional Court changed the new decision regarding the minimum age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The Constitutional Court announced the result of the judicial review of Law No. 7/2017 on General Elections on Monday, October 16, 2023, before the registration period for presidential and vice-presidential candidates on October 19-25, 2023. President Jokowi's own response was "Just leave it to the people," in between his activities attending the harvest season. And the statement is already out before Election 2024.

#### Analysis of Datum 7:

According to Van Dijk (1998) (2008) and Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) in this datum, President Jokowi, as a political actor, tries to defend himself against the accusations of building dynastic politics that have been very busy in the discussion. The phrase displayed in this data is "**Just leave it to the people,**" in this sentence, Jokowi intended to emphasize the principle of democracy. Later, the final decision is in the hands of the people. This statement also has its own purpose to divert criticism and reduce tension related to this dynastic political issue. This brief statement also emphasizes his neutrality towards the 2024 election contestation.

As President, Jokowi positions himself to have a significant influence on the opinions that influence the public. By emphasizing that the decision is in the hands of the people, he wants to maintain his popularity and the positive stigma associated with democracy. This also reflects his desire to be seen as a democratic and responsible leader.

#### DATUM 8

“President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo is facing public scrutiny over his apparent attempts to build a political dynasty ahead of a Constitutional Court ruling that will decide whether his eldest son can run for vice president next year. The court is set to announce on Monday of next week its decision on whether to lower the minimum age for presidential and vice-presidential candidates from 40 to 35, just nine days before the registration deadline for presidential and vice presidential candidates.”

(Access from Jakarta Post published on 10 October 2023)

Context of Datum 8:

The context of this datum is the intense public scrutiny of President Joko Widodo regarding his efforts to build a political dynasty. The spotlight on this criticism comes ahead of an important decision from the Constitutional Court on whether Jokowi's eldest son can run for vice president. The court already announced its decision next Monday on the proposed lowering of the minimum age for presidential and vice-presidential candidates from 40 to 35. This decision has a crucial impact as it is only nine days before the election. This article was published before Election 2024.

Analysis of Datum 8:

According to Van Dijk (1998) (2008), this datum explains the representation of President Jokowi as a central figure who is facing public scrutiny. The phrase **“His apparent attempts to build a political dynasty”** refers to a deliberate attempt on Jokowi's part to build sustainable politics through his family. In addition, this datum highlights the power dynamics between the president, the judiciary, and the public. Jokowi's position as president gives him great influence over policy. However, the public is also monitoring the performance of the Constitutional Court. The court's decision is important to strengthen the judiciary in maintaining democratic norms.

The phrase **“attempts to build a political dynasty”** also delegitimizes Jokowi's actions. Personal interests rather than national interests drive these actions. The framing issue regarding attempts to build a political dynasty is the lowering of the minimum age for presidential and vice-presidential candidacies. This is also present in the phrase **“lower the minimum age for presidential and vice-presidential candidates from 40 to 35,”** and the description of the limited registration time adds a sense of urgency and manipulation of a strategic political maneuver.

DATUM 9:

“Joko "Jokowi" Widodo has led Indonesia for a nearly a decade pledging to do things differently, but he stands accused of manoeuvring to build his own political dynasty in next month's presidential vote in a country long known for its nepotistic politics. The incumbent president is barred from a third term but remains hugely popular, with observers saying he is using his influence to install his sons into prominent political positions, moves that have raised eyebrows in the archipelago nation. His eldest son was named the country's youngest-ever vice presidential candidate last year to run with a frontrunner and Defence Minister Prabowo Subianto. "It is very obvious that this is a political dynasty in the making," said Made Supriatma, a political expert at the Singapore-based ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute.”

(Access from Jakarta Post published on 30 January 2024)

Context of Datum 9:

This datum explains how President Jokowi is trying to deal with accusations of trying to build a political dynasty. Despite not being able to run for a third term as president, he allegedly placed his sons in important positions in politics. For example, his eldest son, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, was nominated as the youngest vice president in history to accompany Prabowo Subianto. The move has been heavily criticized due to concerns about political nepotism, with political expert Made Supriatma from the ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute seeing it as clear evidence of political dynasty-making. This article was published before Election 2024.

Analysis of Datum 9 :

According to Van Dijk (1998), (2008) describes Jokowi as a political actor is a very big figure. Because in his leadership period of nearly a decade, he promised to make a change. However, the issue that developed was contrary because there were accusations of maneuvering related to dynastic politics. The above narrative describes Jokowi as a popular leader and a perpetrator of nepotism. The depiction of political actors lies with Jokowi's children. The use of the word “concern” refers to Made Supriatna's expert opinion on the phenomenon of dynastic political formation that occurs. This depiction is located in the sentence, “**His eldest son was named the country's youngest-ever vice-presidential candidate.**” This sentence shows that Jokowi wants to put his children in crucial political positions. And the sentence above shows Jokowi's efforts to strengthen his family's political influence.

According to Van Dijk (2008), this text also contains Jokowi's influence as a political actor with great power relations. Although it is prohibited, the inclusion of his children in politics shows an indication that power is not entirely with official positions. The above datum also involves monitoring and criticizing Jokowi. It highlights the tension between political power and nepotism in the context of Indonesian politics.

#### **b) Political Institution**

The domain of politics is typically analyzed as consisting of several political institutions, which, top-down, organize the political fields, actors, and actions, such



as the State, Government, Parliament or Congress (the Legislature), city council, state agencies, and so on.

#### Datum 10

“Constitutional Court has set up a panel to investigate a suspected conflict of interest in a court ruling last week clearing the way for a son of President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo to run for vice president in an election next year. The expected registration of the president's 36-year-old son, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, as a running mate for the favorite to become the next president has raised worries of a resurgence of patronage politics in a country that emerged from authoritarian rule 25 years ago.”

(Access from Jakarta Post published on 24 October 2023)

#### Context of Datum 10:

Based on the context of this datum, the Constitutional Court, as an official institution, formed a panel for investigation. This is because there were allegations of a conflict of interest over the court's decision to change the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates last week. This change can allegedly pave the way for Jokowi's son Gibran to become a vice-presidential candidate to accompany defense minister Prabowo Subianto. The case is feared to resurrect the patronage politics of the authoritarian government of 25 years ago. This article was published before the Election of 2024

#### Analysis of Datum 10:

According to Van Dijk (1998), in this case, the Constitutional Court is a form of identification of political institutions. The constitutional court acts as an enforcer and supervisor of constitutional law. In this datum, the Constitutional Court is present to investigate alleged conflicts of interest. This function is what the Constitutional Court is trying to do as a neutral supervisor to ensure the continuity of transparency and justice in the political dispute over the presidential election. However, the formation of this panel implies a suspicion of abuse of power. This

datum also highlights concerns about patronage politics. That is, the political benefits or political advantages of powerful individuals are distributed to their supporters.

Datum 11:

“Gibran's bid to become vice president was enabled by a Constitutional Court ruling removing a minimum age requirement of 40 for presidential or vice-presidential candidates, on the condition they have been elected to regional posts. Gibran was elected the mayor of Surakarta city in 2020. Enny Nurbaningsih, a judge and spokesperson for the Constitutional Court, said it had received seven complaints filed by activists and others, of a suspected "ethical violation" in connection with the ruling last week by a nine-judge bench. One complainant called for the court's chief judge, Anwar Usman, who is the president's brother-in-law and Gibran's uncle, to step down, she said. She did not elaborate. "We leave this matter to the council. We will not intervene," she told a late Monday press conference, referring to an ethics council the court has set up to look into the complaints”. (Access from Jakarta Post Published on 24 October 2023)

Context of Datum 11:

The context of this datum is that Gibran's candidacy as a vice-presidential candidate for the Republic of Indonesia caused controversy. Because the Constitutional Court removed the minimum age requirement of 40 years for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Not only that, there is another requirement, namely having been previously elected as a regional head. Because Gibran had previously been elected mayor of Solo in 2020. The Constitutional Court immediately received seven complaints filed by activists from various circles. The complaints were made about an ethical violation of the Constitutional Court's decision on Sunday, as stated by Enny Nurbaningsih, the spokesperson and judge. One of these complaints is the tendency of dynastic politics over the decision to change the age limit. The chief judge of the Constitutional Court, Anwar Usman,

is Gibran's uncle and President Jokowi's brother-in-law. This article published before Election 2024.

Analysis of Datum 11:

According to Van Dijk (1998) regarding political institutions, the Constitutional Court as an institution does not perform its functions properly. This is related to the controversial decision regarding the removal of the minimum age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The existence of a family relationship between the Chief Justice and the President, as well as vice-presidential candidate Gibran raised issues of nepotism and conflict of interest. How these personal relationships influence the policies of a legal institution. Therefore, many people expressed their disappointment with the Constitutional Court and filed complaints.

One of the complaints sent to the Constitutional Court was an ethical violation. Complaints from activists function to monitor and balance the power of political institutions. The narrative of the above datum is that the Constitutional Court faces public criticism and scrutiny through the dynamics between judicial power and the power of civil society in the political process. This decision also raises questions about the Constitutional Court's transparency and accountability in making decisions.

DATUM 12:

“The Constitutional Court’s ethics council ordered the removal of Chief Justice Anwar Usman from his leadership post on Tuesday and barred him from weighing in on election disputes after it found him guilty of a “serious ethical violation” when he used his position to clear a path for his nephew to run for vice president. And while the council stopped short of dishonorably discharging Anwar, the decision was enough for petitioners, legal experts, and activists to breathe a sigh of relief as they held on to hope for an institution in a crisis of credibility.”

(Access from Jakarta Post published on 8 November 2023)

#### Context of Datum 12:

This datum explains the dismissal of the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court, Anwar Usman related to ethical violations. According to information from the ethics council of the Constitutional Court, this decision prohibits Anwar Usman from considering election disputes. This decision was issued because the ethical violation he committed was using his position to clear the way for his nephew to become a vice-presidential candidate. Although the ethics board did not dishonor Anwar Usman, this decision was at least enough for petitioners, legal experts, and activists. At a time when the Constitutional Court is experiencing a credibility crisis. This article was published before the Election of 2024

#### Analysis of Datum 12:

According to Van Dijk (1998), the Constitutional Court as an institution of government institutions received the main spotlight in this datum. When through its ethics board, it firmly removed Anwar Usman as a Constitutional Court judge. The institution that received the second spotlight was the Constitutional Court Ethics Council, an internal institution of the Constitutional Court that has the authority to oversee the behavior and ethical standards of the Constitutional Court judges. And carry out their duties according to their functions. Based on the datum above, the Ethics Council of the Constitutional Court has shown a good function as an internal supervisor of the Constitutional Court judges to work according to the applicable rules.

According to Van Dijk (2008), the ethical violations that occurred against Constitutional Court Judge Anwar Usman were related to conflicts of interest. The conflict of interest that occurs is the utilization of family relations and the use of his position to benefit his nephew. Because of this incident, there were many issues of nepotism among President Jokowi's family. This datum also shows the decision of the Constitutional Court Ethics Council to remove Anwar Usman from the Constitutional Court Judges to maintain the credibility of the institution. Because the issuance of this decision can be a relief for petitioners, legal experts, and activists. The constitutional court is trying to improve its spirit as a true constitutional enforcement institution.

DATUM 13:

“The General Elections Commission (KPU) has its integrity put under public scrutiny once again after its leadership was found to have committed ethics violations surrounding Gibran Rakabuming Raka's vice-presidential registration. In an ethics hearing on Monday, Election Organization Ethics Council (DKPP) chair Heddy Lugito said KPU chairman Hasyim Asy'ari and all six commissioners were guilty of an ethics violation for allowing Gibran to register his candidacy before the commission had adjusted the age minimum for candidates in its internal regulation.”

(Access from Jakarta Post published on 5 February 2024)

Context of Datum 13:

This datum shows the media spotlight on the General Election Commission (KPU) as an election-organizing institution. Because of indications that its leaders were proven to have committed an ethical violation related to the registration of vice-presidential candidate Gibran Rakabuming Raka. At the code of ethics hearing, Chairman of the Election Organizer Honor Council (DKPP) Heddy Lugito said that KPU chairman Hasyim Asy'ari and the six KPU commissioners were proven to have committed ethical violations for allowing Gibran to register as a

vice president before the KPU adjusted the minimum age limit of candidates in its internal regulations. This article published before Election 2024.

Analysis of Datum 13:

According to Van Dijk (1998), this datum shows that KPU is an election organizing institution. The integrity of the KPU institution is questioned regarding ethical violations that occur by its leaders related to the registration of vice-presidential candidates. Meanwhile, the Honorary Council of Election Organizers (DKPP) according to Van Dijk is an internal institution of the KPU that functions to oversee and enforce the code of ethics of election organizers. Based on this datum, DKPP has carried out its function well. According to information from the chairman of DKPP, Heddy Lugito stated that the KPU chairman and other commissioners were guilty of ethics violations. The ethical violations that occurred regarding Gibran's registration were due to violating the minimum age limit rules that had not been changed by the KPU.

According to Van Dijk (2008), there is an abuse of power in the process of registering candidates who do not meet the criteria. From the datum analysis above, there is also an improper utilization of power relations. DKPP also performs its function well. Their decision to announce ethical violations by the KPU shows good supervision and functions to maintain the integrity of the institution to the public.

Datum 14:

“The ethics council slapped Hasyim with a “final stern warning” for his part in the case, while the six other KPU members received a “stern warning”. This is because Hasyim had previously collected two other stern warnings from the DKPP due to ethics breaches in March and April last year. Constitutional law expert Bivitri Susanti said racking up three ethics violations should have been enough grounds for Hasyim to be dismissed as KPU chair. But she speculated that the DKPP refrained from doing so out of fear that removing Hasyim and appointing a replacement some nine days before the Feb.14 voting day could

jeopardize the elections. “I think the DKPP is aware of the technical difficulties [that would come from Hasyim’s dismissal] since the election is a ‘too big to fail’ situation. But I do think Hasyim should have been fired,” she said.”  
(Access from Jakarta Post published on 5 February 2024)

#### Context of Datum 14:

The context of this Datum is the Ethics Council's reprimand to Hasyim. This reprimand is related to ethical violations that occurred in the KPU Hasyim Asyari and six other KPU members received a strong warning. Hasyim had previously received warnings in March and April 2022. Constitutional Law expert Bivitri Susanti said that three ethical violations should have been enough reason for Hasyim Asyari to be dismissed as KPU chairman. Nevertheless, because the day is approaching the election, DKPP decided not to dismiss Hasyim Asy'ari as KPU chairman. This decision was taken to support the smooth implementation of the election. So, the article was already published before Election 2024.

#### Analysis Of Datum 14:

According to Van Dijk (1998), DKPP, as an internal institution, functions as an ethical watchdog in implementing elections. Based on this datum, DKPP gave a final stern warning to the chairman of KPU, Hasyim, and the six other KPU members for violating the Code of Ethics. Moreover, the second institution in the spotlight is the KPU. This institution is responsible for organizing elections in Indonesia. However, there are findings that the Chairman of KPU, Hasyim Asy'ari, and six other members were found to have violated ethics. This has become a public question about the integrity of the KPU as an election-organizing body. There is also an opinion of constitutional law experts

According to Van Dijk (2008), in this Datum, there are indications of the social context that occurred. The text explains that Hasyim has received several strong warnings before, and ethical violations are often repeated. Because this case occurred, there was a problem with the institution. This systemic problem in the KPU's leadership shows the inefficiency of internal control mechanisms and the difficulty of enforcing a consistent ethical standard. DKPP's decision not to dismiss Hasyim despite his repeated violations shows pragmatic considerations related to the stability of the upcoming elections. This decision shows a dilemma and inconsistency of DKPP as KPU's internal supervisory institution to uphold the applicable ethical standards. Bivitri Sumantri responded critically to DKPP's decision not to dismiss Hasyim Asy'ari from his position as chairman of KPU.

Her analysis shows a broad critical perspective from outside the political institution and emphasizes the importance of the integrity of the chairman and the KPU institution as an election organizer. This datum shows how political institutions such as the KPU and DKPP function and interact in the context of elections, from a decision of DKPP's stern warning to the chairman of KPU and its members to criticism from external parties, namely constitutional law experts. KPU, as an institution, must try to maintain public trust fully regarding public trust, by improving an effective and trusted monitoring mechanism.

#### DATUM 15

“The April 22 ruling by the Constitutional Court (MK), which settled once and for all the dispute in the February presidential election, should in no way be taken as the final act in the court drama whose live telecast was followed, blow by blow in every episode, by the nation at large. For the drama to end there would be a huge anticlimax. Everyone who has closely followed it knows some of the unresolved issues are far more important than just knowing that the winner is Prabowo Subianto with running mate Gibran Rakabuming Raka. The stakes in the real-life drama are our democracy and the well-being of the nation.



We deserve a better ending. Contrary to what many believe, the central characters in this Constitutional Court drama are not Prabowo or the two losing candidates Anies Baswedan and Ganjar Pranowo, not even President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo, whose name was mentioned several times during the court hearings. The main characters are the eight justices of the court. Their decision on the election dispute is final and binding, making them even more instrumental than the voters in determining who should lead this nation, and consequently, the fate of the nation’s 280 million people.”  
(Access from Jakarta Post published on 7 May 2024)

Context of Datum 15:

This datum displays a news article about the news of the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the presidential election dispute verdict in February 2024. This decision became public on April 22, 2024. The presidential election dispute trial was attended by three pairs of vice-presidential candidates. Among them, Anies Baswedan and Ganjar Pranowo as the plaintiffs. Meanwhile, Prabowo Subianto was the defendant. In this text, it is described as a drama on television about the presidential election dispute trial process. Because many people are waiting for the resolution of this dispute. People believe there are still many unsolved problems. And from the datum above, the main focus of this dispute is not the presidential candidates. However, the eight judges of the Constitutional Court have the role of giving the final decision on this Presidential Election dispute. The outcome of this decision affected the fate of 280 million Indonesians. This why relation to context on article already published after Election 2024.

Analysis Of Datum 15:

According to Van Dijk (1998), this datum shows how the constitutional court carries out its functions under the domain of political institutions. The central role of the constitutional court is in the resolution of presidential election disputes. Their decision is final and absolute, showing a great authority of the Constitutional

Court judges in determining the election result. Prabowo Subianto, Ganjar Pranowo and Anies Baswedan are the social actors in this presidential election. It is described as a drama because the three of them are fighting for the 2024 presidential election contestation. But according to the datum above, the main actors are the eight Constitutional Court judges who presided over the presidential election dispute case and determined the election results in court.

According to Van Dijk (2008), in this datum, the Constitutional Court judges have the highest authority in deciding presidential election dispute issues. The Constitutional Court has a large and absolute power relation. As a judicial institution that is responsible for election-related issues. The manifestation of this authority is the decision of the eight Justices of the Constitutional Court, which has a direct impact on the election results, this shows a top-down power structure. This datum also shows indirect social criticism. This can be seen in the use of the word “drama”. This dissatisfaction occurs because there are still other important issues that have not been resolved. This discourse analysis finally shows the role of the Constitutional Court in how it carries out its role in the issue of election disputes.

DATUM 21:

“Since the issuance of that decision, the Constitutional Court has been ridiculed as the ‘Family Court’. The Constitutional Court’s Ethics Council (MKMK), which convened on November 7, 2023, decided to dismiss Anwar Usman from the position of Chief Justice. He was also prohibited from being involved in disputes over presidential, legislative, and regional head elections. Nine judges of the Constitutional Court, who held deliberations two days after the MKMK decision, chose Suhartoyo as Anwar’s replacement. He is one of the four judges who expressed a different or dissenting opinion on the request to amend the General Election Law regarding the minimum age requirement for presidential and vice-presidential candidates.”

(Access from Tempo published on 13 January 2024)

Context of datum 21:

This datum shows the attitude and good faith of the Constitutional Court that wants to improve the negative image. Towards the 2024 election constituency, the Constitutional Court made a decision many parties criticized. Because it came with negative sentiments and was mocked as the “Family Court”. The Constitutional Court quickly through the Constitutional Court Honor Council (MKMK), conducted a hearing on November 7, 2023, and decided to dismiss the chief judge Anwar Usman. Therefore, the nine judges of the Constitutional Court chose Suhartono as a judge of the Constitutional Court.

#### Analysis of Datum 21:

According to Van Dijk (1998), Fairclough & Fairclough, (2013). This datum, it shows the role of the Honorary Council as an internal institution within the Constitutional Court to maintain its integrity. This role is also included in the political institution domain. The role taken by MKMK is a special authority as an authority that makes decisions regarding ethical violations by Constitutional Court judges. This datum shows the function of the MKMK to carry out internal supervision to ensure that high-ranking officials such as Constitutional Court judges continue to act according to ethical norms.

In addition to MKMK's role, the role of the nine Constitutional Court judges also led to the decision to replace Anwar Usman with Suhartoyo. Although he was one of the four judges who expressed dissent regarding the decision on the minimum age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. This shows that in political structuring, differences in judges giving dissenting opinions are also appreciated and recognized. In this datum, there is also a public nickname that leads

to criticism of the Constitutional Court, namely “Family Court”. This shows a critical attitude towards this institution. Because of the context of the closeness of relatives between Anwar Usman's family and President Joko Widodo. This shows that public discourse affects the legitimacy and image of an institution

#### DATUM 22:

“Suhartoyo said the Constitutional Court should have rejected the petition because the petitioner, a Surakarta University student claiming to be Gibran’s fan, had no strong legal standing. But their dissenting voice was drowned out by the majority of five other justices who agreed to grant the petition. During an approximately one-hour-long interview in his office on December 21, Suhartoyo explained to Tempo regarding the Constitutional Court’s ruling that undermined democracy. “You can’t shake off that shadow. We remained under suspicion in the aftermath of that ruling,” he said. This interview has been edited for flow and clarity.”

(Access from Tempo published in 13 January 2024)

#### Context of Datum 22:

This datum shows a statement from the election judge, Suhartoyo, about the attitude of the Constitutional Court. Tempo reported in an interview that the court should reject the application of Almas Tsaqibbirru. It was indicated that the Surakarta University students did not have an important and strong legal position. In his interview with Tempo, he assumed that the Constitutional Court's decision had harmed democracy in Indonesia. Suhartoyo told Tempo that he could not get rid of the shadow of the Constitutional Court's decision to change the minimum age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The interview was conducted on December 21, 2023, coinciding with the 2024 election campaign period.

#### Analysis of Datum 22:

According to Van Dijk (1998) and Fairclough & Fairclough (2013), The Constitutional Court as a judicial institution is important in organizing and directing its political actions. This reflects the Constitutional Court as a Political Institution. In this case, the decision of the majority of Constitutional Court judges to grant the petition of a student who was deemed to have no legal standing (based on Suhartoyo's opinion) shows how these institutional influences the political process, especially in the selection of presidential or vice-presidential candidates. Suhartoyo opinion that the Court's decision “undermines democracy” and that the Court “remains under suspicion” point to challenges to the independence and credibility of the institution.

As a political institution in this datum, the integrity of the Constitutional Court is questioned by the public. For this reason, Suhartoyo was appointed to replace Anwar Usman to improve the Constitutional Court's bad image as a political institution that hears constitutional issues and disputes over laws. Apart from Suhartoyo, the other five judges are the main actors in the institution. The interactions between them reflect the power dynamics and differing views that exist within the institution. Where the majority vote dominates despite strong dissenting opinions.

### **c) Political Organizations**

Legally, officials are a large number of political organizations that structure, political action, such as political parties, political clubs, NGOs, and so on

DATUM 16

“The alliances of political parties to put up common candidates for the presidential election in 2024 may comply with electoral law, but when parties that have little in common join hands it raises the question of what kind of government we are going to get, and whether ideological principles have been compromised in forging these coalitions. Unlike in most other democracies, the political alliances in Indonesia are created before rather than after the election results are known. Going by past elections, the winning coalition will expand as soon as the results are known. The current administration of President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo, for example, is made up of six of the eight political parties in the House of Representatives. This effectively renders the opposition weak and ineffective.”  
(Access from Jakarta Post published on 15 September 2023)

Context of Datum 16:

The context of this datum is the discourse of political parties in Indonesia wanting to form a political alliance to face the 2024 presidential election. Many political parties are forced to join because they want to build a solid alliance. However, many political parties that do not have the same ideology and vision-mission are forced to join. The goal is to win the candidate promoted by the coalition/alliance of political parties. Unlike in other democracies, political coalitions are formed after elections. Whereas in Indonesia, coalitions are formed before elections. Therefore, there is an imbalance between the governing coalition and the opposition. In President Joko Widodo's government, six of the eight parties in the House of Representatives are part of the government coalition, while the rest is in the opposition, making the opposition weak and ineffective.

Analysis of Datum 16:

According to Van Dijk (1998), in this datum, “The alliances of political parties to put up common candidates for the presidential election in 2024” in this sentence phrase there is an indication of the political organization domain. It is addressed by the word political party. And the existence of a coalition of political parties. This datum also highlights how political parties in Indonesia form an

alliance before the election results are known, in contrast to the practice in many other democracies where alliances are usually made after the election results are announced. In addition, the use of words such as “ideological compromise”, “questionable” and “effective” reflect a critical attitude towards the formation of a coalition. The words “low” and “ineffective” are used to describe opposition that shows concern about the balance of power.

According to Van Dijk (2008), Fairclough & Fairclough (2013), this datum shows how political parties form alliances because they share similar ideologies, raising questions about the consistency of ideology and political principles in the coalition formation process. This identifies that this political practice is still often used without paying attention to the principles of a party's ideologies. The dominance of coalitions in government has the potential to create an imbalance in government later.

#### DATUM 17

“Former Jakarta governor Anies Baswedan is supported by a coalition involving the secular-nationalist National Democratic Party (NasDem), the Islamist Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) and the National Awakening Party (PKB), which relies on the support of members of Nahdlatul Ulama, Indonesia’s largest mass-based Islamic organization. Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto is supported by Gerindra, a secular-nationalist party, which he founded and chairs, the Golkar party, also secular-nationalist, and the National Mandate Party (PAN), which is a semi-Islamist party. Former Central Java governor Ganjar Pranowo is supported by his own center-left Indonesian-Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) and the Islamist United Development Party (PPP).”

(Access from Jakarta Post published on 15 September 2023)

#### Context of Datum 17:

In this datum showed before election 2024, some the groups of the political parties made of their own coalition. The candidates consisted of three people, Anies

Baswedan, Prabowo Subianto, and Ganjar Pranowo. Anies Baswedan was endorsed by three parties: the secular nationalist National Democratic Party (Nasdem), the Islamist Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), and the National Awakening Party, the main base of the largest Islamic organization, Nahdatul Ulama. Prabowo Subianto himself is supported by the nationalist-secular Gerindra Party. This is the party he founded himself and is now the chairman. Then there is the Golongan Karya (Golkar) Party, which is also nationalist-secular. And the National Mandate Party (PAN), a semi-Islamist party. The last candidate is former Central Java governor Ganjar Pranowo. He is supported by the center-left Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) and the Islamic United Development Party (PPP).

Analysis of Datum 17:

According to Van Dijk (1998) and Fairclough & Fairclough (2013), this datum shows that there is a political organization domain in the form of a political party. This is shown by the formation of a coalition of parties to carry presidential candidates in the 2024 presidential election. This starts with Anies Baswedan, who is in coalition with the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), the National Democratic Party (Nasdem), and the National Awakening Party (PKB). This coalition aims to attract various segments later.

The coalition of presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto is dominated by nationalist secular parties and semi-Islamist parties. These are the Great Indonesia Movement (Gerindra), the Golkar Party, and the National Mandate Party (PAN). This coalition was intended to appeal to voters across a strong ideological spectrum.



Ganjar Pranowo's coalition consists of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), and the United Development Party (PPP). This party is dominated by the center-left and Islamists. This coalition aimed to draw the votes of nationalist and religious groups together. This is because the PPP is supported by the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia, Nadhatul Ulama.

According to Van Dijk (2008), the social practices that exist in this datum of coalitions between parties with different ideologies show efforts to consolidate broad political support. This phenomenon shows a power dynamic between political parties to increase their chances of winning the election. And the diverse support of parties with different ideologies such as secular-nationalist and Islamist, indicates that Indonesian politics involve schools of thought that must be managed in coalitions. This datum reflects a power dynamic in which the main presidential candidates are supported by strong coalitions, showing how power is distributed and controlled by various political organizations.

#### DATUM 18

“Golkar Party, the second largest party in the House of Representatives, and the smaller pro-government National Mandate Party (PAN) declared on Sunday their support for Prabowo Subianto, Gerindra Party's chair and presidential candidate for next year's election. The announcement was made by Golkar and PAN chairs Airlangga Hartarto and Zulkifli Hasan at the Tugu Proklamasi (Proclamation Monument) complex in Central Jakarta in front of Prabowo himself”

(Access from Jakarta Post published on 15 August 2023)

Context of Datum 18:

This datum explains the declaration of the Golkar and PAN parties to support Prabowo Subianto in the 2024 presidential election contest. This declaration was held on Sunday, August 13, 2023 at the Tugu Proklamasi Complex,

Central Jakarta. The announcement was made by the chairmen of PAN and Golkar, Airlangga Hartanto and Zulfikli Hasan, and was also attended by Gerindra Party Chairman Prabowo Subianto.

Analysis of Datum 18:

According to Van Dijk (1998), (2008), Fairclough & Fairclough (2013), this datum shows that political organization is represented by a political party. Golkar and PAN's declaration of support for Prabowo Subianto indicates the influence that Gerindra and Prabowo have in building a strong coalition for the presidential election. The announcement was made at the Proclamation Monument to show strong symbolism to associate with the historical event of Indonesia's independence. The presence of both Gerindra and PAN Coalition Party Chairmen, Airlangga Hartanto and Zulfikli Hasan, showed the high commitment and importance of the political alliance to support Prabowo Subianto.

**“Golkar Party, the second largest party in the House of Representatives”** and **“the smaller pro-government National Mandate Party (PAN)”** these words indicate the size and position of the parties in the political structure, showing their power and influence. **“Their support to Prabowo Subianto”** indicates a specific political action taken by these parties reflecting political alliances and strategies. This datum also reflects the political pragmatism between political parties in winning elections. There is also a power control from PAN and Golkar to strengthen Prabowo's position in the election contestation, this shows the distribution of power control in the Indonesian political context.

DATUM 19:

“The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) is determined to file a lawsuit with the State Administrative Court (PTUN) over various alleged anomalies during the 2024 presidential election. According to the party's executive board chairman, Djarot Saiful Hidayat, the lawsuit will expose the deeply ingrained aberrant behavior in the ongoing presidential election race. “This is not to demand the annulment of the election results, but to demonstrate that there has been a significant irregularity in the election process,” Djarot said at the Ganjar-Mahfud campaign team's (TPN) Media Center in Menteng, Central Jakarta on Monday, April 1, 2024.”  
(Access from Tempo English published 1 April 2024)

#### Context of Datum 19:

The context of this datum is a step taken by the PDIP Party to file a lawsuit with the State Administrative Court (PTUN) regarding irregularities in the 2024 presidential election process. According to Djarot Syaiful Hidayat as chairman of the PDIP Central Executive Board in his statement, he said that this lawsuit aims to reveal fraudulent behavior that deviates from the rules. Based on him, this behavior has often occurred during the presidential election process. He also said in a press conference that this lawsuit was not to cancel the election but to show significant irregularities. This attack was issued at the Ganjar-Mahfud National Campaign Team (TKN) Media Center in Menteng, Central Jakarta, on Monday, April 1, 2024. This article, published after Election 2024, supports PDIP's protest against election fraud.

#### Analysis Of Datum 19:

According to Van Dijk (1998), (2008), Fairclough & Fairclough (2013). In this datum, an instrument is closely related to a political organization domain in the form of a political party. This is manifested in a lawsuit from the PDIP Party. PDIP filed a lawsuit regarding election fraud to the PTUN. In this case PDIP wants to show a party strategy to challenge the validity of the election process and show

dissatisfaction with the integrity of the election. The statement from the chairman of the DPP PDIP, Djarot Saiful Hidayat, shows the full commitment of the PDIP Party to fight for fair election results. In his statement, this lawsuit has no intention of making a decision for re-election. However, this lawsuit wants to show the irregularities that occurred during the election. In this datum, PDIP wants to maintain the legitimacy of the election process by exposing alleged irregularities.

In this datum, a selection of words and sentences reflect PDIP's resistance to election fraud. First, the words "lawsuit" and "anomalies". This word wants to show the existence of legal action and problems found, portraying a sense of tension and dissatisfaction during the election process. Secondly, there is the sentence "Showing significant storage." this sentence concludes that there are serious and complicated problems in the election process that need to be investigated and corrected directly. Finally, PDIP indirectly wants to control and influence the election results in a legitimate and legal way according to the applicable law.

DATUM 20:

"Politician from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) Deddy Yevri Sitorus, described President Joko Widodo's plan to meet Megawati Soekarnoputri as merely a political gimmick amidst the Eid al-Fitr atmosphere. According to Deddy, it's nearly impossible for Jokowi to have the courage to visit Megawati after records of abuse of power committed by Jokowi. "I think it's just a cheap political gimmick. It's like Gibran's statement about wanting to connect with Mas Ganjar. In my opinion, it's just a gimmick," Deddy told Tempo on Saturday, April 13, 2024. Deddy said that the gimmick was a product of narcissistic behavior. However, Deddy asserted that the Eid al-Fitr moment should be a time for gathering and not a time for politics."

(Access from Tempo English published on 13 April 2024)

Context of Datum 20:

The context of this datum is the issue of President Joko Widodo meeting the Chairperson of the PDI-P Party, Megawati Soekarno Putri. This meeting was

organized as a reconciliation event between Jokowi and Megawati. Because this moment coincides with Eid al-Fitr. But one of the PDI-P politicians, Deddy Yevri Sirtorus, assumed that it was part of a mere gimmick. In his statement to Tempo on Saturday, April 13, 2024, he said it was just a game like Gibran to Ganjar. In his opinion, the moment of Eid al-Fitr should be an effort for *silaturahmi*, not as a place for politicization. So, this article already published after Election 2024.

Analysis of Datum 20:

According to Van Dijk (1998) (2008), Fairclough & Fairclough (2013), in this datum there are indications of political organization in the form of the PDIP Party. PDIP, represented by one of its politicians, Deddy Yevri Sitorus, stated that the meeting between President Joko Widodo and Megawati Soekarnoputri was a mere gimmick. This gave rise to a public distrust of Joko Widodo who was associated with mere imaging efforts not because of his sincere intention to be “*silaturahmi*”. In this datum, there are indications of Joko Widodo's abuse of power. As a president who favors one of the candidates who is not from the PDIP cadre, this reflects an internal tension between president Jokowi and Megawati Soekarnoputri. There is also the misuse of Eid as a moment to show a political gimmick. This shows that the celebration of diversity is not used for political purposes.

In this datum also highlights some interesting word choices. The phrase “**political gimmick**” refers to an act of mere theatrics by Joko Widodo towards Megawati. This phenomenon is an unethical act without thinking about real substance. The word “**abuse of power**” refers to a serious accusation directly

against President Jokowi, reflecting a political tension and conflict between Jokowi and the PDIP Party. Then finally, there is the phrase “**narcissistic behavior**” this phrase is used by Deddy to directly criticize Jokowi's actions, describing Jokowi's attitude which seems selfish and insincere to establish a reconciliation with the party that raised his name, namely PDIP. Some of the phrases above are arranged to provide direct criticism of Jokowi for his actions. With a clear statement from Deddy as a politician as well as representing the PDIP Party, of course this is a form of PDIP's firm and skeptical attitude towards President Jokowi.

## **2. Differences View between Tempo and Jakarta Post**

Every media outlet has its own views on sensitive issues. This also applies to Tempo and the Jakarta Post. This study found that there are at least five factors that influence the difference in reporting between the two media, namely the tone of the news, content focus, sources, writing style, and reporting objectives. According to (Hanitzch, 2005), justification of news practices has become another aspect of journalism. Therefore, every media must justify the news written. This study also explains the different views of Jakarta Post and Tempo in each domain of political discourse analysis and also the overall differences between them:

### **a) Differences in Political Actors domain**

In this domain, there are differentiating factors in the news related to Joko Widodo's political dynasty issue. The first is relates to the tone of the news regarding the actors involved in this political dynasty. In this case, the people involved are Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming Raka. In Tempo, the tone of the news presented is very critical and investigative. They tend to use sharp language directed against the politicians in

question. The context in the datum is a protest from a community alliance protesting the policy on age limit changes by the Constitutional Court. Meanwhile, Jakarta Post always uses language that is more formal and neutral. It also often presents information from various perspectives. As in datum 9, this datum explains the perspective of political expert Made Supriatma. How he strongly criticized the practice of nepotism carried out by Joko Widodo through his son, Gibran.

Then there are differences in content focus. This point emphasizes differences in issues related to political dynasties. Tempo always emphasizes the issue of corrupt practices, nepotism, and abuse of power. And this is shown in datum 1, 2, and 7. From these datums, there are indications of the formation of political dynasties that lead to the practice of nepotism directly. Especially in datum 7, it was mentioned that Jokowi's statement was to leave the decision or election results to the people regarding his son who became the vice-presidential candidate. This indicated that he indirectly approved the practice of nepotism in the form of dynastic formation. Meanwhile, Jakarta Post tends to focus more on the impact of political stability. It is in Datum 8, namely the political impact related to the change in the minimum age limit for vice presidential candidates from 40 years to 35 years. This became a controversy because it was set nine days before the closing of registration for presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the 2024 elections.

#### **b) Differences in Political Institution Domain**

Reference sources are a differentiating element in the findings on political dynasties. The role of reference sources is to ensure the truth of the information, increase media credibility, and provide an accountable factual basis to support the information conveyed. Jakarta Post always takes media from official government agencies or credible

institutions. This can be found in datum, 13 when reporting on the official institution of the General Election Commission (KPU) regarding ethical violations committed by Hasyim Asy'ari. The referral source taken in this case is Heddy Lugito as the chairman of the Honorary Board of Election Organizers (DKPP), who provides information that the Chairman of the KPU and the other six members have violated the applicable ethics.

While Tempo displays the results of investigative reporting with expert experts. When Tempo conducted an exclusive interview with Judge Suharto regarding the replacement of the previous chief justice of the Constitutional Court, Anwar Usman, who was replaced for violating the code of ethics by the Constitutional Court Honor Council (MKMK). In the interview, he argued that the Court's previous decision did not have a strong reason to change the minimum age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Because the applicant is one of the fans of one of the vice-presidential candidates in the 2024 election. He also said that this decision had harmed democracy.

### **c) Differences in Political Organization Domain**

In this domain, almost all aspects of the characteristics of the two online media have significant differences. First, the tone of the news, Jakarta Post prefers to use formal language. At the approach of presenting news, it tends to choose to deliver the news with informative language. This can be seen in datum 17, where there is information about the list of political party coalitions that carry each presidential candidate in the 2024 election. Meanwhile, Tempo has sharp and critical language. Not only that, it often directly attacks the government. It is listed in datum 19, how in the datum it explains the steps of one of the political parties, namely PDI Perjuangan or can be called PDIP. PDIP in this case filed a lawsuit to the court regarding fraud that occurred during the 2024 election process.



Therefore, the lawsuit will be registered through the Ganjar-Mahfud National Campaign Team or “*Tim kampanye nasional*” (TKN).

Focus and content are the second differentiators in this domain. Different perspectives exist in this domain regarding the issue of Joko Widodo's political dynasty. Jakarta Post focuses on the impact on political stability and government policies related to the coalition of parties participating in the election. This is stated in data 16. The data explains the imbalance of political parties in forming a coalition. There are more pro-government coalitions than opposition to the government. This has a direct effect on political stability, especially the determination of policies that cannot be properly reviewed by the opposition. Meanwhile, Tempo focuses on the abuse of power that can be seen in data 18 regarding the alleged fraud by PDIP against the Prabowo Gibran pair in the election. This includes the Constitutional Court's change in the minimum threshold for presidential and vice-presidential candidates, which is categorized as an undue abuse of power.

#### **d) Differences in All Aspects from Jakarta Post and Tempo**

The most comprehensive differences related to the issue of political dynasties are in the writing style and the purpose of the news. The writing style affects how to provide information and messages effectively to the public. Of course, this can be a characteristic of each media. Jakarta Post as a whole has a writing style that tends to be concise, concise and easy to understand. This can be seen from data 8,9,10,11,12,13. The narrative about the ethical breach regarding the age limit of presidential candidates, and the involvement of political actors and institutions is well described. So that readers can understand the context of the news narrative that occurs. Meanwhile, Tempo's writing style has concise

and sharp writing characteristics, often building narrative texts structurally and gradually so that readers can know the background of previous events. This can be seen in data 1,2,3,4,5, 21 and 22.

Finally, namely the purpose of reporting, in this issue each media has its own purpose of reporting on the issue of dynastic politics. Because each media must determine its own point of view and focus of coverage. This is used to influence readers on how to convey information. So that public perceptions and opinions can be formed. In this case, Jakarta Post has a news objective by providing objective information. This can be seen from the overall domain that contains data from Jakarta Post. They try to dig up from various parties about the truth of the information. Although Jakarta Post could not get sources from one of the parties, they tried to avoid prejudice against the presidential and vice-presidential candidates involved, the Constitutional Court, and the KPU on the issue of dynastic politics as much as possible.

Meanwhile, Tempo has a news objective that wants to reveal the truth, provide social controls to the government, encourage change through intensive and critical independent investigations in discussions without compromise. This is shown in the entire domain that is displayed. This is intended to be a means of public criticism of government policies that are considered very detrimental to most people. Where political experts criticize this minimum age limit change for personal interests. Not based on democratic values that have been well upheld, Tempo also clearly shows in the news the issue of dynastic politics the losses of various parties for this incident.

## B. Discussion

The discussion addresses the research questions by analyzing the findings on political discourse analysis in *Tempo* and *The Jakarta Post* concerning Joko Widodo's political dynasty. The study identifies three domains of political discourse: Political Actors, Political Institutions, and Political Groups, which collectively shape the discourse on dynastic politics in Indonesia. A total of 22 data points were identified, distributed as follows: nine mentions of Political Actors, eight mentions of Political Institutions, and five mentions of Political Groups. These findings demonstrate the interconnectedness of these domains in constructing narratives about political dynasties.

Both *Tempo* and *The Jakarta Post* were selected for their credibility and consistent coverage of significant political events, particularly during the campaign period leading up to the 2024 presidential election. Their reporting highlighted key developments, such as the Constitutional Court's amendment to the minimum age requirement for presidential candidates, which had direct implications for dynastic politics in Indonesia. This analysis underscores how media coverage plays a critical role in shaping public discourse on governance and democracy.

The findings reveal that Joko Widodo, his son Gibran Rakabuming Raka, and Prabowo Subianto are central figures in the narratives constructed by the two media outlets. Joko Widodo appears most frequently, with four mentions, followed by two mentions each for Gibran and Prabowo. Other notable figures include Constitutional Court Chief Justice Anwar Usman and Mahfud MD, who appear twice each and contribute contrasting perspectives to the debate on dynastic politics. Joko Widodo's significant influence in shaping the political landscape is evident, particularly with his son's candidacy reinforcing

the perception of a political dynasty. The involvement of other political figures, both supporting and opposing dynastic politics, highlights the contentious nature of this issue.

Political institutions also play a crucial role in framing this discourse. The Constitutional Court is mentioned six times, reflecting its central role in shaping policies that facilitate dynastic politics, such as the amendment to Election Law No. 7 of 2017. This decision enabled Gibran Rakabuming Raka's candidacy and underscores the influence of political institutions in shaping narratives and public perceptions. The General Election Commission (KPU) also features prominently, further highlighting the institutional dimension of this discourse.

The findings also emphasize the role of political groups, including parties and coalitions, in the discourse on dynastic politics. Key parties such as Gerindra and Golkar supported candidates linked to dynastic politics, while PDI Perjuangan opposed this trend, filing lawsuits over alleged electoral fraud. These divergent positions illustrate the complexity of the political landscape in Indonesia, where competing interests shape the narratives presented by the media.

A comparison of the narratives constructed by *Tempo* and *The Jakarta Post* reveals five key differentiating factors: tone, content focus, sources, writing style, and purpose. *Tempo* employs critical and direct language to scrutinize power dynamics, focusing on corruption, nepotism, and abuse of power. In contrast, *The Jakarta Post* adopts a neutral and formal tone, emphasizing political stability and broader implications. While *Tempo* relies on investigative reports, *The Jakarta Post* draws on official sources, reflecting their respective editorial policies. These differences highlight how media framing is influenced

by their target audiences, with *Tempo* catering to readers who value critical journalism and *The Jakarta Post* appealing to an international and policy-oriented readership.

The findings align with Van Dijk's theoretical perspective that media representations are shaped by ideological and institutional goals. By examining the linguistic strategies and editorial positions of *Tempo* and *The Jakarta Post*, this study contributes to a deeper understanding of how media construct narratives around contentious political issues. *Tempo's* critical language emphasizes potential abuses of power, while *The Jakarta Post's* formal tone reflects a more diplomatic approach. These linguistic choices underscore the interplay between power, ideology, and public perception in media discourse.

This study also finds parallels with previous research. Veronika et al. (2024) examined anti-vaccine narratives in American and Indonesian news, identifying differences in macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure that mirror the divergences between *Tempo* and *The Jakarta Post*. *Tempo's* emphasis on corruption and nepotism resembles the dysphemism and active voice in American news, which stress vaccine-related controversies, while *The Jakarta Post's* balanced tone parallels the Indonesian outlets' exploration of cultural and personal motivations behind vaccine hesitancy.

Similarly, the findings resonate with Firmansyah et al. (2024) in their critical discourse analysis of Jayland Walker's demise in U.S. digital journalism. Like *Tempo* and *The Jakarta Post*, U.S. outlets such as CNN News and *The Washington Post* strategically framed narratives using selective linguistic strategies, portraying Walker as a victim while criticizing police actions. This aligns with *Tempo's* critical framing of political actors and

institutions involved in dynastic politics. Meanwhile, NBC News's neutral stance, influenced by changes in ownership, parallels *The Jakarta Post's* more balanced reporting style. These comparisons highlight how ideological, institutional, and editorial factors shape media narratives across diverse contexts.

The findings also align with Qowim et al. (2024) in their study of *The New York Times'* coverage of the Kanjuruhan tragedy, which highlighted how media selectively include and exclude social actors to frame narratives. While *Tempo* and *The Jakarta Post* focus on political figures like Joko Widodo and his son Gibran, *The New York Times* emphasized the roles of the police, supporters, and government entities. These studies collectively underscore the importance of understanding how media construct power dynamics and accountability in politically charged contexts.

Unlike Dunmire (2012) and Hasan et al. (2023), which focus on global political discourse and print media, this study uniquely examines local Indonesian online media. The findings enrich the literature by offering a nuanced perspective on how domestic media frame contentious issues like political dynasties. Similarly, this study builds on Zakiya and Wahyudi's (2022) use of Fairclough's framework and Tian's (2021) exploration of political discourse, providing fresh insights into the role of media in shaping public perceptions of Indonesian politics.

Despite its contributions, this study acknowledges limitations in data interpretation and the application of political discourse analysis. Future research should address these limitations by expanding the scope to include a broader range of political phenomena and data sources. Exploring additional media outlets would provide a richer understanding of how different organizations navigate political discourse. Nonetheless, this study establishes

a strong foundation for examining the intricate relationship between media, politics, and public perception, reinforcing the value of critical discourse analysis in understanding contemporary media narratives.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter presents a conclusion and suggestions obtained in this study. The conclusion includes a brief summary of the findings and discussion of this study. It aims to answer a problem of the study question from Chapter 1. In addition, suggestions are needed for recommendations in future study guidelines.

#### A. Conclusion

Based on the findings and discussion, this study highlights the significant role of two major Indonesian media outlets, *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo*, in framing the issue of political dynasties involving prominent state figures. The results reveal that media serve as a form of social control, critiquing potentially problematic political practices, albeit with distinct approaches influenced by their editorial orientations. *The Jakarta Post* adopts a neutral and diplomatic stance, prioritizing balanced reporting, while *Tempo* takes a more critical and investigative approach, focusing on corruption, nepotism, and power abuses.

This research contributes to the field of political discourse analysis in Indonesia by demonstrating how divergent media narratives can influence public opinion and shape discourse around contentious political issues. Furthermore, it extends Van Dijk's political discourse analysis framework to a local Indonesian context, offering valuable insights into media bias and framing strategies in domestic political reporting. The study underscores how different media perspectives reflect ideological and institutional influences, emphasizing their critical role in fostering political awareness and accountability.



## B. Suggestion

While this study offers meaningful contributions, several limitations were identified that future research could address to build upon its findings.

First, the study was limited to two media outlets, *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo*. This narrow focus may not fully capture the diversity of perspectives or framing strategies present across the broader Indonesian media landscape. Expanding future research to include additional media platforms, such as regional publications, online-only outlets, and social media-based news sources, could provide a more comprehensive understanding of how political dynasties are represented across different contexts and audience demographics.

Second, the analytical framework used in this study primarily relied on selected domains of Van Dijk's theory, such as Political Actors, Political Institutions, and Political Groups. While these domains yielded valuable insights, they do not fully encompass all dimensions of political discourse. Future studies could incorporate additional aspects of Van Dijk's theory, such as cognitive processes and rhetorical strategies, to delve deeper into the mechanisms of media framing. Furthermore, combining Van Dijk's Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) could enrich the exploration of power relations, ideologies, and social structures embedded in media texts. This integrative approach would provide a more nuanced understanding of media bias and ideological framing.

Third, a closer examination of linguistic features, such as word choice, metaphorical expressions, and sentence structures, is recommended to uncover subtle patterns of bias and ideological framing in media narratives. This level of detail could shed light on the underlying strategies used by media to influence public perception.

Lastly, adopting a broader methodological approach that incorporates visual and audiovisual content analysis is crucial. Visual elements and multimedia content play an increasingly important role in shaping public perceptions and reinforcing narrative framing in modern media. Including these aspects in future research would offer a more holistic perspective on how media influence public opinion and political awareness.

Addressing these limitations would enhance the understanding of political discourse and media framing in Indonesia. Future research in this area could provide more comprehensive insights into the role of media in shaping public opinion, contributing to the broader discourse on political accountability, democratic practices, and social change.

## REFERENCES

- Allan, S. (2010). Journalism and the culture of othering. *Brazilian Journalism Review*, 6(2), 26–40.
- Atia, R., & Balmas, M. (2023). Between “Me, Myself, and I” and the “Royal We”: Gender differences in personalized political discourse on Facebook and user involvement. *International Journal of Communication*, 17, 24.
- Bednarek, M., & Caple, H. (2012). *News discourse* (Vol. 46). A&C Black.
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches* (3rd ed.). SAGE.
- Creswell, J. W., & Zhang, W. (2009). The application of mixed methods designs to trauma research. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 22(6), 612–621. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jts.20444>
- Dewi, E. M. (2023, October 25). Prabowo Subianto justifies political dynasty, defends Jokowi. *Tempo*. <https://en.tempo.co/read/1788291/prabowo-subianto-justifies-political-dynasty-defends-jokowi>
- Dunmire, P. L. (2012). Political discourse analysis: Exploring the language of politics and the politics of language. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 6(11), 735–751. <https://doi.org/10.1002/lnc3.365>
- Fairclough, I., & Fairclough, N. (2013). *Political discourse analysis: A method for advanced students*. Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (2013). Critical discourse analysis. In *Routledge eBooks*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315834368>
- Farkhodovna, T. Z. (2023). Meanings and the media: Studies in the discourse analysis of media texts. *Current Research Journal of Philological Sciences*, 4(5), 7–14.
- Firmansyah, H. D. T., & Degaf, A. (2024). A critical discourse analysis of Jayland Walker’s demise in digital journalism. *Englisia: Journal of Language, Education, and Humanities*, 11(2), 67–90. <https://doi.org/10.22373/ej.v11i2.21792>
- Hanitzsch, T. (2005). Journalists in Indonesia: Educated but timid watchdogs. *Journalism Studies*, 6(4), 493–508.
- Hasugian, T., & Alvin, S. (2023). Controversy spokesperson of G20 Indonesia: A critical discourse analysis study. *Jurnal Multidisiplin Madani*, 3(7), 1486–1494.
- Hassan, K., Qaadar, M., & Ahmad, A. (2023). Political discourse and ideology: A semiological discourse analysis of Pakistani Urdu and English newspapers. *Annals of Human and Social Sciences*, 4(2), 36–45.
- Iqbal, Z., Aslam, M. Z., Aslam, T., Ashraf, R., Kashif, M., & Nasir, H. (2020). Persuasive power concerning COVID-19 employed by Premier Imran Khan: A socio-political discourse analysis. *Register Journal*, 13(1), 208–230. <https://doi.org/10.18326/rgt.v13i1.208-230>
- Kareem, W. N., & Rijia, K. I. (2023). A critical discourse analysis of power in American political interviews. *Nasaq*, 37(6).

- Post, J. (2023, October 10). Jokowi's political dynasty in spotlight ahead of court ruling. *The Jakarta Post*. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2023/10/10/jokowis-political-dynasty-in-spotlight-ahead-of-court-ruling.html>
- Qowim, A., & Degaf, A. (2024). Kanjuruhan tragedy in the New York Times: A critical discourse analysis. *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 13(3), 468–476. <https://doi.org/10.17509/ijal.v13i3.66957>
- Rehman, K. U., Ahmed, F., Shahzad, K., Azam, M., Iram, S., & Ahmed, S. S. (2021). Persuasion and political discourse: A critical discourse analysis of Imran Khan's UNGA speech (74th session: 2019). *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology*, 18(9), 1421–1434.
- Samad, A. (2024, January 30). Ikrar Nusa: Jokowi pembunuh politik yang tidak berperasaan. Manuver Pratikno meloloskan Gibran [Video]. *YouTube*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PqLEmiw710U>
- The Bloomsbury handbook of discourse analysis. (2021). <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350156111>
- Thompson, M. R. (2012). Asia's hybrid dynasties. *Asian Affairs*, 43(2), 204–220. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03068374.2012.682126>
- Tian, L. (2021). Critical discourse analysis of political discourse—a case study of Trump's TV speech. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 11(5), 516–520. <https://doi.org/10.17507/tpls.1105.12>
- Torregrosa, J., D'Antonio-Maceiras, S., Villar-Rodríguez, G., Hussain, A., Cambria, E., & Camacho, D. (2023). A mixed approach for aggressive political discourse analysis on Twitter. *Cognitive Computation*, 15(2), 440–465. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12559-023-10147-1>
- Ulhasanah, W. (2021). Power representing ideology in Donald Trump's political speech. *Unpublished undergraduate thesis, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim*.
- Wulandari, S. (2022). Critical discourse analysis of Greta Thunberg's speech in the news on Washingtonpost.com and Guardian.com. *Unpublished undergraduate thesis, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim*.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1997). What is political discourse analysis? *Belgian Journal of Linguistics*, 11(1), 11–52. <https://doi.org/10.1075/bjl.11.03dij>
- Van Leeuwen, T. (2008). *Discourse and practice: New tools for critical discourse analysis*. <http://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/BA86078209>
- Veronika, I. D., & Degaf, A. (2024). Anti-vaccine COVID-19 narratives: A critical textual analysis of American and Indonesian online news. *Studies in English Language and Education*, 11(3), 1782–1800. <https://doi.org/10.24815/siele.v11i3.37380>
- Wing-Chun Ng, T. (2020). Recontextualisation of Beijing's voice: A critical discourse analysis of hegemony and resistance in Hong Kong political discourse. *Discourse & Society*, 31(5), 540–561. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926520926340>
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2001). *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9780857028020>

- Xiang, Y. (2023). Visualizing hegemony and resistance: A multimodal critical discourse analysis of “COVID-19 Hero” on Chinese social media. In *Visual Politics in the Global South* (pp. 73–92). Springer International Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-18423-2\\_6](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-18423-2_6)
- Zakiah, U., & Wahyudi, R. (2022). Gender, language, and politics: The representation of Theresa May on Twitter. *Journal of Language and Literature*, 22(2), 349–361. <https://doi.org/10.24071/joll.v22i2.4676>

## CURRICULUM VITAE



Achmad Qodir Maulana Rusdin was born in Malang on June 1, 2001. He graduated from SMA Negeri 2 Malang in 2020. During his time in senior high school, he actively participated in the *paskibra* extracurricular activity "PASSMANDA" and achieved first place in the 2018 LKBB GEKSMA "Ranking 1" competition. He began his higher education in 2020 at the Department of English Literature, UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, and completed his studies in 2024. During his time at the university, he joined the English Literature Student Association (ELSA) during the 2021 and 2022 periods. He served as a member of the Information and Communication Division (INFOCOM) and the Linguistics and Literature Division (LINGLIT).

## APPENDIX

NO	FINDINGS	DOMAIN OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS			DATUM	SOURCES
		PA	PI	PO		
1.	<p>“Civilians Coalition of Reformation's Guard (Kompas Reformasi) staged a protest this afternoon in Central Jakarta. The protesters include students, workers, farmers, and other elements of society, protesting against President Joko Widodo or Jokowi's political dynasty. "We suspect a governmental intervention, in this case President Jokowi, to goal his son Gibran Rakabuming Raka a vice presidential candidate through his uncle, Anwar Usman, the Chief Judge of Constitutional Court (MK)," said Amrin, an orator during the protest, in a written statement today.”</p>	✓			DATUM 1	<p>TEMPO  <a href="https://en.tempo.co/read/1789065/civilian-coalition-stages-mass-protest-against-jokowis-political-dynasty">https://en.tempo.co/read/1789065/civilian-coalition-stages-mass-protest-against-jokowis-political-dynasty</a>.</p>
2	<p>“The protestors brought three demands into this protest. First, condemning the alleged nepotism and rejected Gibran's run for vice presidency in the 2024 General Elections allegedly influenced by MK's decision on the age limit case."Chief Judge of MK Anwar Usman should not have been involved in the case based on the principle of nemo judex in causa sua, which provided that judges are not allowed to examine, investigate, and adjudge a case related to themselves," Amrin said. Second, the protestors declared standing against President Jokowi for his betrayal of reformation. "We refuse to let the law be amended for his family's interest," he said. Third, declaring a vote of no confidence against MK and</p>	✓			DATUM 2	<p>TEMPO  <a href="https://en.tempo.co/read/1789065/civilian-coalition-stages-mass-protest-against-jokowis-political-dynasty">https://en.tempo.co/read/1789065/civilian-coalition-stages-mass-protest-against-jokowis-political-dynasty</a>.</p>

	the Honorary Council of MK. They highlighted Jimly Asshidiqie, the Chief of Honorary Council of MK who will likely be biased during this case for his support for Prabowo Subianto and familial ties to the Gerindra Party.”				
3.	“Vice presidential candidate number three Mahfud Md responded to the issue of political dynasty. According to him, political dynasty exists all over the world. This becomes a problem if a political dynasty is used to manipulate the law for the involved party's own interest. Mahfud gave examples of Mahatma Gandhi's dynasty in India and Kennedy's in the United States."Mahatma Gandhi, then Indira Gandhi, then Rajiv Gandhi. In the United States, there was Kennedy and Bush. It's everywhere," he said during the Tabrak Prof event on Thursday as virtually observed from Mahfud Md's YouTube channel. ”	✓			DATUM 3  TEMPO <a href="https://en.tempo.co/read/1825990/mahfud-md-political-dynasty-exists-everywhere-in-the-world">https://en.tempo.co/read/1825990/mahfud-md-political-dynasty-exists-everywhere-in-the-world.</a>
4.	“Mahfud Md's statement was in response to a question asked by one of the Tabrak Prof participants, Bela. "Political dynasties, turns out have been banned once in Indonesia, then was submitted [for review] to the Constitutional Court]. The ban was then revoked. However, it used to that state leaders, their kids, their uncles, nephews was not allowed to run for candidates for fear of conflict of interest," Bela said.”	✓			DATUM 4  TEMPO <a href="https://en.tempo.co/read/1825990/mahfud-md-political-dynasty-exists-everywhere-in-the-world">https://en.tempo.co/read/1825990/mahfud-md-political-dynasty-exists-everywhere-in-the-world.</a>
5.	“Prabowo Subianto, a presidential candidate backed by the Onward Indonesia Coalition, responded to critics who accused him of solidifying Jokowi’s political dynasty after	✓			DATUM 5  TEMPO



	<p>naming the President's eldest son, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, as his running mate in the upcoming presidential election. He argued that a political dynasty is something normal. “This is for national education that political dynasty is normal,” he said after attending the Indonesian Solidarity Party's (PSI) declaration of support for the 2024 presidential election at the Djakarta Theater, Central Jakarta, on Tuesday, October 24, 2023.”</p>					<p><a href="https://en.tempo.co/read/1788291/prabowo-subianto-justifies-political-dynasty-defends-jokowi">https://en.tempo.co/read/1788291/prabowo-subianto-justifies-political-dynasty-defends-jokowi</a>.</p>
6.	<p>“Prabowo, who also serves as Defense Minister, also said that he has long been part of a political dynasty as he is the son of Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, a minister in the New Order era, and the grandson of Raden Mas Margono Djojohadikusumo, the founder of state lender BNI who also served in the government of Indonesia's founding father Soekarno. He described the political dynasty as the dynasty of a patriotic family serving the nation. “We belong to a dynasty where our family always fights for the people. What's wrong with that? Don't politicize it,” Prabowo said.”</p>	✓			DATUM 6	<p>TEMPO  <a href="https://en.tempo.co/read/1788291/prabowo-subianto-justifies-political-dynasty-defends-jokowi">https://en.tempo.co/read/1788291/prabowo-subianto-justifies-political-dynasty-defends-jokowi</a>.</p>
7.	<p>“President Joko Widodo or Jokowi responded to the rampant issue that he was building a political dynasty, which recently emerged ahead of the Constitutional Court's ruling on the minimum age for presidential and vice presidential candidates. “Just leave it to the people,” he said shortly after inspecting the harvest in Indramayu, West Java, on</p>	✓			DATUM 7	<p>TEMPO  <a href="https://en.tempo.co/read/1783523/jokowi-responds-to-issue-of-him-building-political-dynasty">https://en.tempo.co/read/1783523/jokowi-responds-to-issue-of-him-building-political-dynasty</a>.</p>

	Friday, October 13, 2023. The Constitutional Court was expected to announce its ruling on the judicial review of Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections on Monday, October 16, three days before the registration period for presidential and vice presidential candidates on October 19-25.”				
8.	“President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo is facing public scrutiny over his apparent attempts to build a political dynasty ahead of a Constitutional Court ruling that will decide whether his eldest son can run for vice president next year. The court is set to announce on Monday of next week its decision on whether to lower the minimum age for presidential and vice presidential candidates from 40 to 35, just nine days before the registration deadline for presidential and vice presidential candidates.”	✓		DATUM 8	JAKARTA POST <a href="https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2023/10/10/jokowis-political-dynasty-in-spotlight-ahead-of-court-ruling.html">https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2023/10/10/jokowis-political-dynasty-in-spotlight-ahead-of-court-ruling.html</a> .
9.	“Joko "Jokowi" Widodo has led Indonesia for a nearly a decade pledging to do things differently, but he stands accused of manoeuvring to build his own political dynasty in next month's presidential vote in a country long known for its nepotistic politics. The incumbent president is barred from a third term but remains hugely popular, with observers saying he is using his influence to install his sons into prominent political positions, moves that have raised eyebrows in the archipelago nation. His eldest son was named the country's youngest-ever vice presidential candidate last year to run with frontrunner and Defence Minister Prabowo Subianto. "It is very obvious that this is a political dynasty in the making," said Made Supriatma, a political expert at the Singapore-based ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute.”	✓		DATUM 9	JAKARTA POST <a href="https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2024/01/30/dynasty-in-the-making-as-president-jokowi-shadow-hangs-over-general-elections-.html">https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2024/01/30/dynasty-in-the-making-as-president-jokowi-shadow-hangs-over-general-elections-.html</a> .

10.	<p>“Constitutional Court has set up a panel to investigate a suspected conflict of interest in a court ruling last week clearing the way for a son of President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo to run for vice president in an election next year. The expected registration of the president's 36-year-old son, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, as a running mate for the favourite to become the next president has raised worries of a resurgence of patronage politics in a country that emerged from authoritarian rule 25 years ago.”</p>		✓		DATUM 10	<p>JAKARTA POST  <a href="https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2023/10/24/constitutional-court-sets-up-panel-to-investigate-complaint-over-gibran-ruling.html">https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2023/10/24/constitutional-court-sets-up-panel-to-investigate-complaint-over-gibran-ruling.html</a></p>
11.	<p>“Gibran's bid to become vice president was enabled by a Constitutional Court ruling removing a minimum age requirement of 40 for presidential or vice-presidential candidates, on the condition they have been elected to regional posts. Gibran was elected the mayor of Surakarta city in 2020. Enny Nurbaningsih, a judge and spokesperson for the Constitutional Court, said it had received seven complaints filed by activists and others, of a suspected "ethical violation" in connection with the ruling last week by a nine-judge bench. One complainant called for the court's chief judge, Anwar Usman, who is the president's brother-in-law and Gibran's uncle, to step down, she said. She did not elaborate. "We leave this matter to the council. We will not intervene," she told a late Monday press conference, referring to an ethics council the court has set up to look into the complaints”.</p>		✓		DATUM 11	<p>JAKARTA POST  <a href="https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2023/10/24/constitutional-court-sets-up-panel-to-investigate-complaint-over-gibran-ruling.html">https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2023/10/24/constitutional-court-sets-up-panel-to-investigate-complaint-over-gibran-ruling.html</a></p>
12.	<p>“The Constitutional Court’s ethics council ordered the removal of Chief Justice Anwar Usman from his leadership post on Tuesday and barred him from weighing in on election disputes after it found him guilty of a “serious ethical violation” when he used his position to clear a path for his nephew to run for vice president. And while the council stopped short</p>		✓		DATUM 12	<p>JAKARTA POST  <a href="https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2023/11/08/chief-justice-demoted-over-gibran-ruling.html">https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2023/11/08/chief-justice-demoted-over-gibran-ruling.html</a>.</p>

	of dishonorably discharging Anwar, the decision was enough for petitioners, legal experts and activists to breathe a sigh of relief as they held on to hope for an institution in a crisis of credibility.”				
13.	“The General Elections Commission (KPU) has its integrity put under public scrutiny once again after its leadership was found to have committed ethics violations surrounding Gibran Rakabuming Raka’s vice presidential registration. In an ethics hearing on Monday, Election Organization Ethics Council (DKPP) chair Heddy Lugito said KPU chairman Hasyim Asy’ari and all six commissioners were guilty of an ethics violation for allowing Gibran to register his candidacy before the commission had adjusted the age minimum for candidates in its internal regulation.”	✓		DATUM 13	JAKARTA POST <a href="https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2024/02/05/kpu-found-guilty-of-ethics-breach-in-handling-of-gibran-vp-bid.html">https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2024/02/05/kpu-found-guilty-of-ethics-breach-in-handling-of-gibran-vp-bid.html</a> .
14.	“The ethics council slapped Hasyim with a “final stern warning” for his part in the case, while the six other KPU members received a “stern warning”. This is because Hasyim had previously collected two other stern warnings from the DKPP due to ethics breaches in March and April last year. Constitutional law expert Bivitri Susanti said racking up three ethics violations should have been enough grounds for Hasyim to be dismissed as KPU chair. But she speculated that the DKPP refrained from doing so out of fear that removing Hasyim and appointing a replacement some nine days before the Feb.14 voting day could jeopardize the elections. “I think the DKPP is aware of the technical difficulties [that would come from Hasyim’s dismissal] since the election is a ‘too big to fail’ situation. But I do think Hasyim should have been fired,” she said.”	✓		DATUM 14	JAKARTA POST <a href="https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2024/02/05/kpu-found-guilty-of-ethics-breach-in-handling-of-gibran-vp-bid.html">https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2024/02/05/kpu-found-guilty-of-ethics-breach-in-handling-of-gibran-vp-bid.html</a> .
15	“The April 22 ruling by the Constitutional Court (MK), which settled once and for all the dispute in the February presidential election, should in no way	✓		DATUM 15	JAKARTA POST

	<p>be taken as the final act in the court drama whose live telecast was followed, blow by blow in every episode, by the nation at large. For the drama to end there would be a huge anticlimax. Everyone who has closely followed it knows some of the unresolved issues are far more important than just knowing that the winner is Prabowo Subianto with running mate Gibran Rakabuming Raka. The stakes in the real-life drama are our democracy and the wellbeing of the nation. We deserve a better ending. Contrary to what many believe, the central characters in this Constitutional Court drama are not Prabowo or the two losing candidates Anies Baswedan and Ganjar Pranowo , not even President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo, whose name was mentioned several times during the court hearings. The main characters are the eight justices of the court. Their decision on the election dispute is final and binding, making them even more instrumental than the voters in determining who should lead this nation, and consequently, the fate of the nation’s 280 million people.”</p>				<p><a href="https://www.thejakartapost.com/opinion/2024/05/07/indonesias-democracy-awaits-the-final-act-in-constitutional-court-drama.html">https://www.thejakartapost.com/opinion/2024/05/07/indonesias-democracy-awaits-the-final-act-in-constitutional-court-drama.html</a>.</p>
16	<p>“Since the issuance of that decision, the Constitutional Court has been ridiculed as the ‘Family Court’. The Constitutional Court’s Ethics Council (MKMK), which convened on November 7, 2023, decided to dismiss Anwar Usman from the position of Chief Justice. He was also prohibited from being involved in disputes over presidential, legislative, and regional head elections. Nine judges of the Constitutional Court, who held deliberations two days after the MKMK decision, chose Suhartoyo as Anwar’s replacement. He is one of the four judges who expressed a different or dissenting opinion on the request to amend the General Election Law regarding the minimum age</p>		✓	DATUM 21	<p>TEMPO  <a href="https://en.tempo.co/read/1820779/constitutional-court-chief-justice-suhartoyo-the-more-oversight-by-different-parties-over-judges-the-better">https://en.tempo.co/read/1820779/constitutional-court-chief-justice-suhartoyo-the-more-oversight-by-different-parties-over-judges-the-better</a>.</p>

	requirement for presidential and vice-presidential candidates.”				
17	“Suhartoyo said the Constitutional Court should have rejected the petition because the petitioner, a Surakarta University student claiming to be Gibran’s fan, had no strong legal standing. But their dissenting voice was drowned out by the majority of five other justices who agreed to grant the petition. During an approximately one-hour-long interview in his office on December 21, Suhartoyo explained to Tempo regarding the Constitutional Court’s ruling that undermined democracy. “You can’t shake off that shadow. We remained under suspicion in the aftermath of that ruling,” he said. This interview has been edited for flow and clarity.”		✓	DATUM 22	TEMPO <a href="https://en.tempo.co/read/1820779/constitutional-court-chief-justice-suhartoyo-the-more-oversight-by-different-parties-over-judges-the-better">https://en.tempo.co/read/1820779/constitutional-court-chief-justice-suhartoyo-the-more-oversight-by-different-parties-over-judges-the-better</a> .
18	“The alliances of political parties to put up common candidates for the presidential election in 2024 may comply with electoral law, but when parties that have little in common join hands it raises the question of what kind of government we are going to get, and whether ideological principles have been compromised in forging these coalitions. Unlike in most other democracies, the political alliances in Indonesia are created before rather than after the election results are known. Going by past elections, the winning coalition will expand as soon as the results are known. The current administration of President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo, for example, is made up of six of the eight political parties in the House of Representatives. This effectively renders the opposition weak and ineffective.”		✓	DATUM 16	JAKARTA POST <a href="https://www.thejakartapost.com/opinion/2023/09/15/these-unholy-alliances-undermine-indonesian-democracy.html">https://www.thejakartapost.com/opinion/2023/09/15/these-unholy-alliances-undermine-indonesian-democracy.html</a> .
19	“Former Jakarta governor Anies Baswedan is supported by a coalition involving the secular-nationalist National Democratic Party (NasDem), the Islamist Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) and the		✓	DATUM 17	JAKARTA POST

	National Awakening Party (PKB), which relies on the support of members of Nahdlatul Ulama, Indonesia’s largest mass-based Islamic organization. Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto is supported by Gerindra, a secular-nationalist party, which he founded and chairs, the Golkar party, also secular-nationalist, and the National Mandate Party (PAN), which is a semi-Islamist party. Former Central Java governor Ganjar Pranowo is supported by his own center-left Indonesian-Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) and the Islamist United Development Party (PPP).”					<a href="https://www.thejakartapost.com/opinion/2023/09/15/these-unholy-alliances-undermine-indonesian-democracy.html">https://www.thejakartapost.com/opinion/2023/09/15/these-unholy-alliances-undermine-indonesian-democracy.html</a> .
20	“Golkar Party, the second largest party in the House of Representatives, and the smaller pro-government National Mandate Party (PAN) declared on Sunday their support for Prabowo Subianto, Gerindra Party's chair and presidential candidate for next year’s election. The announcement was made by Golkar and PAN chairs Airlangga Hartarto and Zulkifli Hasan at the Tugu Proklamasi (Proclamation Monument) complex in Central Jakarta in front of Prabowo himself”			✓	DATUM 18	JAKARTA POST <a href="https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2023/08/13/golkar-pan-declare-support-for-prabowo-in-2024-election.html">https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2023/08/13/golkar-pan-declare-support-for-prabowo-in-2024-election.html</a> .
21	“The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) is determined to file a lawsuit with the State Administrative Court (PTUN) over various alleged anomalies during the 2024 presidential election. According to the party's executive board chairman, Djarot Saiful Hidayat, the lawsuit will expose the deeply ingrained aberrant behavior in the ongoing presidential election race.“This is not to demand the annulment of the election results, but to demonstrate that there has been a significant irregularity in the election process,” Djarot said at the Ganjar-Mahfud campaign team’s (TPN) Media Center in Menteng, Central Jakarta on Monday, April 1, 2024.”			✓	DATUM 19	TEMPO <a href="https://en.tempo.co/read/1851989/pdip-to-file-lawsuit-over-anomalies-in-2024-election">https://en.tempo.co/read/1851989/pdip-to-file-lawsuit-over-anomalies-in-2024-election</a> .

22	<p>“Politician from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) Deddy Yevri Sitorus, described President Joko Widodo's plan to meet Megawati Soekarnoputri as merely a political gimmick amidst the Eid al-Fitr atmosphere. According to Deddy, it's nearly impossible for Jokowi to have the courage to visit Megawati after records of abuse of power committed by Jokowi. "I think it's just a cheap political gimmick. It's like Gibran's statement about wanting to connect with Mas Ganjar. In my opinion, it's just a gimmick," Deddy told Tempo on Saturday, April 13, 2024. Deddy said that the gimmick was a product of narcissistic behavior. However, Deddy asserted that the Eid al-Fitr moment should be a time for gathering and not a time for politics.”</p>			✓	DATUM 20	<p>TEMPO  <a href="https://en.tempo.co/read/1856321/pdip-politician-calls-jokowis-plan-to-meet-megawati-as-gimmick">https://en.tempo.co/read/1856321/pdip-politician-calls-jokowis-plan-to-meet-megawati-as-gimmick</a>.</p>
----	--	--	--	---	----------	--

NOTE:

POLITICAL ACTORS : PA

POLITICAL INSTITUTION : PI

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION : PO