

**EXCLUSION AND INCLUSION STRATEGIES IN THE NEW
YORK TIMES: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF JOKOWI'S
POLITICAL DYNASTY REPRESENTATION
THESIS**

By:

Mukhamad Yusuf

NIM 200302110154

Advisor:

Dr. Lina Hanifiyah, M.Pd.

NIP 198108112014112002



**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK
IBRAHIM MALANG
2026**

**EXCLUSION AND INCLUSION STRATEGIES IN THE NEW
YORK TIMES: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF JOKOWI'S
POLITICAL DYNASTY REPRESENTATION**

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:

Mukhamad Yusuf

NIM 200302110154

Advisor:

Dr. Lina Hanifiyah, M.Pd.

NIP 19810812014112002



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

2026

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I state that the thesis entitled “**Exclusion And Inclusion Strategies In The New York Times : A Discourse Analysis of Jokowi's Political Dynasty Representation**” is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those cited as references and written in the bibliography. Hereby, if there is any objection or claim, I am the only person who is responsible for that.

Malang, 29 June 2026

The researcher



Mukhamad Yusuf

NIM 200302110154

APPROVAL SHEET

This to certify that Mukhamad yusuf's thesis entitled "**Exclusion And Inclusion Strategies In The New York Times : A Discourse Analysis of Jokowi's Political Dynasty Representation**" 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, 29 June 2026

Approved by
Advisor,



Dr. Lina Hanifiyah, M.Pd.
NIP 198108112014112002

Head of Department of English
Literature,



Dr. Agwin Degaf, M.A.
NIP. 19880523220150310004

Acknowledged by
The Dean of Faculty of Humanities



Dr. M. Faisol, M.Ag.
NIP 197411012003121003

LEGITIMATION SHEET

This is to certify that Mukhamad Yusuf's thesis entitled "**Exclusion And Inclusion Strategies In The New York Times : A Discourse Analysis of Jokowi's Political Dynasty Representation**" has been approved by the Board of Examiners as one of the requirements for the degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S.) in Department of English Literature .

Malang, 29 June 2026

Board of Examiners

1. Habiba Al Umami, S.S., M.Hum.
NIP. 1990080122019032018
2. Dr. Lina Hanifiyah, S.S., M.Pd.
NIP. 198108112014112002
3. Mira Shartika, M.A. TESL.
NIP. 197903082023212008

Signatures







Approved by
Dean of Faculty of Humanities



Dr. M. Faisol, M.Ag.
NIP 197411012003121003

MOTTO

"Cukuplah Allah bagi kita, dan Dia adalah sebaik-baik pengatur urusan." (QS. Ali 'Imran: 173) Karena pada akhirnya, semua selesai tepat pada waktu-Nya.

“Success is not about how quickly you reach your goals, but about the consistency to keep going even when facing difficulties.”

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to:

My beloved parents, who have always provided endless prayers, love, support,
and sacrifice.

My best friends, who have always provided encouragement and motivation
throughout the process of writing this thesis.

My advisor and all those who have helped and supported my academic journey.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author expresses his gratitude to God Almighty, for His grace and blessings have enabled him to successfully complete this thesis.

The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the assistance, support, and guidance of various parties. Therefore, on this occasion, the author would like to express his gratitude to:

My beloved parents and family, who have always provided prayers, moral support, motivation, and affection.

My advisor, Dr. Lina Hanifiyah, M.Pd. who have dedicated their time, energy, and thoughts to providing direction and guidance during the preparation of this thesis. All lecturers and academic staff who have provided knowledge and assistance throughout the study period.

All parties who cannot be mentioned individually who have assisted in the preparation of this thesis.

The author realizes that this thesis still has shortcomings. Therefore, the author welcomes constructive criticism and suggestions for future improvements.

I hope this thesis will benefit readers and contribute to the development of knowledge.

ABSTRACT

Yusuf, Mukhamad (2026). Exclusion And Inclusion Strategies In The New York Times : A Discourse Analysis of Jokowi's Political Dynasty Representation. Undergraduate Thesis. Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Advisor Dr. Lina Hanifiyah, M.Pd.

Keywords: Discourse Analysis, social actor representation, political dynasty, media discourse, The New York Times

This study examined how The New York Times represents the issue of Joko Widodo's political dynasty in Indonesia, with a particular focus on the 2024 presidential election in which Jokowi's son, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, emerged as a vice-presidential candidate. This research aimed to identify the types of inclusion and exclusion strategies employed in the article and to analyze how those strategies discursively construct the narrative of political dynasty. This study employed a qualitative research design using Discourse Analysis (DA), specifically Theo van Leeuwen's (2008) framework of social actor representation. The data came from one news article from The New York Times published on January 6, 2024, called "A President's Son Is in Indonesia's Election Picture: Is It Democracy or Dynasty?" The findings showed that key figures like Joko Widodo, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, and Anwar Usman were well-represented both as a nominating subject and a relatable subject, signifying their family and institutional relationships. Exclusion strategies, such as passivation and nominalization aimed to avert explicit accountability in political decisions that were controversial, whereas inclusion strategies (activation, differentiation, and abstraction) situated Jokowi as the main instigator of the process of dynastic consolidation. Together, they provided a description of the construction of democratic backsliding as a result of intentional moves by the elite. The study was a single article from a single media outlet over a given time span. Future studies are recommended to investigate more articles in different international and local media, including multimodal analysis and make comparative studies, to get a broader view of the way of building the political dynasty in the global media discourse.

ABSTRAK

Yusuf, Mukhamad (2026). Analisis Wacana Kritis: Representasi Dinasti Politik Jokowi di The New York Times. Tesis Sarjana. Jurusan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Advisor Dr. Lina Hanifiyah, M. Pd.

Kata kunci: Analisis Wacana Kritis, aktor sosial representasi, dinasti politik, media wacana, The New York Times

Penelitian ini mengkaji bagaimana The New York Times merepresentasikan isu dinasti politik Joko Widodo di Indonesia, khususnya dalam konteks pemilihan presiden 2024 di mana putra Jokowi, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, muncul sebagai calon wakil presiden. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi jenis-jenis strategi inklusi dan eksklusi yang digunakan dalam artikel tersebut serta menganalisis bagaimana strategi-strategi itu secara diskursif mengonstruksi narasi dinasti politik. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode Analisis Wacana Kritis (AWK), khususnya kerangka teori representasi aktor sosial Theo van Leeuwen (2008). Data penelitian diambil dari satu artikel berita yang diterbitkan oleh The New York Times pada 6 Januari 2024 berjudul “A President’s Son Is in Indonesia’s Election Picture: Is It Democracy or Dynasty?” Temuan menunjukkan bahwa tokoh-tokoh kunci seperti Joko Widodo, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, dan Anwar Usman direpresentasikan secara menonjol melalui nominasi dan identifikasi relasional yang menekankan ikatan kekeluargaan dan kelembagaan. Strategi eksklusi seperti pasivasi dan nominalisasi berfungsi mengaburkan keagenan dan mengurangi akuntabilitas eksplisit dalam keputusan-keputusan politik yang kontroversial, sementara strategi inklusi seperti aktivasi, diferensiasi, dan abstraksi memposisikan Jokowi sebagai arsitek utama konsolidasi dinasti. Pilihan-pilihan diskursif tersebut secara keseluruhan mengonstruksi narasi kemunduran demokrasi yang didorong oleh manuver elit yang terencana. Penelitian ini memiliki keterbatasan karena hanya menganalisis satu artikel dari satu media dalam rentang waktu tertentu. Penelitian selanjutnya disarankan untuk mengkaji korpus yang lebih luas dari berbagai media internasional maupun lokal, mengintegrasikan analisis multimodal, serta melakukan studi komparatif guna menghasilkan pemahaman yang lebih komprehensif tentang konstruksi dinasti politik dalam wacana media global.

ستخلص

يوسف، محمد (2026). تحليل الخطاب النقدي: تمثيل السلالة السياسية لجوكو في صحيفة نيويورك تايمز. بحث جامعي. قسم الأدب الإنجليزي، كلية العلوم الإنسانية، جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانج. المشرف: الدكتورة ليندا حنيفة، الماجستير.

الكلمات المفتاحية: تحليل الخطاب النقدي، تمثيل الفاعلين الاجتماعيين، السلالة السياسية، خطاب الإعلام، نيويورك تايمز

تدرس هذه الدراسة كيفية تمثيل صحيفة نيويورك تايمز لقضية السلالة السياسية لجوكو ويدودو في إندونيسيا، مع التركيز على الانتخابات الرئاسية لعام 2024 التي برز فيها نجله غيران راكابومينغ رাকা مرشحاً لمنصب نائب الرئيس. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تحديد أنواع استراتيجيات الإدراج والإقصاء المستخدمة في المقال وتحليل كيفية بناء هذه الاستراتيجيات خطابياً لرواية السلالة السياسية. تعتمد الدراسة على المنهج النوعي باستخدام تحليل الخطاب النقدي، وتحديدًا إطار تيو فان ليوفن (2008) لتمثيل الفاعلين الاجتماعيين. استُمدت البيانات من مقال إخباري واحد نشرته صحيفة نيويورك تايمز في السادس من يناير 2024 بعنوان “نجل الرئيس في صورة انتخابات إندونيسيا: أهـي ديمقراطية أم سلالة؟” كشفت النتائج أن الشخصيات الرئيسية كجوكو ويدودو وغيران راكابومينغ رাকা وأنوار عثمان مُثِّلوا بشكل بارز من خلال التسمية والتعريف العلاني الذي يُبرز روابطهم الأسرية والمؤسسية. وتعمل استراتيجيات الإقصاء كالتمرير والأسمنة على إخفاء الفاعلية وتقليل المساءلة الصريحة، في حين تُوضع استراتيجيات الإدراج جوكويًا بوصفه المهندس الرئيسي لتوطيد السلالة. تقتصر هذه الدراسة على مقال واحد من وسيلة إعلامية واحدة في إطار زمني محدد. ويُوصى للباحثين القادمين بدراسة مجموعة أوسع من المقالات عبر وسائل إعلام دولية ومحلية متعددة، ودمج التحليل متعدد الوسائط، وإجراء دراسات مقارنة للتوصل إلى فهم أكثر شمولاً لكيفية بناء السلالة السياسية في خطاب الإعلام العالمي.

TABLE OF CONTENT

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP	III
APPROVAL SHEET	IV
LEGITIMATION SHEET.....	V
MOTTO.....	VI
DEDICATION.....	VII
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	VIII
ABSTRACT	IX
ABSTRAK	X
سُخْلاص.....	XI
TABLE OF CONTENT	XII
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION.....	1
A. Background of The Study.....	1
B. Research Questions	8
C. Significance of Study	8
D. Scope and Limitation.....	9
E. Definition of Key Terms	11
CHAPTER II REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE	13
A. Discourse Analysis	13
B. Van Leeuwen's Social Actor Representation (2008).....	15

1. Exclusion	16
2. Inclusion	17
CHAPTER III RESEARCH METHOD	24
A. Research Design	24
B. Research Instrument	24
C. Data Sources.....	25
D. Data Collection	26
E. Data Analysis	27
CHAPTER IV FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION	29
A. Findings	30
B. Discussion.....	45
CHAPTER V CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION	53
A. Conclusion	53
B. Suggestions	54
REFERENCES	56
CURRICULUM VITAE	58
APPENDIX	59
A. Source of the Data	59
B. Data Classification	59

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the explanation of the background of the study, problems of the study, significance of the study, scope and limitation, and definition of key terms.

A. Background of The Study

One of the political issues that was increasingly being discussed by the public ahead of the 2024 presidential and legislative elections in Indonesia was the issue of political dynasty. Many media online and social media that are currently popular with young people, were discussing this issue. Political dynasty refers to the practice in which political power is held by families or close relatives who replace each other in political positions. The issue related to political dynasty was getting stronger ahead of the 2024 presidential election because one of the vice-presidential candidates.

Gibran Rakabuming Raka, was the son of the incumbent Indonesian president, Joko Widodo. The election of Gibran as a vice presidential candidate had drawn many negative comments from various parties because the process of electing Gibran involved the Constitutional Court (MK) which granted lawsuit Number 90/PUU- XXI/2023 against Article 169 letter q of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections which currently reads, "At least 40 years old or has/is currently holding a position elected through general elections, including regional head elections." This decision sparked public controversy, as many perceived it as a form of political privilege that benefited Jokowi's family and

strengthened the narrative of a growing political dynasty in Indonesia.

Apart from Gibran, another thing that was in the spotlight regarding the issue of political dynasty was the involvement of the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court, Anwar Usman, who was Jokowi's brother-in-law. In September, Jokowi's younger son, Kaesang Pangarep, 28, also joined the Indonesian Solidarity Party. Two days later, he was named its chairman. The issue of political dynasty had been widely discussed by foreign mass media, one of which is the New York Times on January 6, 2024 with the title "A President's Son Is in Indonesia's Election Picture. Is It Democracy or Dynasty?" containing opinions from US media regarding the issue of Jokowi's political dynasty which placed his son, Gibran, as a vice-presidential candidate.

The New York Times occupies a distinct and powerful role in worldwide media, making it a fitting focus on how media reports. The New York Times is considered as top newspaper known for its journalism ethics and vital information source for global audiences due to its high readership and reputation. It is a significant influence, as it shapes foreign perceptions of political figures and events, especially in Indonesia, where Western media can play a major role in shaping foreigners' opinions of leaders. The newspaper's editorials, how it worded, presented, and selected its stories, reflect broader ideologies that should be examined.

The New York Times is a good resource to study the intersection between Jokowi's political dynasty and portrayal in the international arena. Not

only does the article make the readers know about Jokowi but it also influences his international image as a leader and politician. Analyzing the New York Times allows the researcher to analyze the representation of non-Western leaders in Western media, and possibly identify biases, stereotypes, and/or ideologies in these representations. Given its status as one of the most influential international media and its wide audience, including readers from policymakers to academics to investors in multiple countries, the researcher can gain insights into how global media narratives intersect with local political realities, and therefore, has insights into power dynamics, representation and the production of meaning in political discourse. The NYT is also reported to be effective in the agenda-setting process of portraying political matters in developing countries, such as Indonesia. This is significant to be analysed as the framing from the New York Times can affect the world's perception of democracy in Indonesia.

Also, Discourse Analysis (DA) is a research method that can be used to understand how language affects and reflects social realities, which is useful for analyzing the attitude of the media towards political figures like Joko Widodo/Jokowi. In this study, the use of data analysis can be utilized to examine how The New York Times creates stories about Jokowi's political dynasty through the study of language patterns, themes, and rhetorical strategies. For instance, DA could demonstrate the ways in which term like "dynasty" or "legacy" shapes Jokowi's political power and his family's participation in politics. By conducting this analysis, DA can provide a detailed comprehension of the language aspects that define how the media represents Jokowi, with a specific emphasis on the

organization of the political storyline. Nonetheless, although DA is successful in recognizing patterns in discourse, it often offers a neutral and descriptive analysis, without exploring the ideological influences on the discourse. Therefore, to uncover the underlying power relations and ideological biases within texts, CDA is employed as it goes beyond description to interpret how language constructs and maintains social dominance.

In order to reveal the representation of Jokowi's political dynasty that is portrayed in *The New York Times*, this study employed Social Actor Representation by van Leeuwen (2008) using discourse analysis approach to explain how groups or actors are shown or hidden. It explains how certain people and social actors appear in discourse. How a dominant group has more control and a group with a low position is depicted as bad people. In relation to this, Leeuwen focuses on two things, namely the process of exclusion and the process of inclusion.

The process of exclusion is a process explaining that in discourse certain groups or social actors are not represented or made visible in the news, achieved by not revealing or by concealing the main perpetrator, so that the attention of the news is directed toward the disadvantaged party instead. This process of eliminating the main mastermind can change people's minds about an incident and legalize a certain position of understanding. The process of inclusion, namely the process of including a certain person or group into a discourse, is the opposite of the process of exclusion. The process of exclusion and inclusion is a way of presenting social actors in discourse by utilizing word play or diction,

sentences, language styles, and certain ways of telling stories to present the desired social actors into a discourse.

A number of studies combine van Leeuwen's Social Actor Representation (SAR) with additional macro-level analytical frameworks to achieve a broader sociopolitical interpretation of political discourse. Putri and Mardiah (2024) examined CNN's and Al Jazeera's coverage of George Floyd's murder by integrating van Leeuwen's theory with corpus linguistics (AntConc), revealing that CNN aligned with the police while Al Jazeera aligned with the victim. Faizin (2022) analyzed Media Indonesia's editorials on Anies Baswedan and Ahok post-2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election by combining van Leeuwen's SAR with Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach, finding that Anies was predominantly represented negatively while Ahok was positioned as the "self" group. Nguyen Hoa (2021) investigated Obama's DNC speech representing Trump and Clinton through a combination of van Leeuwen's SAR, Halliday's Transitivity, and Van Dijk's Ideological Square, uncovering a clear "Us vs. Them" bias favoring Clinton. These three studies show that when SAR is applied to overtly political discourse, researchers consistently pair it with an additional analytical apparatus to substantiate claims of institutional bias.

A second group combines van Leeuwen's SAR with a supporting linguistic tool while stopping short of a broader institutional or societal reading. Iskandar et al. (2023) examined vaccination discourse across four Indonesian online media (KOMPAS.com, detik.com, Liputan6.com, Tribunnews.com), triangulating exclusion-inclusion strategies with Van Dijk's social cognition

theory, finding that two outlets favored exclusion strategies (passivation, 6 nominalization) while the other two favored inclusion strategies (objectivation/abstraction, nomination-categorization/identification), with none of the media positioning itself as overtly critical of the government. More relevantly, Utama et al. (2020) investigated how Middle Eastern media (Arab News, Arabian Business, Al Jazeera, Middle East Eye) represented the Indonesian government under President Joko Widodo and the executed Indonesian migrant workers in

A third group applies van Leeuwen's SAR in its contained, unmixed form. Evayani and Rido (2019) is particularly relevant, as it analyzed sexual violence reporting in The New York Times and The Jakarta Post using exclusion and inclusion strategies alone, finding that NYT tended to personalize actors through full names and titles (e.g., "Professor"), while The Jakarta Post relied more on functional or collective categorization. This confirms NYT has been examined through van Leeuwen's lens before, though on an entirely different social issue (sexual violence) rather than political dynasty representation.

A fourth group extends van Leeuwen's SAR to non-news, predominantly educational genres. Sahragard and Davatgarzadeh (2010) combined the framework with Halliday's Transitivity and chi-square testing to examine gender representation in the Interchange ESL series, finding female actors portrayed as more active and prominent than males. Prasetyoaji (2020) applied SAR with Transitivity to four online biographies of Elon Musk, identifying activation, nomination, and functionalization as near-obligatory features of biographical

writing. Sarani and Kord (2018) combined van Leeuwen's (2008) verbal categories with Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) visual grammar to analyze the Touchstone EFL series, finding females linguistically included and individualized more than males, while visually males were depicted as more salient, idealized, and superior. Karimaghaei and Bagherzadeh Kasmani (2013) combined van Leeuwen's (1996, 2008) framework with Halliday's Transitivity to examine the Top Notch 2A/2B textbooks, finding male actors nominated, individualized, and functionalized into high-status roles considerably more than females. These four studies illustrate the framework's adaptability across genres and modes beyond journalism, yet none addresses political news discourse.

Based on these ten previous studies, four gaps emerge. First, when applied to political or media discourse, SAR is almost always paired with an additional theoretical apparatus (Transitivity, DHA, Ideological Square, lexical analysis, social cognition, corpus linguistics) to push the analysis toward a wider sociopolitical critique; SAR in its pure, unmixed form is rare, confined to a nonpolitical issue (Evayani & Rido, 2019). Second, NYT has only been examined through SAR on sexual violence reporting, never on Indonesian domestic politics. Third, Jokowi's administration has been examined through SAR in foreign media (Utama et al., 2020), but on migrant worker executions rather than political dynasty, and combined with additional frameworks rather than applied purely. Fourth, studies pairing SAR with visual grammar or Transitivity (Sarani & Kord, 2018; Karimaghaei & Kasmani, 2013; Sahragard & Davatgarzadeh, 2010) remain confined to textbook genres, never political

news.

This study occupies the intersection that none of the ten reviewed studies cover: (1) a specific foreign press outlet, The New York Times, (2) reporting on a specific Indonesian political phenomenon, the Jokowi dynasty, (3) analyzed through van Leeuwen's (2008) SAR in its pure, unmixed form and stopped at discourse description rather than extending into an ideological or power-relation critique.

B. Research Questions

1. What are the types of inclusion and exclusion strategies found in The New York Times?
2. How do the inclusions and exclusions represent Jokowi's Political Dynasty?

C. Significance of Study

This study is significant for several audiences. For readers and media consumers, it offers a concrete illustration of how seemingly neutral linguistic choices, such as passive constructions or selective naming, can shape public perception of a foreign country's domestic politics, encouraging engagement with international news coverage of Indonesian affairs. For students and researchers in linguistics, journalism, or political communication, the study provides a model for examining how social actors are linguistically constructed in news discourse, which can be adapted to other media outlets, other political

issues, or other countries' leaders. For journalism practitioners and educators, the findings highlight the discursive consequences of specific reporting choices, which can inform more reflective and responsible coverage of politically sensitive issues. Finally, for those concerned with Indonesia's international image and public diplomacy, the study offers insight into how a politically dynastic phenomenon, currently a contested issue in domestic discourse, is being framed for a global English-speaking readership by one of the world's most influential newspapers.

D. Scope and Limitation

This research focuses on the discourse analysis (DA) strategy of inclusion and exclusion developed by Theo van Leeuwen (2008) to examine how social actors are structurally constructed in texts. By utilizing Social Actor Representation (SAR) as its primary tool, the analytical scope of this study remains strictly dedicated to a descriptive mapping of language patterns, clause structures, and headlines, intentionally operating outside the domain of broader ideological critiques. The specific issues discussed are limited to the representation of the phenomenon of the Joko Widodo (Jokowi) political dynasty, specifically focusing on the political dynamics of the presidential family during the transition of power in Indonesia leading up to and following the 2024 general election.

Several limitations should be acknowledged. First, because the analysis is confined to a single article, the findings cannot be generalized to The New

York Times' broader coverage of Indonesian politics, nor to how other international media outlets represent the same phenomenon; the patterns identified here may be specific to this particular text rather than representative of a stable editorial pattern. Second, the qualitative-interpretive nature of discourse analysis means that the identification and interpretation of exclusion and inclusion strategies, while guided by van Leeuwen's (2008) categories, inevitably involves a degree of researcher subjectivity in determining ideological implication. Third, the deliberate decision to apply SAR in its unmixed form, while necessary to fill the specific research gap this study addresses, means the analysis remains at the level of systematic linguistic description and does not extend into the deeper socio-historical or ideological explanation that a combined framework (e.g., with the Discourse-Historical Approach) could offer. Fourth, this study does not have access to the journalist's editorial intent or the newspaper's internal production process, so claims about ideological function are inferred from textual patterns rather than confirmed through interviews or newsroom observation.

Another limitation stems from the potential subjective bias of researchers (researcher bias) in the process of data analysis and interpretation. Considering that the issue of Joko Widodo's political dynasty is a real, controversial phenomenon and has a direct impact on the contemporary socio-political landscape in Indonesia, researchers - as citizens or observers of domestic politics - have emotional closeness, personal values and pre-understanding of this reality. This closeness creates an inherent challenge in maintaining an objective distance

when interpreting how The New York Times packages the issue. There is a risk that researchers' personal views regarding the validity or negative impact of these political dynasties may unconsciously influence how researchers code texts, select quotes, or assess the intensity of these media's strategies of inclusion and exclusion. Even though the researcher strives to strictly apply academic reflexivity and adhere to Theo van Leeuwen's theoretical instruments to minimize subjectivity, the interpretive nature of this discourse analysis means that the findings cannot be completely free from the lens of the researcher's own values and discursive positions.

E. Definition of Key Terms

1. Discourse Analysis: a Discourse analysis is the study of how language works in real-world contexts to create meaning, shape social relationships, and reflect power structures. It goes beyond analyzing standard grammar or vocabulary to investigate how sentences connect to form larger structures of meaning, like conversations, news articles, political speeches, or institutional documents.
2. Political Dynasty: A political dynasty occurs when members of the same family maintain influential political power over multiple generations. Frequently, it includes passing down political power from one generation to the next, typically within a privileged family, and may undermine democratic ideals by consolidating authority within a particular lineage.
3. Representation: refers to the way people, events, or ideas are depicted or described in a particular medium, such as language, images, or media texts.

It involves the process of selecting, organizing, and framing information to create meaning. Representation is not a direct reflection of reality but a constructed version of it, often influenced by cultural, social, or ideological perspectives.

4. Power: the ability or capacity to influence, control, or shape the behavior, actions, or thoughts of others, as well as the outcomes of events or decisions.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter presents a comprehensive overview of the theoretical concepts underpinning the study, including Discourse Analysis (DA) and Theo van Leeuwen's Social Actor Representation (SAR). These approaches are essential to understanding how international media, such as *The New York Times*, construct narratives and convey ideological meanings particularly in relation to political issues such as dynastic politics in Indonesia.

A. Discourse Analysis

The term "discourse" is included or combined with the term "language". This opposition is widely used in the field of hermeneutics. This opposition is similar to Saussure's famous opposition, that of language and parole. The term "language" is in line with the language, while the term "discourse" is in line with parole. Thus, discourse can be interpreted as being used in a specific context. Secondly, the term "speech" is included and / or combined with the term "text". For example, Jeffrey Leach and Michael Short use both terms as follows:

Discourse Analysis refers to the study of language as it is used in texts and contexts beyond isolated sentences. It emphasizes how meanings are constructed through language in social interaction. According to (van Leeuwen, 2008), discourse can be understood as the recontextualization of social practices that include both linguistic and non-linguistic elements, shaping

activities, identities, and ideologies within particular contexts.

Discourse is not merely a reflection of language use but is an active process that constructs knowledge, relationships, and identities (Zhao & Zappavigna, 2018). Discourse Analysis enables the researcher to investigate how meanings are created, sustained, and contested within social and cultural structures.

Discourse is a form of social action that plays a role in the generation of the social world, including knowledge, identity and social relationships to maintain certain social patterns. This view is anti-fundamental, that is, the social world is formed socially and rhetorically, which means that the nature of the social world is not natural or determined by external circumstances and human beings do not have a fixed personality or essence. And authentic. Rhetoric is one of the linguistic studies that is part of pragmatic studies. The speech has a broader attitude to sentences and sentences, because it contains the ideas and concepts of the text. Speech in English is called a speech that is interpreted as an expression in the interaction of communication.

Discourse cannot be considered a physical manifestation of language. The embodiment of the language is the text. Moreover, Hoyde distinguishes the meaning of speech and text based on de Saussure's view that distinguishing between language and parole, speech is an abstract theoretical Construction whose meaning is studied in relation to the context and state of communication. By context is meant the element of language to which discourse refers. Thus,

the discourse is at the language level while the text is the embodiment of the speech and is at the parole level.

Discourse is a language unit based on the words used to communicate in a social context. A language unit is a sequence of words or speech. The Discourse can be oral or written, it can be transactional or interactive. In the case of verbal communication, the discourse is the process of communication between the greeter and the messenger, while in written communication, the discourse can be considered as the result of the expression of the interpreter's thoughts. The discipline that studies discourse is called discourse analysis.

B. Van Leeuwen's Social Actor Representation (2008)

Theo van Leeuwen's contribution to DA centers on the representation of social actors. He proposes that actors can be included or excluded strategically in texts to serve ideological functions. For example, van Leeuwen illustrates that exclusion in news discourse can shift blame or deflect accountability. In reporting incidents such as police violence, using passive voice or nominalization can obscure agency and redirect focus from perpetrators to victims (van Leeuwen, 2008). This approach is rooted in the idea that representation is not neutral but reflects the interests and ideologies of those in power.

Van Leeuwen's analysis shows in general how parties and actors (both people and groups) are presented in the news, that is, from the following two main points of interest:

1. Exclusion

Exclusion, in van Leeuwen's (2008) framework, refers to the process by which social actors are omitted or rendered invisible in a discourse. The exclusion of a social actor does not necessarily mean the events described did not involve that actor; rather, it means the actor is strategically left out of the textual representation for ideological purposes. In the present study, two forms of exclusion were identified in the data: passivation and nominalization.

a) *Passivation*

Passivation occurs when the social actor responsible for an action is omitted or backgrounded in a sentence, resulting in the focus being shifted to the affected party rather than the actor. This omission often serves as a means of protecting or distancing the responsible party. For instance:

Active: The police fatally shot a protesting student.

Passive: A protesting student was killed by gunfire during a demonstration. In the first sentence, the news is presented in the form of an active sentence.

Here, the actor (police) is introduced into the text. On the other hand, in the second sentence, the perpetrator is absent from the news, because the most important thing in the news is the thing, the victim of the shooting. What are the bad effects of this kind of sentence pattern? First, the culprit / culprits disappear from the news. Journalists and the reading public are more attentive and interested in seeing the victim than the offender.

b) *Nominalization*

This strategy is associated with the transformation of verbs into nouns. Why can nominal eliminate actors / topics in the news? It has to do with the transition from active tenses. In an active sentence structure, it always requires a subject (Amalia et al., 2019). The active sentence is also always in the form of a verb, which indicates what is being done (process) by the subject. If the word "shoot" is used, it always takes two actors, that is, who shoots and who is shot. Both things must be present in the sentence, so that it can sound and have meaning. On the other hand, the noun does not need a subject, because it can be present independently in the sentence, and the word "shoot" does not require the presence of a subject, it can be present to explain the deceased student. For example, in the following example sentence,

Verb: The police fatally shot a student participating in a demonstration.

Nominalization: The death of a student occurred as a result of a shooting during a demonstration.

Nomination does not require a subject, because naming is essentially the process of converting a verb that means an action / activity into a noun that means an event.

2. *Inclusion*

Inclusion refers to the ways in which social actors are represented and made visible in discourse. According to van Leeuwen (2008), inclusion consists of several *representational strategies* that determine how individuals

or groups are shown, categorized, or connected within the text. Inclusion strategies concern the various ways in which social actors who appear in the discourse are represented. When a social actor is included in a text, a range of choices must be made about how they are characterized: Are they named or left anonymous? Are they identified by their social role or their personal qualities? Are they represented as active agents or passive recipients? Are they linked to other actors or values in positive or negative ways? These choices shape the way readers perceive and evaluate the social actors in question, and they reflect the ideological orientations of the text producer. These strategies include Nomination, Categorization, Differentiation, Abstraction, Determination, Indetermination, Association and Dissociation, Activation and Passivation

a) Nomination and Categorization

Nomination refers to the representation of social actors by their unique personal identities typically their names. Van Leeuwen (2008) identifies several types of nomination: formal nomination, which includes full names or surnames and often carries with it an element of authority and institutional legitimacy, semi-formal, which includes first names and indicates familiarity, and titulation, which includes titles, ranks or honorifics and links the actor to a particular institutional role or social status. The nomination of a social actor has an ideological value because it situates the social actor within the social hierarchy and influences the reader's perception of the power and authority of the social actor and his credibility.

Categorization, by contrast, refers to the representation of social actors not

as unique individuals but as members of a group or social category. Van Leeuwen (2008) identifies two subtypes of categorization: functionalization, which identifies actors by what they do, their occupation, role, or function and identification, which identifies actors by what they are such as their demographic or social characteristics such as nationality, religion, ethnicity, or family role. In political news discourse, categorization is a powerful strategy because it can frame actors as representatives of broader social forces, which may serve to legitimize or delegitimize their actions depending on the evaluative associations of the category applied.

b) Differentiation

Differentiation is an inclusion strategy in which a social actor is distinguished from other actors or from their own prior identity, typically through contrast. Van Leeuwen (2008) notes that differentiation can be used to highlight an inconsistency between what a social actor has previously said or stood for and what they are currently doing, or to separate one actor from a group with which they might otherwise be associated.

The political utility of differentiation lets the text producer frame a social actor accountable to his or her own stated values or principles without making a direct accusation. A text may imply a critique from a juxtaposition by contrasting a politician's past words or even identity with the politician's current actions and invite the reader to make a judgment based on the contrast. This is closely related to the rhetorical tactic of irony, where the contrast between an action and a statement creates an ironic meaning.

c) Abstraction

Abstraction is the concept of representing the social actors in general attributes or with their evaluative qualities, rather than as they manifest themselves in concrete, specific action or identity. Abstraction is a technique that involves placing general categorical terms on actors, terms that describe the actors in their essential nature or disposition, rather than describing their actions in a specific case (Van Leeuwen 2008).

In political news discourse, abstraction is often done through the use of evaluative adjectives or noun phrases which describe an actor's political identity in broad terms: someone is a "democrat" or an "autocrat" for example, is characterized by a literally abstracted political identity. Such abstraction can be used to legitimate social actors, or it can be used to delegitimize them, and it strikes particularly hard because it takes the discussion away from contested and specific actions and towards a level of character and identity, more difficult to challenge. Expert sources in the article draw broad evaluative judgments about the political nature of important actors, using abstraction in the context of the present study.

d) Determination and Indetermination

Determination refers to the identification of social actors through specific references, such as naming social actors when referring to an action or event. In contrast with indetermination, social actors are represented in the vague, undetermined or generic, with unknown or anonymous individuality. An indeterminate sentence is often the result of using indefinite pronouns, generic

plural nouns or general collective nouns like “some officials”, “critics” or “many analysts”, according to Van Leeuwen (2008).

Determination and indetermination have huge ideological overtones in news discourse. When the references are determined (fully named, institutionally identified actors) they will be judged more authoritative and more accountable as the reader will be able to assess the credibility of the source. Indeterminate references, however, could have some ideological functions: they could help shield the identity of the anonymous informer, they could make the reader feel like the author is describing a consensus opinion, or they could give the author the freedom to present an evaluative statement without naming it to a specific, named individual. In the realm of political news, indetermination is often employed to convey commentary from powerful actors as a kind of widespread, consensus-based, informed comment from an unspecified but presumably large group of observers.

e) Association and Dissociation

Association is an inclusion strategy, which means to connect a social actor with other social actors, events, values, symbols or ideological categories in order to influence the reader's perception of these social actors. Van Leeuwen (2008) provides an explanation for the possible positive or negative associations with an actor, such as the association of a respected or valued entity, a discredited entity or a dangerous or morally problematic entity. Association doesn't need to be accompanied by an evaluative statement; the ideological task is performed by the structural or contextual link between the

actor and what with which he or she is associated.

Dissociation, by contrast, means one sways a social actor away from a certain association, either to shield them from the negative or to emphasize their distance from the discredited one. In political news texts, dissociation is used frequently when a political actor tries to distance himself or herself from a controversial decision or from an ally, or when the text producer isolates an actor from a group that he or she might logically be expected to belong to. Association and dissociation are used to suggest and connote rather than argue, and thus can be strong ideological weapons because they are hard to examine by readers.

f) Activation and Passivation

Within van Leeuwen's (2008) inclusion framework, activation and passivation refer to the grammatical roles assigned to social actors who are present in the discourse. Activation occurs when a social actor is represented as the agent (the active force or doer) in a social process, typically expressed as the grammatical subject of a transitive active verb. Passivation, as an inclusion strategy, occurs when an included social actor is represented as the patient or the recipient of others' actions or someone to whom things are done, rather than someone who does things.

It is important to note that passivation as an inclusion strategy is distinct from passivation as an exclusion strategy. In exclusion, passivation is used to remove the agent entirely from the discourse. In inclusion, passivation is used to represent a social actor who is present in the text but is positioned as

subordinate, reactive, or lacking in agency. This distinction matters for the analysis of political news discourse, where the assignment of active or passive roles to different actors encodes judgments about their power, responsibility, and independence.

In political news coverage, actors who are consistently activated tend to be perceived as powerful, decisive, and in control of events. Those who are consistently passivated tend to be perceived as subordinate, reactive, or dependent on others. The systematic activation of some actors and passivation of others is therefore a key mechanism through which news discourse constructs a hierarchy of power and agency among the social actors involved in a political event.

For this study, the CDA framework provides van Leeuwen with a valuable lens through which to analyze how the New York Times represents the Jokowi political dynasty. By identifying the inclusion and exclusion strategies used in the text, the study aims to uncover the ideological underpinnings and power dynamics that shape the narratives presented by the global media on Southeast Asian politics. This approach allows an accurate understanding of how the media constructs meaning and influences the perceptions of political dynasty.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

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

A. Research Design

This research uses a qualitative research design with a Discourse Analysis (DA) approach. This approach was chosen because the main focus of the research is to examine how language is used strategically in media texts to construct a reality, not to test statistical hypotheses. Specifically, this research design adopts Theo van Leeuwen's Social Actor Representation model. The DA approach in this research is used as a textual surgical tool to identify, categorize, and describe linguistic descriptive strategies especially Inclusion and Exclusion strategies used by The New York Times in describing the phenomenon of the Joko Widodo political dynasty.

B. Research Instrument

In this study, the researcher served as the primary instrument in both the analysis and interpretation of data, guided by the framework of Discourse Analysis (DA). Discourse Analysis, as operationalized through the Social Actor Representation model developed by Theo van Leeuwen (2008), focuses on examining how language is strategically used to construct and represent social reality within a text. As the main research instrument, the researcher

applied this descriptive-linguistic framework as an analytical tool to systematically examine how specific linguistic choices such as word selection, sentence structure, and the positioning of actors that shape the portrayal of political phenomena. Through this process, the researcher not only described the explicit content of The New York Times articles but also investigated the structural mechanisms of language, specifically the strategies of inclusion and exclusion, that influence how political realities and actors are represented and structured for the readers.

C. Data Sources

This research employs a selective sampling method by analyzing a significant news report from The New York Times. The form of data is words, phrases, and clauses that represent social actors. The article purposively selected based on its publication timing in February 2024, which represents the climax of Indonesia's dynastic political discourse. As a highly credible global media outlet, The New York Times provides a sophisticated linguistic framework that is essential for analyzing social actor representation through Van Leeuwen's CDA perspective. The researcher selected The New York Times due to its prestigious standing as a global newspaper of record. With its long tradition of quality investigative reporting and unmatched Pulitzer Prizes, it is one of the most reliable and trustworthy sources.

In the context of this study, the NYT is a major representative of the Western media discourse. It is an influential source of international community's view of Indonesian democracy, especially in reporting Indonesian

politics, which include the 2024 election. Thus, the linguistic approaches and tactics used in this prestigious and trustworthy publication can be used as a solid foundation for the analysis of the 'political dynasty' discourse on a global scale. This is a detailed description of the chosen material:

“The son of a president in the image of the Indonesian elections. Is it a democracy or a dynasty?”



Figure 3.1 A President's Son Is in Indonesia's Election Picture. Is It Democracy or Dynasty?

Source: New York Times (2024)

Link:

(<https://www.nytimes.com/2024/01/06/world/asia/indonesiapresidential-election-dynasty.html?searchResultPosition=1>)

D. Data Collection

The data for this study were collected through several stages. The researcher first determined The New York Times as the data source, given its status as one of the most influential and widely read international news outlets,

making it a representative case for examining how foreign press constructs Indonesia's political affairs for a global English-speaking readership. The researcher then searched the newspaper's official website using keywords related to "Jokowi," "political dynasty," and "Indonesia election" to locate articles addressing the phenomenon of Jokowi's political dynasty ahead of the 2024 presidential election; from the results, one article was purposively selected on the basis that it explicitly and substantially discussed the involvement of Jokowi, his family members, and other related social actors in the dynasty narrative. This article was then accessed directly from the official NYT website and saved as a document to preserve the integrity of the data, including its publication date, byline, and URL for citation purposes..

E. Data Analysis

The data analysis in this study focused on identifying and interpreting inclusion and exclusion strategies employed in The New York Times articles about Jokowi's political dynasty, using van Leeuwen's framework. The process involved systematically examining the selected texts to uncover how specific actors, actions, and perspectives were either highlighted or omitted to construct particular narratives about Jokowi and his family's political involvement.

The data were analyzed by the following steps. First, the researcher read the whole article three times in order to gain a comprehensive overview of how The New York Times discussed Jokowi's political dynasty. Second, the researcher categorized the data based on the theory proposed by Van Leeuwen (2008) in order to identify what and how the strategies of Social Actor

Representation (SAR) were used in reporting the news by the newspaper. The data were categorized into inclusion (role allocation through activation-passivation, nomination-categorization, differentiation-indifferentiation, determination-indetermination, association-dissociation, and abstraction-objectivation) when the writer showed and foregrounded the existence of a certain social actor in the text, while the data were categorized into exclusion (suppression and backgrounding, realized through passivation and nominalization) when the writer hid or obscured the agency of a certain social actor in the text. Third, the researcher placed the datum that adopted the same strategy with the previous datum into the same data classification, with each datum labeled (e.g., Data 1, Data 2) and accompanied by its location in the source article. Fourth, the researcher discussed the result of the analysis based on the research findings, relating them to the previous studies. The last, the researcher made the conclusion based on the result of the data analysis to find out the answer to the research focus.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the findings and discussion of the study, based on an in- depth analysis of how Jokowi's political dynasty is represented in The New York Times article titled "*A President's Son Is in Indonesia's Election Picture. Is It Democracy or Dynasty?*" (January 6, 2024). This article explicitly focuses on Jokowi's son Gibran, explores his candidacy in the 2024 elections and questions whether his participation is a consolidation of democracy or a step towards a dynastic political system that undermines democratic principles. The work directly addresses the controversy over political dynasty and highlights the growing concerns about the implications of the Jokowi family becoming more involved in the Indonesian leadership.

The article provides a nuanced perspective on Jokowi's political influence, framing his family's rise in Indonesian politics in many ways. The article were chosen because they deal directly with the topics of dynastic and democratic politics and their implications for the 2024 elections, offering a different perspective on Jokowi's growing legacy. By analyzing this source, the study aims to reveal how media outlets such as the New York Times portray the intersection of family politics and democratic principles, and how they contribute to shaping public discourse about Indonesia's political future.

A. Findings

This analysis focused on the representation of Jokowi's political family in the New York Times article based on van Leeuwen's (2008) social actor representation analysis. Van Leeuwen's theory offers a systematic toolkit for the identification of ideology embedded in language in the discourse of journalistic texts, which identifies the ideology embedded in the language by revealing who is included, who is excluded, and who is positioned in a text (van Leeuwen, 1993).

The article was penned ahead of the presidential elections in February 2024 in Indonesia and discusses how it was that Jokowi's son Gibran Rakabuming Raka became the vice-presidential candidate and what the other moves were made by the Widodo family in the political institutions. This analysis suggests that the NYT does not only portray Jokowi's family as political actors, but as a force that poses a threat to Indonesian democracy and that this construction is realized through the exact repetition of social actor representations in a recognizable pattern.

This section uses the framework of social actor representation created by Theo van Leeuwen to examine the discourse strategies used in the NYT article. His approach is based on the inclusion and exclusion of actors to achieve specific communicative and ideological objectives (van Leeuwen, 2008).

1. Exclusion Strategies

In van Leeuwen's (2008) scheme, exclusion strategies involve the discursive devices by which social actors are excluded or marginalized from or within texts. Two forms of exclusion were noticed in the article under analysis, namely passivation and nominalization. Both approaches work to mask the human actors involved in significant political decisions and to obscure their gaze from the actors responsible for the decisions.

1.1.1. Passivation

Passivation is a type of suppression in which the passive voice is used to reveal an action or event, but without the definite agent. Passivation puts the agent in the background of the sentence, which may be used to avoid responsibility for a powerful agent or to direct the reader's attention away from the person carrying out the action towards the result of the action. The most common way to exclude, mentioned nine times in the analyzed article, was passivation.

Datum 1:

"The machinations have rattled critics, who warn that Mr. Joko is moving to undermine democratic overhauls that were adopted after decades of dictatorship."

The passive use of "were adopted after decades of dictatorship" makes it more difficult to acknowledge the agents who brought the democratic reforms to

Indonesia. The reformers, both civil societal actors and student activists and political actors of the post-Suharto era, are completely missing from the sentence. This passivation has an important ideological effect, in that it strips the human actors who fought for democracy, and it makes democracy appear as an institutional success, rather than a political triumph of particular actors. The subtle idea in this construction is that it makes Jokowi's claimed democratic backsliding more serious since reforms allegedly threatened are presented as abstract ideas, not as the genuine products of human beings.

Datum 2:

"Three candidates are running to succeed Mr. Joko in Indonesia's Feb. 14 election, including a former general who is now defense minister, Prabowo Subianto. Mr. Prabowo, who has long been accused of human rights abuses, has lost the last two elections to Mr. Joko."

The passive form, "has long been accused of human rights abuses", is especially important. The passive voice is used to pull The New York Times back from the charge and to make it available to readers. But the forces that make the accusation which are human rights groups, victims, and international organizations are silenced, making the statement sound like a consensus that is generalized and does not point to any specific individual. By doing this, the newspaper can take a negative tone towards Prabowo Subianto without revealing the source, so that the accusation looks like the truth and becomes a fact. By suppressing the accusing agents, the impact of the accusation is made greater.

Datum 3:

"In 2020, Mr. Gibran was elected mayor of Solo, and Mr. Joko's son-in-law, Muhammad Bobby Afif Nasution, was elected mayor of Medan."

The double passive voice construction "was elected" in this sentence hides the voters, campaign machine, and political forces behind each election. The removal of the agents, especially the voters, gives the election of Gibran and Bobby the appearance of being institutional or factual, rather than an act of political choice that might have been influenced by the president and his standing. The passivity clouds the part played by Jokowi's political capital, which probably contributed to both elections.

Datum 4:

"In September, the president's younger son, Kaesang Pangarep, 28, joined the Indonesian Solidarity Party. Two days later, he was named its chairman."

The passive form of the sentence "he was named its chairman" takes the decision-making party officials and power brokers from the equation, which indicates that he was appointed very quickly, in only two days after he joined the organization. The authors of the article have made this a normal event in an exceptional way, suggesting that it's the job of the party leader rather than a political favour to Kaesang.

Datum 5:

"Casting the deciding vote in the 5-4 ruling was the chief justice, Anwar Usman, who had been appointed to the court by Mr. Joko and later married the president's sister."

It is noteworthy that the passive construction “who had been appointed to the court by Mr. Joko” does name the agent (Joko) in the passive by-phrase. The passive voice, however, remains ideologically present in that when the actor is Anwar Usman, he has a deciding voice in the appointment of Jokowi, and when the actor is the state, it is just a backgrounding that makes the influence of the state on Jokowi's appointment seem like background information, rather than the central one. The structural decision only indirectly mentions Anwar's conflict of interest, but does not directly blame Jokowi for being behind the ruling.

1.2 Nominalization

The second exclusion strategy that is cited in the article is Nominalization. It features the conversion of verbs or dynamic processes into nouns or noun phrases, which makes actions appear static and depersonalized things or events. It takes the humans out of the talk and breeds political actions as abstract institutional phenomena instead of conscious decisions taken by individuals. In the article, six uses of the nominalization were found.

Datum 1:

"Serving under Mr. Prabowo would be a 'period of apprenticeship.'"

The term “period of apprenticeship” is a nominalization of the action that would be expressed by the words “learning, training, serving, or preparing”. The quote from analyst Yoes C. Kenawas (also a commentator on the site) paints Gibran's next step as a learning one, rather than political in nature. In this nominalization the political aspect of the dynastic succession is neutralized by

putting it in a form that is more characteristic of professional development than political ambition, thereby making Jokowi's strategy look more benign.

Datum 2:

"But this time, the president, widely known as 'Jokowi,' is lending his brand to the former general — in the form of his son as running mate. The merger of the two political families appears to give their ticket the edge, polls indicate."

The term "merger" conflates a loose, considered, and politically sensitive (and indeed political) process of forming an alliance between two rival political clans. The article translates this process into single nouns, making the Jokowi-Prabowo partnership a finished product. It is a state or fact that has already happened, and not a continuous and ongoing process of negotiations and decisions. By nominalizing, the event loses its animating subject and political agendas, appearing as a structural development rather than a political decision.

Datum 3:

"Mr. Joko's goal, he said, is to prepare his son to run for president in 2029. Serving under Mr. Prabowo would be a 'period of apprenticeship.'"

The nominalization "goa" deactivates and freezes what is actually an active political project, of strategizing, maneuvering, preparing. This makes it easier to ascribe a definite, unambiguous intent to Jokowi's moves, and it diffuses his moves into a policy-making, instead of a political dynasty-building process. The nominalization serves to simplify the intricacy of an elaborate scheme described elsewhere in the article into a seemingly simple but also ambitious personal aspiration.

Datum 4:

"'Because in the end, the aim is president,' he said, 'not vice president.'"

Likewise, the nominalization "aim" turns the process of pursuing for political power into a goal. The political dynasty is presented here in the guise of a noun, an "aim," so as to suggest that it is goal-oriented and rational rather than an abuse of power. Embedded in the direct speech of an academic analyst, this nominalization is a way of rationalising and trying to explain the dynasty in analytical terms, thus making it 'normal' where it may otherwise look like a very troubling political development.

Datum 5:

"An ethics panel quickly removed Mr. Anwar as chief justice for his 'serious violation' of the court's ethics code, but the decision still stands."

The phrase "serious violation" removes the specificity from the action that was a violation: voting in a case involving a family member where there was a clear conflict of interest. The transformation into "violation" gives the article a somewhat legalistic, bureaucratic tone that nominalizes Anwar Usman's action, making it easier to overlook the ethical violation. The nominalization also serves to detach the transgression from its agent, highlighting the fact that the removal was a consequence of something done, instead of the fact that it was done deliberately, as in the source sentence.

Datum 6:

"'That decision was very important because it changed the rules of the game for

the election system,' said Jimly Asshiddiqie."

The term “decision” is the nominalized version of voting, which is a deliberate act performed by an agent. This puts the judges who made the decision back at a distance from the making of the decision, and makes it an autonomous, institutionally created product rather than one of their personal political decisions. The term “changed the rules of the game” also obscures the politics of the decision by focusing on changes to the system, not on any personal gain for Jokowi's family.

2. Inclusion Strategies

In addition, the article also uses a variety of inclusion strategies, ways of representing the social actors that are present in the discourse, besides the exclusion strategies discussed above. Van Leeuwen (2008) lists several different ways of including: nomination and categorization, differentiation, abstraction, determination and indetermination, association and dissociation, and activation and passivation. Each of these strategies is explained in the following sections in terms of how it is used in the article.

2.1 Nomination and Categorization

Nomination is the introduction of social actors through their names, while categorization is the representation of actors through their social roles, functions or group affiliations. The article uses both strategies in an extensive way and strategically differentiates between different actors.

In the article, Jokowi is mentioned in several different ways: as "President Joko Widodo," "Mr. Joko," "Jokowi", and "the president. This is an ideologically charged variation of the name. The popular nickname "Jokowi" is also used in the article, and the article explicitly notes that this is how the president is "widely known" to the public, suggesting informality and familiarity with the masses, and his portrayal as being "one of the people. But the term "Mr. Joko" and the term "the president" are used repeatedly in the same article, which demonstrates an ironic contrast between two forms of references, one popular and one formal, which is also a formal journalistic scrutiny of him.

His son Gibran Rakabuming Raka is always referred to as "Mr. Gibran" or "the president's son", which makes him mostly known as the son of Jokowi, and not as a politician. The categorization method is ideologically productive because it helps to keep the word of Jokowi in the article, even if the discussion is about Gibran's actions, which is the main concern of the article.

Prabowo Subianto, on the contrary, is always identified by his previous positions and connections: "the former general," "a former general," and "the son-in-law of the former dictator, Suharto. This classification brings Prabowo back to the authoritarian history of Indonesia and puts him in an unfavorable light, hence contributing to the overall sentiment of the article regarding the possible democratic backsliding in Indonesia. The description "former general" is especially noteworthy because it emphasizes the military duties he has held are linked with his human rights violations, instead of his current position as

defense minister, in the article.

2.2 Differentiation

Differentiation is the process of distinguishing one social actor from others, usually in order to draw a comparison. The article uses differentiation in several instances to clearly distinguish between Jokowi's past political identity and his current actions.

The most prominent instance of differentiation appears in the following passage:

"A former furniture manufacturer, Mr. Joko rose from city mayor to governor and eventually to president of the world's third-largest democracy without having family connections. After winning his first term, he said that becoming president 'does not mean channeling power to my children.'"

This passage contrasts the earlier version of Jokowi, who was an outsider politician with no family ties, and who explicitly disavowed dynastic politics, with what he is doing now. There is no direct link drawn between what he claims to believe and how he actually acts, but the juxtaposition is intentional and telling. The article then follows this passage with a description of Gibran's, Bobby Nasution's and Kaesang Pangarep's political careers, making the irony obvious. The differentiation strategy enables the article to address the criticism of Jokowi without editorializing directly, by letting the juxtaposition of the words he used and his actual actions tell the story.

A second instance of differentiation is applied to Anwar Usman:

"Mr. Anwar, the Constitutional Court justice, married into the president's family

in 2020. He had met the president's sister, Idayati, after joining the court in 2018. Both had been widowed."

The detail "both had been widowed" is an attempt to differentiate Usman's marital status from a cynical or political alliance, and it is a humanizing of his personal situation; it is a brief mention of him as a widower. This inhibiting humanizing differentiation, however, is immediately offset by the institutional concerns embedded in the passage when it emphasizes the conflict of interest created by his marriage into Jokowi's family.

2.3 Abstraction

Abstraction is a process of depicting social actors without a specific quality or characteristic of them, but rather through their general qualities or characteristics. The article focuses on abstraction as a way to describe the political actions of Jokowi and his colleagues in general political evaluations.

The clearest example of abstraction appears in the following characterization by academic Ian Wilson:

"I don't see Jokowi as a democrat at all," Mr. Wilson said. 'Jokowi has those autocratic tendencies, and so does Prabowo.'"

Both "democrat" and "autocratic tendencies" are abstract descriptions which categorize a complex set of political behaviors. In citing this "quoted" statement, which is also not directly accompanied by a counterpoint in The New York Times, Wilson positions both politicians as undemocratic figures, as he represents Jokowi and Prabowo with abstract qualities. The abstraction is ideologically important because it takes the focus from the actual act being done

(what Jokowi did) and shifts the focus to the kind of person Jokowi is (what kind of person Jokowi is).

A second instance of abstraction is found in analyst Titi Anggraini's characterization of the political dynasty:

"This is not a drama," said Titi Anggraini, a lecturer at the University of Indonesia. "This was planned engineering."

The term "planned engineering" is a vague term that can be understood as meaning that Jokowi's political steps are carefully and intentionally manipulated. Using this abstraction, Anggraini's article does not paint Jokowi's actions as opportunistic or reactive, but rather planned and systematic. The abstraction goes beyond the mere description of individual events to a generalized comment on intent, with potentially more severe consequences for Jokowi's democratic validity.

2.4 Determination and Indetermination

The article uses determination specific as well as named actors, and indetermination, like anonymous or poorly identified actors, strategically, in a manner that reflects ideological lines regarding credibility, authority, and accountability.

The individuals mentioned and targeted as negative in the article are usually academic analysts and legal experts who are against political dynasties towards Jokowi. All the authors are fully named and their institutional affiliations provided: Yoes C. Kenawas ("a research fellow at Atma Jaya

University"), Titi Anggraini ("a lecturer at the University of Indonesia"), Ian Wilson ("a senior lecturer at Murdoch University"), and Jimly Asshiddiqie ("the head of the court's Honorary Council"). This determination approach gives their essential feedback authority and credibility, making it appear as if they are the words of qualified and responsible experts, not anonymous sources.

In contrast, indetermination appears in the article's references to collective opinion:

"But many analysts accuse Mr. Joko of orchestrating such spectacle from behind the scenes for years, seeking to extend his influence past the end of his presidency."

The mention of "many analysts" is ambiguous: any analysts are implied, but not specifically mentioned. This indefinite statement makes it sound like informed observers have a consensus on the stance of Jokowi, not just a bunch of critics. These inaccuracies are enhanced by the use of the 'indeterminate plural' of the accusation, which makes it sound more extensive and more authoritative, and by the newspaper's own factual neutrality by referring to the view as that of 'an unspecified collective'.

2.5 Association and Dissociation

Association and dissociation are strategies that affect how the reader, through the linking or unlinking of social actors with or from other social actors, events or values, sees them. These two strategies are employed widely in the article to "frame" key political figures.

Throughout the article, Jokowi is linked to the idea of democratic backsliding, which links him to the global trend of democratic backsliding. “Critics say that hard-won progress toward democracy in Indonesia has been backsliding under Joko Widodo's rule is the very first sentence of the article, suggesting that Jokowi's time in office is linked to a democratic backslide. “Hard-won”, as the word, evokes the sacrifices involved in bringing the people of Indonesia to democracy, and suggests that Jokowi is wasting a valuable historical milestone.

Prabowo is linked with the authoritarian legacy of Suharto, as can be seen from his categorization "the son-in-law of the former dictator Suharto. The power of this association lies in its ideology, which links Prabowo not only to an individual (Suharto) but also to an entire period of authoritarian rule that the Indonesians remember with mixed feelings. The article makes the connection between Prabowo and Suharto; it suggests that the Prabowo-Gibran ticket is a combination of two different types of authoritarianism: Suharto's and Jokowi's.

Dissociation is also employed in the article. Jokowi is briefly dissociated from the political maneuvering through his own words:

"Mr. Joko deflected criticism of the political maneuvering by joking that it was like the Korean dramas popular in Indonesia."

Jokowi's attempt to dissociate himself from responsibility for the dynasty is reported in the article by framing events as "drama" and "soap opera" , but it is immediately undermined by the analyst Ian Wilson's observation that "he will

give the impression of being detached because that is his political style, but he is very much behind it." The article thus records Jokowi's dissociation strategy while simultaneously exposing it as a political performance, which serves to reinforce rather than reduce the association between Jokowi and the dynastic maneuvering.

2.6 Activation and Passivation (as Inclusion Strategies)

Within van Leeuwen's inclusion framework, activation and passivation refer to whether an included social actor is represented as an active agent or as a passive recipient of others' actions. These strategies are distinct from the exclusion form of passivation discussed in Section 4.1.1, in that here the actor is present in the discourse but is either foregrounded as a doer or reduced to a passive role.

Jokowi is predominantly represented as an active agent throughout the article. He "is lending his brand," he "deflected criticism," and he is described as "orchestrating" the political spectacle "from behind the scenes." This activation of Jokowi even in the context of criticism positions him as the powerful, intentional force at the center of the political dynasty narrative. The article leaves little doubt that the events described are the product of Jokowi's deliberate choices.

Gibran, on the other hand, is largely passivated. He "has emerged as the leading candidate" (passive voice), "was elected mayor" (passive voice), and was described by his uncle's ruling as the "beneficiary of family maneuvering"

(passive voice). The passivation of Gibran serves to render him not an independent political figure but a target of other people's politics, mostly his father's. The representation is useful for the article's dynasty narrative since it highlights the centrality of Jokowi and gives the impression that Gibran's ascension is largely due to the influence of his father, and not on his own merits or qualifications.

The ordinary voters cited in the article which were Paryani, the banana seller at Pasar Gede market, and Neiva Kayla Hamzah, a first-time voter are also passivated by their role as observers and commentators rather than as political actors. Their voices have been added to impart democratic legitimacy, but they are voiced as responding to events, not creating them. This rendering of ordinary people's passivity only serves to reinforce the framing of the article, which reinforces the idea of Indonesian politics being enacted by powerful elites over ordinary people, not a participatory democratic process.

B. Discussion

The analysis of The New York Times article from the perspective of the exclusion and inclusion strategies of van Leeuwen (2008) shows that the article constructs a well-crafted narrative about the political dynasty of Jokowi and its effects on Indonesian democracy. All the discursive decisions in this article such as what is omitted, who is included, who is excluded, and how they are presented together create a picture of an Indonesian political arena that is in a democratic crisis, fueled by the conscious dynastic ambitions of a president who once

embodied the ideal of democratic aspirations. This finding lends support to a pattern running through the previous studies reviewed earlier: van Leeuwen's (2008) inclusion and exclusion strategies are rarely evaluatively neutral, even when, as in this study, the framework is applied in its unmixed, descriptive form (cf. Evayani and Rido, 2019)

The use of passivation in the article is quite widespread and serves a dual purpose. On the other hand, it enables the newspaper to uphold its journalistic tradition of seeming impartiality, without resorting to outright charges. Conversely, the systematic discursification of agents of key events, ranging from democratic reforms of the post-Suharto period until the decision of the Constitutional Court, creates a discursive space where political events seem to happen without human agency, but can be strategically put at Jokowi's agency by using the activation strategies outlined in Section 4.2.6. The outcome is an article that paints Jokowi as the main actor in a virtually agentless political field, and thus stokes the sense of his responsibility.

This pattern offers an instructive contrast with Iskandar, Wildan, Nurrahmah, and Fauzi's (2023) study of four Indonesian online media reporting on vaccination, in which passivation and nominalization were likewise found, but were used to keep the government's role ambiguous rather than to expose it; none of the four Indonesian outlets in that study positioned itself as adversarial to the government. The New York Times, as a foreign press with no domestic political stake, instead pairs the same exclusion devices with the activation

strategies described later in this section to construct, rather than avoid, an oppositional reading of Jokowi's role. This suggests that the textual function of passivation in social actor representation research is not fixed by the device itself but shaped by the outlet's relationship to the government being reported on, a pattern also visible in Putri and Mardiah's (2024) finding that CNN and Al Jazeera used the very same categories to align with opposing sides of the George Floyd story.

The nominalization strategy adds to this effect by turning into nouns the political processes that take place, alliance-building, rule-changing, and power-seeking. This abstraction of political action has an ideological effect of normalizing the extraordinary events, in which the family members of Jokowi are gradually climbing up the ranks of Indonesian politics with a series of institutional developments.

This use of nominalization to neutralize agency confirms the flexibility of Van Leeuwen's (2008) framework across genres that has been documented outside political news, such as Prasetyoaji's (2020) finding that nomination and functionalization recur as near-obligatory features of biographical writing, and the studies of gender representation in EFL textbooks by Sahragard and Davatgarzadeh (2010), Sarani and Kord (2018), and Karimaghaei and Bagherzadeh Kasmani (2013). The present finding, however, marks a difference in function: where nomination and categorization in textbook genres tend to operate as largely unconscious conventions of genre or pedagogy, their

deployment in this NYT article is far more strategic, working together with nominalization to deliberately depoliticize a sequence of events that the article elsewhere frames as a calculated dynastic project.

The nomination and categorization of actors in the inclusion strategies are clearly asymmetrical. Critics of Jokowi, both academic analysts and legal experts, as well as civil society voices, are always named, institutionally identified and given space in direct quotation to express their concerns. By contrast, Jokowi's defenders and his family members are treated with less sympathy: Gibran's campaign refused to be interviewed, Anwar Usman's assertion that he is innocent is mentioned but then put in perspective by the results of the ethics panel's investigation and Jokowi's own deflection is met with a counterpoint in the form of expert analysis. This unbalanced voice is ideological because the article is written by people who oppose the political dynasty.

This asymmetric naming practice extends Evayani and Rido's (2019) finding that The New York Times tends to personalize social actors through full names and formal titles, such as "Professor," in its coverage of sexual violence. In the present data, the same personalizing tendency is visible in the full naming and institutional titling of Jokowi's critics, but it is applied selectively: it is withheld from, or replaced by relational categorization ("the president's son") for, the family members at the center of the dynasty narrative. This shows that the NYT's personalization strategy, while consistent across issues, is not

ideologically neutral; its application can be calibrated to confer or withhold credibility. A comparable asymmetry in positioning “self” and “other” groups was reported by Faizin (2022) in Media Indonesia's editorials on Anies Baswedan and Ahok, where one figure was consistently cast as the legitimate “self” and the other as the delegitimized “other”; here, that same binary operates between Jokowi's critics and his family.

Association and dissociation strategies further emphasize the disapproving framing of the article. The article's analysis of the Prabowo-Gibran ticket and its historical and political resonance speak to some of the most resonant frames of history and politics that have shaped the events of the past decades in Indonesia. The voices of ordinary people, especially of the young beginner who thinks in terms of “privilege”, provide a populist counterpoint to the elite level of analysis that underpins the article, providing a layer of lived experience to the narrative.

The association of Jokowi with democratic backsliding and of Prabowo with Suharto's authoritarian legacy, set against the dissociated voices of ordinary citizens and named academics, produces an implicit “Us versus Them” framing comparable to the one Nguyen Hoa (2021) identified in Obama's DNC speech through a combination of van Leeuwen's SAR, Halliday's Transitivity, and Van Dijk's Ideological Square, though the present study arrives at a structurally similar pattern using SAR alone, without adopting that additional macro-level analytical framework. The finding also stands in contrast to Utama, Amalia, and

Yuliawati's (2020) study of the Jokowi administration in Middle Eastern media coverage of Indonesian migrant workers' executions, where the government was represented ambivalently, simultaneously protective of its citizens and hypocritical for retaining the death penalty domestically. The NYT coverage of the political dynasty offers no comparable ambivalence: Jokowi is represented in an almost uniformly adversarial register. This divergence suggests that the polarity of Jokowi's representation in foreign media may depend less on his administration as a fixed object of coverage than on the specific issue being reported and the normative stakes, humanitarian versus democratic, that the issue activates for the reporting outlet.

The inclusion and exclusion strategies found in the article work together to represent Jokowi's political dynasty as a deliberate and systematic consolidation of power. Inclusion strategies, particularly activation, position Jokowi as the central and intentional agent behind the dynasty. He "lends his brand," "deflects criticism," and is described by expert sources as "orchestrating" events from behind the scenes. Differentiation reinforces this by contrasting his earlier democratic rhetoric with his family's subsequent political ascent, framing the dynasty as a conscious reversal of his stated principles. Meanwhile, exclusion strategies such as passivation and nominalization depoliticize the same events by removing clear agents from key sentences. Gibran "was elected mayor" before his rapid ascent, the Constitutional Court justice "had been appointed" to the

bench by Mr. Joko, and Kaesang "was named" party chairman which are rendering the dynasty's mechanisms invisible and making its outcomes appear institutional rather than engineered. Together, these strategies construct a representation in which Jokowi is discursively made responsible and powerful through inclusion, while the structural processes that enabled his family's rise are obscured through exclusion. The result is a narrative of political dynasty framed not as a series of coincidences but as a coordinated project of elite power consolidation that poses a threat to Indonesia's democratic integrity.

Finally, this analysis shows that The New York Times acts as an adversarial voice regarding Jokowi's political dynasty, applying text-mapping methods through exclusion and inclusion to create a story of democratic decay through a calculated use of presidential power. The article is structured in such a way that it presents Jokowi as the active and conscious agent of his family's political trajectory, while rendering the agency of those who could complicate or challenge the story of his family seemingly passive and incidental. The newspaper's discourse reflects international concern over democratic backsliding in Indonesia and helps to build the image of a leader who appears to have compromised the democratic values that once defined his political identity. Taken together with the previous studies reviewed earlier, this analysis indicates that the gap they leave open, an examination of The New York Times coverage of Indonesia's political dynasty using van Leeuwen's (2008) framework in its unmixed, descriptive form, can indeed be filled, demonstrating that a purely structural linguistic approach still yields a highly coherent and recognizable text

narrative.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter presents the conclusion drawn from the findings and discussion in the previous chapter, along with the limitations of the study and suggestions for future research. The chapter closes by reflecting on how the present study's contribution relates to the research gap and novelty established in Chapter 2.

A. Conclusion

This study set out to examine how The New York Times represents the social actors involved in Jokowi's political dynasty through the exclusion and inclusion strategies of Van Leeuwen's (2008) social actor representation framework. The analysis shows that exclusion, realized through passivation and nominalization, is used systematically to obscure the human agents behind the dynasty's key mechanisms, including judicial rulings, party appointments, and electoral outcomes, rendering them as institutional or procedural occurrences rather than deliberate political acts. Inclusion strategies, in turn, are deployed asymmetrically: nomination and categorization grant named credibility to Jokowi's critics while relationally subordinating his family members to his own identity; differentiation juxtaposes his earlier anti-dynastic rhetoric with his family's subsequent rise; abstraction and determination/indetermination calibrate which voices are treated as authoritative and which as generalized consensus; association and dissociation

tie Jokowi to democratic backsliding and Prabowo to Suharto's authoritarian legacy; and activation positions Jokowi, alone among the actors discussed, as the deliberate architect behind otherwise passivated events. Together, these strategies construct Jokowi's political dynasty not as a series of incidental developments but as a coordinated, ideologically charged threat to Indonesian democracy.

Ultimately, this research highlights how specific linguistic choices within international media can actively frame the landscape of domestic politics. By functioning strictly within a descriptive mapping of language patterns, this study underscores the powerful role of media discourse in shaping global perceptions of democratic integrity and elite power consolidation. The systematic alignment of inclusion and exclusion strategies serves to construct a cohesive textual narrative that explicitly highlights structural maneuvers, presenting the rise of a political dynasty as a deliberate and systematically engineered phenomenon.

B. Suggestions

This study is not without limitations. The analysis is confined to a single NYT article and is therefore necessarily limited in the range of social actors, events, and discursive patterns it can capture; a broader corpus drawn from multiple articles published across the run-up to and aftermath of the 2024 election would allow the patterns identified here to be tested for consistency over time. The deliberate decision to apply the framework in its pure form,

without combining it with Transitivity, the Discourse-Historical Approach, or the Ideological Square as several previous studies have done, was necessary to fill the specific gap this research addresses, but it also means the analysis stops at the level of systematic description and does not pursue the deeper socio-historical or ideological explanation that a combined framework could offer.

Future research could build on these findings in at least three directions. First, the corpus could be expanded to a larger set of articles, or to coverage spanning a longer period of Jokowi's presidency, to assess whether the exclusion-inclusion pattern identified here is stable or issue-specific. Second, a comparative analysis between The New York Times and Indonesian domestic media covering the same dynasty narrative would allow the potential variance in reporting constraints suggested by Iskandar et al. (2023) to be tested directly against foreign press coverage of the same phenomenon. Third, combining van Leeuwen's framework with an additional macro-level analytical model, such as the Discourse-Historical Approach or Van Dijk's framework, would allow future work to expand from the descriptive account offered here toward a broader explanatory overview of how and why international outlets construct Jokowi's dynasty in the way that they do.

REFERENCES

- Evayani, W., & Rido, A. (2019). Representation of social actors in sexual violence issue in The New York Times and The Jakarta Post newspapers: A critical discourse analysis. *TEKNOSASTIK*, 17(2), 43–55.
- Faizin, B. (2022). The representation of social actors in political editorial reports of an on-line Indonesian national newspapers. *Khazanah Hukum*, 4(3), 230–242.
<https://doi.org/10.15575/kh.v4i3.20813>
- Iskandar, D., Wildan, Nurrahmah, & Fauzi, M. (2023). Online media news strategy on vaccination discourse: Theo Van Leeuwun's critical discourse analysis. *Lensa: Kajian Kebahasaan, Kesusastraan, dan Budaya*, 13(1), 1–13.
<https://doi.org/10.26714/lensa.13.1.2023.1-13>
- Karimaghaei, Z., & Kasmani, M. B. (2013). The representation of social actors in Top Notch 2A and 2B. *Asian Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities*, 2(1), 27–38. [http://www.ajssh.leena-luna.co.jp/AJSSHPDFs/Vol.2\(1\)/Vol.2\(1\)-04.pdf](http://www.ajssh.leena-luna.co.jp/AJSSHPDFs/Vol.2(1)/Vol.2(1)-04.pdf)
- Nguyen, H. (2021). Strategies for representing social actors: A case study. *VNU Journal of Foreign Studies*, 37(6), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.25073/2525-2445/vnufs.4777>
- Prasetyoaji, A. (2020). Transivity on Elon Musk's online biography: A social actors discourse analysis. *Journal BASIS*, 7(1), 13–24.
<https://doi.org/10.34012/basis.v7i1.1115>
- Putri, R. C. S., & Mardiah, Z. (2024). Corpus-assisted CDA of George Floyd's murder reports on CNN and Aljazeera. *Jurnal Arbitrer*, 11(1), 96–108.
<https://doi.org/10.25077/ar.11.1.96-108.2024>
- Sahragard, R., & Davatgarzadeh, G. (2010). The representation of social actors in Interchange Third Edition Series: A critical discourse analysis. *The Journal of Teaching Language Skills (JTLS)*, 2(1), 67–89.

- Sarani, A., & Kord, S. (2018). A study of the representation of social actors in Touchstone series: A critical discourse analysis perspective. *Teaching English Language*, 12(1), 111–133.
- Utama, G. N., Amalia, R. M., & Yuliawati, S. (2020). Social actor representation of Indonesian migrant workers' executions in Saudi Arabia. *International Journal of Humanity Studies (IJHS)*, 4(1), 15–27. <https://doi.org/10.24071/ijhs.v4i1.2170>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1998). *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach*. SAGE Publications.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2015). Critical discourse analysis. In D. Tannen, H. E. Hamilton, & D. Schiffrin (Eds.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (2nd ed., pp. 466– 485). John Wiley & Sons.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2017). *Discourse and power*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Van Leeuwen, T. (2008). *Discourse and practice: New tools for critical discourse analysis*. Oxford University Press.
- Wodak, R. (2014). Critical discourse analysis and the study of doctor-patient interaction. In B. L. Gunnarsson, P. Linell, & B. Nordberg (Eds.), *The construction of professional discourse* (pp. 173–200). Routledge.
- Zhao, S., & Zappavigna, M. (2018). Beyond the self: Intersubjectivity and the social semiotic interpretation of the selfie. *New Media & Society*, 20(5), 1735–1754. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444817706074>

CURRICULUM VITAE



Mukhamad Yusuf was born in Tegal on February 13, 2001. He graduated from Senior High School Balapulung in 2019. He began studying as an English Literature student at UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang in 2020. During his college years, he has been actively involved in Microscholarship Access Program for 2 years. After he graduated from Access Program and got the certificate, he continued to join program called Earth Optimism with the same foundation which was IIEF

APPENDIX

A. Source of the Data

No.	Title	Source / Published	Link
1.	A President's Son Is in Indonesia's Election Picture. Is It Democracy or Dynasty?	The New York Times January 6, 2024	Link Article

B. Data Classification

Classification of social actors' representation based on Van Leeuwen's (2008) framework.

No.	Data (Clause/Sentence)	Social Actor	ACT	PAS	NOM	CAT	IND	COL
1.	"Mr. Joko deflected criticism of the political maneuvering by joking that it was like the Korean dramas popular in Indonesia."	Joko Widodo	✓		✓		✓	
2.	"An ethics panel quickly removed Mr. Anwar as chief justice for his 'serious violation' of the court's ethics code."	Anwar Usman		✓	✓		✓	
3.	"Critics say that hard-won progress toward democracy in Indonesia has been backsliding under Joko Widodo..."	Critics	✓			✓		✓
4.	"Three candidates are running to succeed Mr. Joko... including a former general who is now defense minister, Prabowo Subianto."	Prabowo Subianto	✓		✓	✓	✓	
5.	"Members of his family embarked on their own political careers."	Joko Widodo's family	✓			✓		✓
6.	"...the council removed Mr. Anwar as chief justice and censured the other eight justices for letting him participate in the case."	The other eight justices		✓		✓		✓
7.	"Mr. Gibran was able to run for vice president only because his uncle and the Constitutional Court intervened in October..."	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	✓		✓		✓	

Note: ACT = Activation, PAS = Passivation, NOM = Nomination, CAT = Categorization, IND = Individualization, COL = Collectivization, BG = Backgrounding.