Local Versus Oversea Media: Pro's and Con's Views on the Practice of Political Dynasty in the 2024 Presidential Election

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Abstract. To know the difference between the local and overseas media in delivering the news and elaborating on the "political dynasty" topic, the researcher conducted research on Najwa Sihab's YouTube channel titled "*Butet Kartaredjasa dan Petinggi PROJO Bicara Putusan MK*" as the local media, and South China Morning Post titled "Nepotism May Win Indonesia's 2024 Election". Two theories were used to analyze the data, attitude aspects of appraisal theory (Martin & White, 2005), as well as the ideological square from van Dijk (2006). In addition, in the process of collecting the data for the analysis process, the researcher uses the qualitative descriptive approach (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The findings show that in local media, there are two camps. Pro-Jokowi's frequently use social esteem and de-emphasize negative things about us to deny negative accusations towards them. Contra-Jokowi's mostly use social sanctions and emphasize negative things about them to present the power abuse by Jokowi's party. In overseas media, there are only neutral parties that frequently use social esteem and emphasize negative things about them.

Keywords: *discourse analysis, political dynasty, media, constitutional court, presidential election*

INTRODUCTION

As Indonesia's Presidential Election 2024 approaches, various controversies arise. One of the most discussed issues by the public and media is the Constitutional Court's bias towards one of the vice presidential candidates for the election. The obvious bias can be reflected by the results of the Constitutional Court verdict on the minimum age of the candidates who are eligible to participate and join the election.

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Through the political trail, the public and media sense the interlinked relationship between the head of the Constitutional Court, the current President of Indonesia, and one of the vice presidential candidates for the 2024 election. Hence, various speculations emerge, including the political dynasty occurring behind the election process and how the neutral judicial system became a platform to engage in a family power relationship, which did not confront its original value. A country needs a leader to command and rule the nation. However, the leader did not act alone but needed loyal ministers to govern the country together, to build a prosperous nation for their people. In this case, a neutral party was needed to act as an observer, a fair party to uphold justice for the common people, if someday the people in power abuse their power. Therefore, there will be checks and balances between the two parties. On one hand, a leader or president who has a lot of power and is selected after the voting by the common people. This means the vote, the image, or the reputation of a country's leader is important in the hearts of the common people. With people's support and help, the country will be more solid. However, once a leader loses the heart of their people, a little friction or trouble will cause the country's will be divided.

According to Limbach (2001), as cited in amendments 1999-2002, Indonesia has become a constitutional democratic country, which has adopted the principle of constitutional supremacy. Hence, as claimed by Suswantoro (2016), one of the fundamental characteristics of a democracy is its transfer of power, which takes place in an open, inclusive manner through elections. In this case, to ensure fairness in the whole election process, the political judicialization process needs to be represented by a constitutional review institution, the Constitutional Court, as mandated by the 1945 constitution (Brinks & Blass, 2017).

As stated by Cox (2015), the mechanism of constitutional review plays a vital role in protecting human rights, promoting political stability, and contributing to the achievement of societal order and economic development as a whole; it also ensures other constitutional rights that are guaranteed by the Constitutional Court (Sete, 2019). This means that the Constitutional Court is a neutral party and should be objective, but in this case, it is unable to avoid subjectivity. However, the Constitutional Court decision did not reflect it and has not played a vital role in promoting political stability. Their image in the public eye has been shattered, which is not conducive to their development and action in future. Credibility is very important for a Constitutional Court, because if it loses the trust of the citizens, then it becomes useless (similar to a puppet) and make the political vortex more chaotic. Thus, not confronted with the democratic system adopted by the country.

In this democratic problem, the media's involvement in informing, portraying, and educating the public about the issue will have the effect of influencing them to view the political situation about the presidential election from different perspectives (Iskandar et al., 2023). However, the role of the media simply not only that Ma & Stahl (2017), but they also reveal the current political situation in Indonesia transparently. Different media have their own way to deliver and discuss the emerging issue around the presidential election, specifically the hot topics about the political dynasty. They present it in various forms, through written news in a digital portal or video about the panelist's view, as well as their opinion on the issue on the YouTube channel. In the study conducted by previous researchers

(Fatimatuzzahra & Dewi, 2021), the role of media as the informant becomes apparent. Through observing the news revealed by the media, they stringed up a political dynasty pattern of Joko Widodo's family during his presidency. However, they only conducted the study from a local news perspective. Hence, this became the background for the researchers to conduct the study on political dynasty topics in a larger scope by comparing the different perspectives in local and overseas media. Not only that, the previous relevant study highlighted more about the political dynasty that happens on a regional level (his son, Gibran, and his son-in-law, Bobby). Thus, the researchers decided to conduct the study at the national level (the presidential election). On top of that, to create a novelty, giving something new compared to the previous study, the researchers not only analyzes the perspective of the media who had a neutral voice, but also analyzes the perspective of those who supported the Jokowi's party, those who opposed them, and those who were neutral.

As one of the well-known journalists in Indonesia, Najwa Sihab presents to the public how the Constitutional Court's verdict on the minimum age for the election candidate shows blatant favoritism to one side, which reflects a political dynasty through her own media, a program called "*Mata Najwa*" titled "*Butet Kartaredjasa dan Petinggi PROJO Bicara Putusan MK*" (Butet Kartaredjasa and PROJO Officials Discuss the Constitutional Court's Decision) to explore the issue by interviewing two people. One of the informants is obviously a supporter of the current President of Indonesia, Jokowi, and the higher-up of Pro-camps Jokowi, Panel Barus. This shows he is a proponent of one of the figures in the issue of political dynasty. Nevertheless, the pro side will reveal its opinion on the practice of political dynasty in the presidential election process. Another person who became the informant is Butet Kartaredjasa (BK), a cultural practitioner. He was also a Jokowi supporter throughout the two periods when Jokowi became the Indonesian president. Different from Panel Barus, who delivered his pro side to Jokowi-camps before and after the Constitutional Court decision appeared, BK expressed his contra side towards the political dynasty issue reflected through the Constitutional Court verdict, which changed his stance from pro to contra. Further critical discourse study (Carranza, 1997) needs to be done to better understand how those two different people reveal his stance of pro or contra side towards their previous camps, when obviously there is a political dynasty practice happening when the current president is still in office through media which is "*Mata Najwa*". To know the difference in how overseas media portrayed the political dynasty, addressing the current hot issues in Indonesia, and what kind of image the media presents in depicting the presidential situation in Indonesia, the South China Post news titled "Nepotism May Win Indonesia's 2024 Election", will also be analyzed deeper.

Previous researchers have conducted relevant studies on Critical Discourse Analysis, political dynasty, presidential election, and media with different types of approaches and focuses. Rannie et al. (2023) conducted a study on the political dynasty phenomenon in Indonesia's Regional Head Election. They analyzed the phenomenon through the human rights, law, and justice perspectives by using socio-legal methods. However, the researchers did not explore further into the two different sides of opinions (public stance) towards political dynasty by analyzing it through the media.

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Another research study conducted by Pavlichenko (2022) highlights the political and ideological contexts of the War in Ukraine by using CDA and analyzing the ideology of war images in the languages used by the news report through Political Discourse Analysis (PDA). The researchers analyzed how polarization shows in political media discourse. In this case, the political dynasty was not included in the research study. Similarly, a study conducted by Sunarsih et al. (2022) also did not explore the political dynasty, but analyzed how the prospective president and vice president candidates for the presidential election of 2019 were represented through the local online. They use a discourse analysis with Corpus-Assisted CDA.

Different from the previous study, which focuses on the presidential election of 2019, the study conducted by Silitonga & Muqsith (2023) focuses on Indonesia's presidential election of 2024. The researchers illustrate the practice of media conglomeration, which threatens the neutrality and independence of journalists before the 2024 Presidential Election, instead of the political dynasty. In this study, the role of the media as the informant, devoid of any bias towards the election, is highlighted more.

Two notable studies—Sufajar & Guridno (2021) and Anisa Agustin et al. (2022)—have addressed the issue of political dynasties in Indonesia. Sufajar & Guridno (2021) conducted a comparative analysis of political dynasties in Banten Province and the Central Maluku District. Their findings reveal that both regions exhibit similar patterns of kinship-based political networks. However, in Central Maluku, the political landscape is significantly shaped by the Hatuhaha group, whose strategic influence in social affairs reinforces its role as a dominant political dynasty in the area.

Meanwhile, the study by Anisa Agustin et al. (2022) focuses on the dynamics of political dynasties and kinship in Hulu Sungai Utara. This research delves into the mechanisms through which dynastic power is constructed and sustained, using Gramsci's concept of hegemony as an analytical framework to uncover how political influence is normalized within the local context.

In connection with these dynamics, Sufajar & Guridno (2021) highlight a critical legal development concerning political dynasties. They point out that the Constitutional Court (Mahkamah Konstitusi, MK) annulled the legal provision that previously prohibited individuals with familial ties to incumbent officeholders from running in regional elections. Specifically, the Court ruled that Article 7 letter r and its explanatory notes in the Regional Head Election Law—concerning the requirement that candidates must not have a conflict of interest with the incumbent—were unconstitutional under the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD NRI 1945), as per Decision No. 33/PUU-XIII/2015. As a result, this provision no longer holds legal force. This ruling further paved the way for the continuation of political dynasty practices, notably reinforced by subsequent MK decisions regarding the minimum age requirements for electoral candidates.

The researchers found novelty there, since there has been no study conducting a comparative study in that area yet, especially analyzing two different media from Indonesia and Hong Kong, elaborating on the political dynasty practice done by the current Indonesian president's family. The problem of political dynasty indeed appeared long ago in Indonesia, and the practice of political dynasty has deep roots in the political area. However, since the 2024 Indonesian presidential Election is

approaching, this issue has surfaced again, becoming a hot debate among the people. Combined with how the media participates in reflecting and reporting the political situations and controversies regarding political dynasty practices, it apparently arouses public opinion and exposes a deeper political dynasty to them. As such, the researcher will conduct a study in this area to make a new finding on the topic of political dynasty.

RESEARCH METHOD

Throughout the literature review conducted by the researchers Rannie et al., (2023), Pavlichenko (2022), Sunarsih et al (2022), Silitonga & Muqsith (2023), Sufajar & Guridno (2021), as well as Anisa Agustin et al. (2022), it was found that there is no previous study yet who analyze the "*Mata Najwa*" video about the opinion of BK and Panel Barus regarding the political dynasty and the South China Morning Post news titled "Nepotism May Win Indonesia's 2024 Election". On top of that, there is no relevant research yet which combines two different theories on the topic about political dynasties. Hence, the researchers decided to use the appraisal theory from Martin & White (2005) as the linguistic device, specifically the attitude aspects, the judgment part, to have a detailed analysis of the data.

According to Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) established by renowned linguist Halliday, language has three meta-functions as a social symbol: ideational, interpersonal, and discourse functions. In this case, language is viewed as a social semiotic with meaning potential. In the 1990s, Martin and White (2005) extended Halliday's concept of the interpersonal function by introducing Appraisal Theory, a lexical-grammatical framework designed to enhance the analysis of interpersonal meaning in discourse. This development emerged in response to perceived limitations within Halliday's original three meta-functions, particularly when applied to nuanced discourse analysis (Bilal, 2012). As Bowman (2018) explains, appraisal primarily concerns the process of evaluation, encompassing how speakers or writers express attitudes, convey emotional intensity, and signal value judgments in relation to their audience or readers.

An appraisal is the process of deciphering and elucidating a language's underlying meaning through an analysis of its surface meaning. The three main subsystems of the appraisal are attitude, graduation, and engagement. Then, every subsystem contains its subsystem concurrently. The following is the elaboration of the theory:

(a) Attitude is the subsystem of evaluative meaning that allows the speakers to choose a positive or negative position. This subsystem is divided again into three parts: affect (evaluation as emotional response, either positive or negative); judgment (evaluation of human behavior, both positive and negative, in light of ethics); appreciation (evaluating items, relics, etc., in terms of the social value attributed to them.

(b) Gradation is the force (intensification or mitigation of propositions) or focus (sharpening or blurring of semantic boundaries), or the extent of the speaker's "personal investment".

(c) Engagement dictates how authors or speakers present themselves, i.e., whether or not their viewpoints are negotiable. According to (Martin & White, 2005), the speaker desires to demonstrate "their knowledge or commitment to the 'truth

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value' of the preposition", or their level of connection with the ideas made. Consists of mono-gloss and hetero-gloss types.
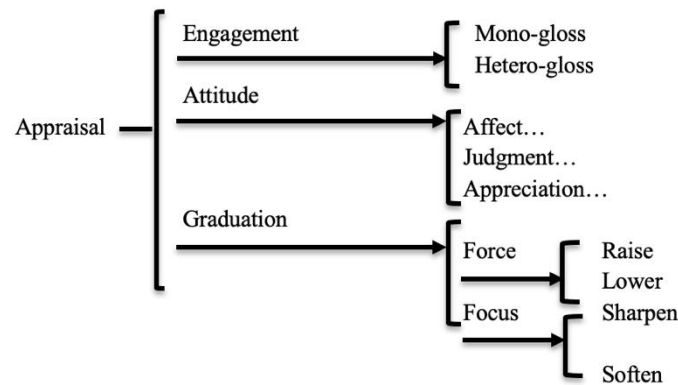

Figure 1. Appraisal Framework

Although there are several subsystems in the appraisal theory (White, 2015), the researchers only focused on the attitude aspects, specifically the judgment part, to show the positive or negative positions of the panelists. This theory helps to analyze the emotion and attitude conveyed by the speaker. The hidden messages, context, and stances shown by the speaker in their speech, analyzed by the theory, serve as a foundation to further delve into the Critical Discourse expressed in this situation. The researchers use the theory to categorize the emotion or attitude reflected by the speaker towards the issue. The theory helps the researchers to categorize and unmask the attitude of the speaker through their speech. Another theory is also used to further analyze the speech from two different stances, which is the ideological square (Van Dijk, 2006). According to Van Dijk (2006), the examination of ideology can be applied at all discourse levels. He does this by presenting ideological frameworks that reveal hidden beliefs. One such technique is the use of positive-self and negative-other representation, which primarily looks at participants as members of social groups and frames them in terms of "US vs Them." As per Van Dijk (2006), this approach is characterized by a biased version of facts favoring the speaker's or writer's interests, with the bad situations and occurrences being attributed to opponents or other parties. He goes on to explain that these two tactics have an impact on how any conversation is structured at different levels. This theory helps categorize the stance shown through the speakers' speeches. Thus, revealing the bias in stances between the two sides towards the discussed topic. The following are the categories of Van Dijk's ideological square:
(a)   Emphasize positive things about Us;
(b)   Emphasize negative things about Them;
(c)   De-emphasize negative things about Us;
(d)   De-emphasize positive things about Them.
        The mixed-method by Creswell & Creswell (2018) was applied as the approach in this research. Through this method, the qualitative and quantitative data were combined. The well-collected data acquired by the researchers on the

internet, specifically on the YouTube channel of "Najwa Sihab" and the South China Morning Post news, was observed and considered as the qualitative part. After that, to help better analyze and explain the data thoroughly, the researchers categorized the qualitative data into several sub-systems (according to the frameworks that were used), and then the results of the categorization were turned into quantitative data (percentages) with the help of Microsoft Word's pie chart. Thus, by incorporating the quantitative data, the researcher gets the basic data that helps to present the results and the discussion part better.

The types of data were in video form with the headline "*BK dan Petinggi PROJO Bicara Putusan MK (Mata Najwa)*" (BK and PROJO Officials Discuss the Constitutional Court's Decision) and "Nepotism May Win Indonesia's 2024 Election". The local news analyzed the perspective of BK (BK) and Panel Barus (PB). However, in the South China Morning Post, there are three perspectives observed, the newscaster, Anand Mathai (AM), the post editor, and Dedi Dinarto (DD), the Lead Indonesia Analyst at Global Counsel, to know their attitude towards the issues.

However, to do a further research study on the topics mentioned before, the researchers used a qualitative descriptive data analysis model (Miles & Huberman, 1994):

(a) Data Reduction

The researchers took a screenshot of the specific data that needed to be analyzed, taking notes, as well as, downloading the video transcript of the data on YouTube. Choose the necessary part for the research by sorting out the information.

(b) Data Display

The researchers incorporated quantitative data (the percentages) with the help of a Microsoft Word pie chart. The data reduction result was displayed through table and charts.

(c) Drawing Conclusion

The researchers draw conclusion based on the presented data through the use of appraisal theory from (Martin & White, 2005) as the linguistic device and the (van Dijk, 2006) ideological square; emphasizing positive things about us, emphasizing negative things about them, de-emphasizing negative things about us, de-emphasizing positive things about them to analyze further the speech spoken by the panelist on both media.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The research analysis is displayed below in a structured table and a pie chart, illustrating data percentages. The data was initially assessed using appraisal theory (Martin & White, 2005) and has been paraphrased and restructured for clarity. To be more specific, the researchers focused on analyzing the attitude aspects of the appraisal theory, which is broken down into three parts: affect, judgment, and appreciation. However, among those three parts, the researchers focused solely on the judgment part. This helps the researchers conduct a more comprehensive, detailed, and specific study. Then, the judgment part broke down again into several small units.

After the data was analyzed using the attitude aspects (judgment part) from the appraisal theory (Martin & White, 2005), to further elaborate the speech of the

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people involved in the data, whether it is pro, contra, or neutral stance, the researchers used the Van Dijk ideological square (Van Dijk, 2006); emphasize positive things about us, emphasize negative things about them, de-emphasize negative things about us, and de-emphasizing positive things about them.

Judgment Analysis on BK Speech

Judgment deals with the behavior of others that we either approve of or disapprove of. It consists of social esteem and social sanction. While social esteem judges the level of morality, social sanction is judged from the legal level of people's behavior. Social esteem is categorized into three sub-systems: normality, capacity, and tenacity. Normality refers to whether the people's behavior is unusual, special, or conventional. Capacity alludes to the capability and competence of the people. Tenacity judges how people's perseverance in resolving the hurdles they face, whether they are reliable or not. Meanwhile, social sanction is classified into two sub-systems: propriety and veracity. Propriety judges whether the behavior of the people conforms to the relevant legal norms, such as whether their behavior is ethical or unethical. Veracity is the judgment of people's behavior, whether they are honest or not.

Judgment	Sub-system	Polarity	Frequency	Overall Percentage
Social esteem	Normality	Negative	6	12%
		Positive	7	15%
	Capacity	Negative	1	2%
		Positive	3	6%
	Tenacity	Negative	0	0%
		Positive	2	4%
Social sanction	Propriety	Negative	19	40%
		Positive	7	15%
	Veracity	Negative	3	6%
		Positive	0	0%
Total			48	100%

Table 1. Judgment Type – BK

There are 29 social sanctions accounting for 61%, and 19 social esteem accounting for 39%. It means the highest type of judgment that mostly appeared throughout BK's talk was social sanction. Furthermore, according to the table above, the social sanction that is frequently present is the propriety sub-system with negative polarity. Based on this, the researchers analyzed that BK's frequent use of social sanction in his discourse reflected BK's preferences of the legal standard as principles and to judge people's behavior, instead of moral standards most of the time. One of BK's talk mentioned that, "*Jadi awalnya itu kan soal usia. Sudah terlanjur senang, lalu di ujungnya tiba-tiba ada anak kalimat, dan anak kalimat itu tiba-tiba menjadi seperti paspor, untuk seseorang bisa menjadi calon wakil presiden.*

Jangankan saya yang awam soal hukum, lah orang-orang hukum aja bingung, ya toh." (translated version: "*So initially it was a matter of age. I was already happy, then at the end suddenly there was a clause, and that clause suddenly became like a passport, for someone to become a vice presidential candidate. Never mind that I'm a layman about the law, even legal people are confused, right?*"). BK criticized JW and his pro-group for their unethical behavior. They corrupt the law, changing the clause like a play to benefit one party by disregarding the bad impact it has on the people. On top of that, the use of propriety could be reflected in the words, such as, "*diintervensi*" (translated version: *intervened*), "*disalahgunakan*" (translated version: *misused*), etc., expressing BK's worries that JW forgot his original intention because of the hunger for more power, hence he misused the power by intervening the decision made by the Constitutional Court.
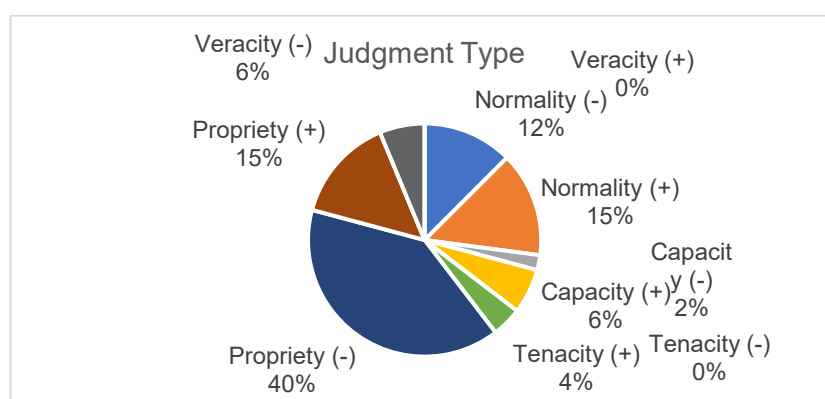

Figure 1. Judgment Type Pie Chart – BK

Van Dijk Ideological Square to Analyze BK Speech

After the data was analyzed using the attitude aspects from the appraisal theory (White, 2015), then to further elaborate the speech between BK and PB that showed their stance, whether it is pro or contra, the researcher used the Van Dijk ideological square; emphasize positive things about us, emphasize negative things about them, de-emphasize negative things about us, and de-emphasizing positive things about them.

Categorization	Frequency	Ratio
Emphasize Positive Things about Us	6	16%
Emphasize Negative Things about Them	31	81%
De-emphasize Negative Things about Us	1	3%
De-emphasize Positive Things about Them	0	0%
Total	38	100%

Table 2. Van Dijk Ideological Square – BK

According to the judgment analysis, BK frequently used social sanction with negative polarity, which means he has a contra-attitude towards JW 's behavior. BK's

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did not approve of JW 's unfair behavior by intervening in the Constitutional Court making decision about the legal age for the vice president candidate to get his son's eligibility in applying for the vice president candidacy. Based on the data of ideological square analysis, BK's stance is further underlined by the non-existence of de-emphasize positive things about them in his talk. In this context, "them" refers to "JW " and "us" refers to "BK". There are only three categories of ideological square that appeared; 31 emphasize negative things about them, accounting for 81%, 6 emphasize positive things about us, accounting for 16%, and 1 de-emphasize negative things about us, accounting for 3%. The huge emphasis on negative things about them overwhelmed the other categories.
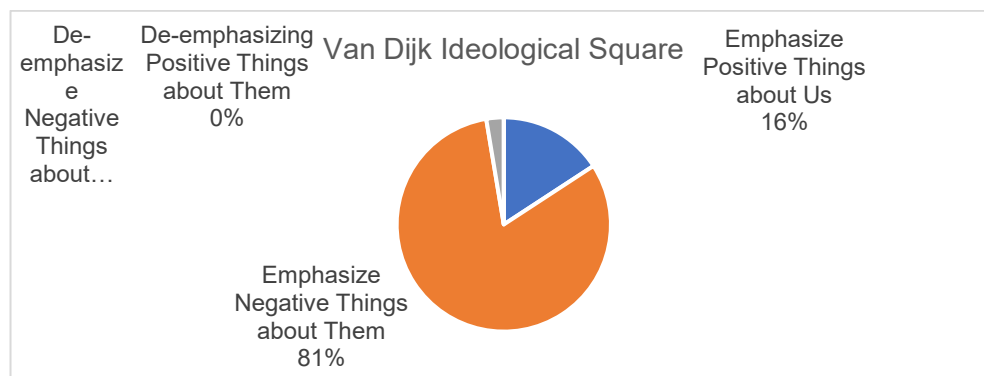

Figure 2. Van Dijk Ideological Square Pie Chart – BK

BK practice of emphasize negative things about them can be seen from the following sentences. He claimed that, "*Dalam isu politik kayaknya sudah final semua, pak Jokowi kekeh dengan keinginannya untuk golnya memberangkatkan mas Gibran jadi wakil presidennya Prabowo. Saya sedih ini secara politik Mahkamah Konstitusi yang dilahirkan dari perjuangan reformasi 98, yang melahirkan sejumlah nyawa kok Cuma untuk main-main urusan domestik sebuah keluarga. Perkara domestik kok yang dipertaruhkan bangsa dan negara.*"

Translated version:
"*In terms of political issues, everything seems to be final, Pak Jokowi chuckles at his desire for his goal to send Mas Gibran as Prabowo's vice president. I am sad that politically the Constitutional Court was born from the 1998 reform struggle, which gave birth to a number of lives just to play around with a family's domestic affairs. It's domestic matters that are at stake for the nation and state.*"

BK emphasized that whether it is JW or the Constitution Court itself that misappropriates the actual function of the law. The abuse of power by them was reflected through the action of JW and the Constitutional Court changing the clause in the law that was originally there. Their behavior not only made the law seem as a joke but also tainted the image of the Constitution Court as a legal entity in the public mind, which originally should have remained neutral. In this situation, the practice of a political dynasty was fully reflected.

As claimed by BK, at the beginning, he uttered absolutely positive things about JW regime as the Indonesian president for two whole periods. However, slowly he expresses disbelief, disappointment, and also sadness because of the difference between the real thing that happening which is the political dynasty practice

conducted by JW and his family, and his hope for a good as well as kind figure of president which did not do anything that confront to the legal or humanity. By emphasizing negative things about them, JW , BK expresses his contra about the wrongdoing done by JW, which did not suit his principles by misusing the power gained by him to benefit his family and relatives through conspiracies that can be called a political dynasty. Hence, in his statement, BK denied or shattered the JW figure as a competent, kind, and good president by establishing the fact that in the second period of JW regime, he abused power for his personal gain.

Meanwhile, de-emphasizing negative things about us classification follows. A question was asked to him, "*Sikap Anda ini apa karena Anda sebagai pendukung Ganjar?*". BK answers shading light to the negative things about his contra stance towards the issue just because he is a Ganjar supporter, which is the following, "*Oh itu enggak ada hubungannya sama Ganjar, itu awalnya surat pribadi tapi bocor, enggak tahu siapa yang membocorkan.*"

Translated version:
"*Is your attitude because you are a supporter of Ganjar?*" BK answers shading light to the negative things about his counter stance towards the issue just because he is a Ganjar supporter, which is the following, "*Oh, that has nothing to do with Ganjar, it was originally a private letter but it was leaked, I don't know who leaked it.*"

The above statement from BK denied the rumors that he was disappointed and disapproved of JW action of using family power to boost his son Gibran's position as vice president candidate, which was reflected in Constitutional Court verdict, just because he sided with Ganjar camp. Previously, before this incident appeared or before the issue of the political dynasty arising through the act of Constitutional Court decision supposedly as the legal entity which changed beyond recognition because of the dirty dealing behind the released decision, BK had a firm position as JW supporter since the beginning of JW becoming the Indonesian president. Apparently, there is a rumor going around that he switched his stance towards the Ganjar camp and is no longer pro JW because he has another heart. However, it appears through the above statement that he refuted the rumors because it is not true. He was just simply shocked and disappointed with JW since the Constitutional Court decision was released and the political dynasty practice became apparent.

Judgment Analysis on PB Speech

Judgment	Sub-system	Polarity	Frequency	Overall Percentage
Social esteem	Normality	Negative	1	4%
		Positive	11	38%
	Capacity	Negative	0	0%
		Positive	4	14%
	Tenacity	Negative	0	0%
		Positive	1	4%
Social sanction	Propriety	Negative	0	0%
		Positive	10	36%

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Veracity	Negative	0	0%
	Positive	1	4%
Total		28	100%

Table 3. Judgment Type – PB

There are 17 social esteem accounting for 60%, and 11 social sanction accounting for 40%. The most frequently used judgment in PB's talk was social esteem, the normality sub-system with positive polarity. It means that a politician, as a politician, prefers to judge the people's behavior by a moral standard. In some of his words, such as "*tidak mengalami perubahan*" (translated version: *has not changed*), "*menunggu*" (translated version: *waiting*), "*patuh*" (translated version: *submissive*), "*menghargai*" (translated version: *value*), etc., expressing the normality that he and the Jokowi group did. They did everything according to the usual norm, nothing out of the ordinary. PB's pointed out that their pro-Jokowi group did not interfere in the Constitutional Court decision and received special favor from them. In this context, they denied the practice of the political dynasty of Jokowi's family.
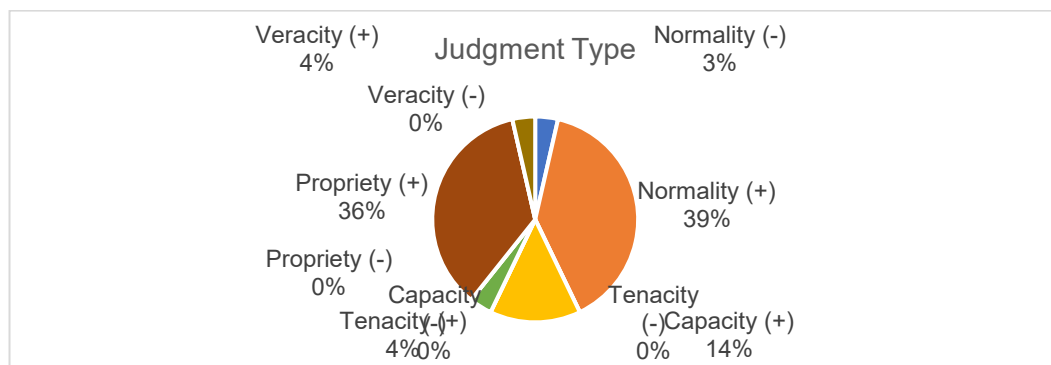

Figure 3. Judgment Type Pie Chart – PB8

Van Dijk Ideological Square to Analyze PB Speech

Categorization	Frequency	Ratio
Emphasize Positive Things about Us	10	40%
Emphasize Negative Things about Them	0	0%
De-emphasize Negative Things about Us	15	60%
De-emphasize Positive Things about Them	0	0%
Total	25	100%

Table 4. Van Dijk Ideological Square – PB

Based on the result of the judgment analysis, PB mentioned that the behavior of JW was considered normal. The dominance of the normality sub-system with positive polarity is further proven by the ideological square used by PBs. There are only two categories: 15 de-emphasize negative things about us, accounting for 60%, and 10 emphasize positive things about us, accounting for 40%. In this context,

"them" refers to the "contra Jokowi side" and "us" refers to "PB and pro Jokowi's camp". PB answered several questions from the journalist of Mata Najwa with denials using normality reasons. He made the actions of JW normal and just followed the procedure, there was no dirty dealing behind the Constitutional Court because they were not the petitioner. Instead of trying to emphasize negative things about them and de-emphasize positive things about them to attack the opposite party, PB focuses on building a positive image for his party.
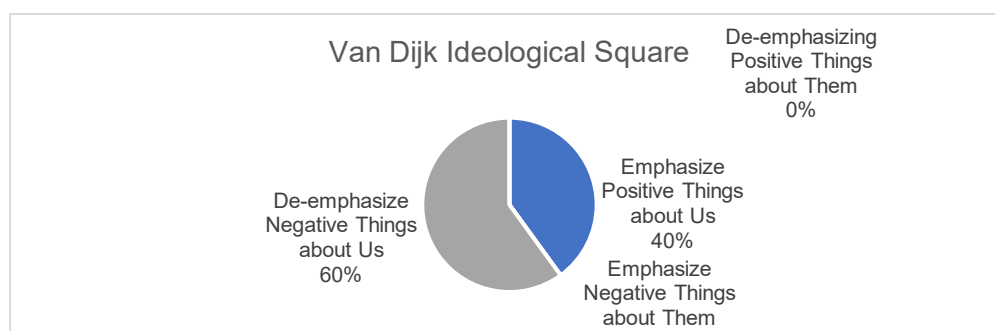

Figure 4. Van Dijk Ideological Square Pie Chart – PB

PB frequently emphasizing positive things about us, about Jokowi's work and his actions for the good of the nation, as well as developing the nation into a better level. The following sentence shows the frequency of that. PB as the pro-camp stated that, "*Sikap dari kami Projo untuk uji materi di MK terkait batasan usia Capres Cawapres tersebut tidak mengalami perubahan sejak uji materi itu dilangsungkan sampai diputuskan kemarin kami selalu menyampaikan bahwa mekanisme uji materi MK itu adalah mekanisme yang sah. Jadi, siapapun boleh melakukan itu.*"

Translated version:

"*The attitude of our Projo regarding the judicial review at the Constitutional Court regarding the age limit for the Presidential and Vice Candidates has not changed since the material trial was held until it was decided yesterday. We have always said that the Constitutional Court's judicial review mechanism is a valid mechanism. So, anyone can do that.*"

As mentioned above, PB's stance is on the government side, to be exact, it is on the current president of Indonesia's side, JW. He is showing his ideology as the higher-up of the pro-Jokowi camp, representing the rest of the pro-camp fully supporting all Constitutional Court verdicts, because it is eligible and what is supposed to happen. His words highlight that it is not a political dynasty that using the connection or family relationship between JW and Gibran to establish Gibran's position as the vice president candidate for the 2024 Indonesian presidential election, but it is what the Constitutional Court meant as the neutral legal entity and it is a legally-supported decision that is legitimate.

The following words from PB further supported his previous statement in emphasizing the positive things about us, "*Upaya dari sekelompok orang atau warga negara melakukan uji materi, saya pikir harus dimaknai sebagai upaya mereka berpartisipasi untuk memperbaiki konstitusi kita. Kami tidak dalam posisi bertindak sebagai pemohon dan sejak awal kami tegaskan bahwa kami sifatnya menunggu, tunduk dan patuh menghargai apapun keputusan MK itu. Jadi kita tidak ada dalam posisi sebagai blok yang pro atau kontra terhadap proses yang berjalan di MK.*"

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Translated version:

"*I think the efforts of a group of people or citizens to carry out a judicial review should be interpreted as their efforts to participate in improving our constitution. We are not in a position to act as applicants and from the start we have emphasized that we are waiting, submitting, and obediently respecting whatever the Constitutional Court's decision is. So, we are not in a position as a block that is for or against the process running at the Constitutional Court.*"

PB strengthened his pro-position as the Constitutional Court verdict did not reflect political dynasty or family power running behind to affect the verdict, because from his views, the pro-Jokowi camp is not the one who made the petition about the minimum age for the president and the vice president candidate. Hence, he and his team will abide by whatever decision is released by the Constitutional Court. On top of that, he emphasizes that there is no dirty dealing or family power in the act behind the Court decision since the material test for the age minimum of president and vice president candidates is not a strange thing because, through it, who is the petitioner just participates as the contributor who makes the constitution of Indonesia better. PB refutes and shows denial about the negative rumors and assumptions regarding the political dynasty running through the Constitutional Court verdict.

Judgment Analysis on Newscaster Speech

Judgment	Sub-system	Polarity	Frequency	Overall Percentage
Social esteem	Normality	Negative	4	19%
		Positive	5	24%
	Capacity	Negative	3	14%
		Positive	1	5%
	Tenacity	Negative	1	5%
		Positive	0	0%
Social sanction	Propriety	Negative	6	28%
		Positive	0	0%
	Veracity	Negative	1	5%
		Positive	0	0%
Total			21	100%

Table 5. Judgment Type – Newscaster

There are 14 social esteem accounts for 67%, and 7 social sanctions accounting for 33%. Although the newscaster frequently used social esteem, the highest sub-system present belongs to the social sanction, which is the propriety with negative polarity, accounting for 28%. It means that the newscaster takes the legal requirements as his principles. In one of his talks, the newscaster states that, "But critics say he is attempting to pave the way for his son to take the vice presidency in the coming election." The words "*attempting*" and "*pave the way*" reflected that JW's group was trying to bring Jokowi's son into the vice president candidate position by

some means that did not conform to the legal standard. As the neutral party who reports the information, the newscaster further mentioned the unethical behavior of the JW's party by mentioning the following sentence, "*several of his family members entered politics, veering from a previous stance on nepotism.*" Based on this context, the newscaster reported that there is a political dynasty practice done by JW in the Indonesian political scene.
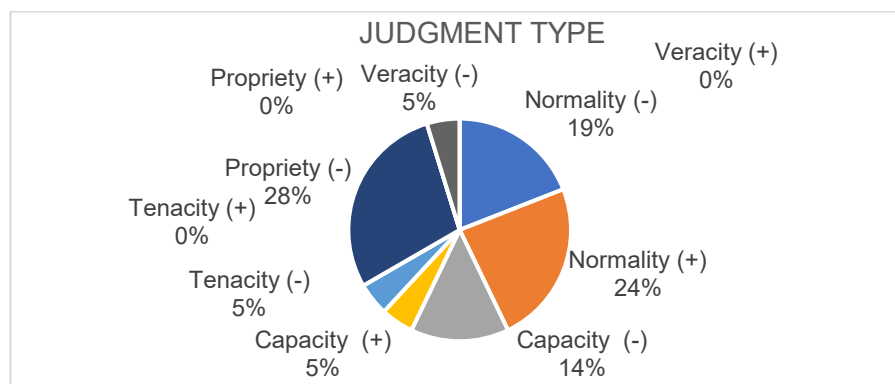

Figure 5. Judgment Type Pie Chart – Newscaster

Van Dijk Ideological Square to Analyze Newscaster Speech

Categorization	Frequency	Ratio
Emphasize Positive Things about Us	0	0%
Emphasize Negative Things about Them	8	57%
De-emphasize Negative Things about Us	0	0%
De-emphasize Positive Things about Them	6	43%
Total	14	100%

Table 6. Van Dijk Ideological Square – Newscaster

Based on the judgment analysis, the newscaster used propriety with negative polarity reflecting the corrupt behavior of JW's party. These situations are backed further by the data of the ideological square analysis. There are only two categories that were detected; 8 emphasize negative things about them, accounting for 57%, and 6 de-emphasize positive things about them, accounting for 43%. In this context, "them" refers to "JW 's party" and "us" refers to "Newscaster and the neutral party".

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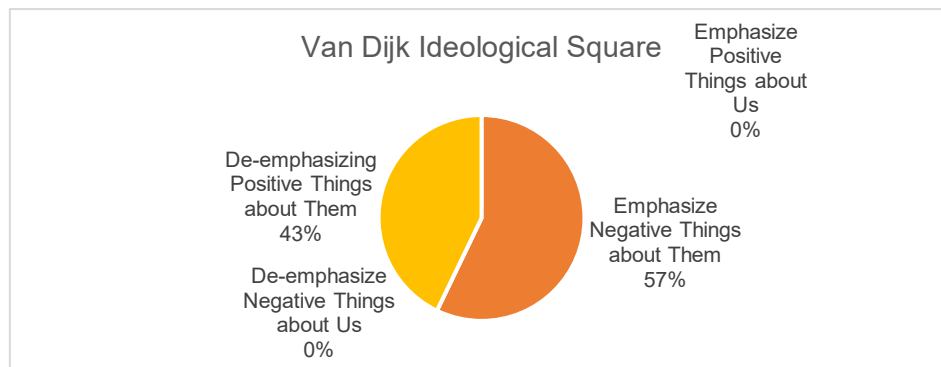*in the 2024 Presidential Election*

Figure 6. Van Dijk Ideological Square Pie Chart – Newscaster

The newscaster emphasized the negative things about them through the following speech. He uttered, "*After winning a second presidential term, several of his family members entered politics, veering from a previous stance on nepotism. In 2020, his eldest son Gibran Rakabuming Raka, was elected mayor of Solo, and his son-in-law, Muhammad Bobby Afif Nasution, was elected mayor of Medan. His younger son, Kaesang Pangarep, soon joined the Indonesian Solidarity Party and was named its chairman. Critics have accused Widodo of embedding his sons into the country's political scene.*"

The newscaster highlighted the controversies surrounding JW's family after his re-election as Indonesia's president, focusing on each family member's entry into politics. The negative portrayal was further reinforced as the newscaster incorporated viewpoints from critics, who argue that JW misused his power to facilitate his son's political career in Indonesia.

Meanwhile, the newscaster also de-emphasizes positive things about them in his speech by stating, "*The immensely popular leader was once seen as a clean slate among a crowded field of corrupt, political insiders. But critics say he is attempting to pave the way for his son to take the vice presidency in the coming election.*"
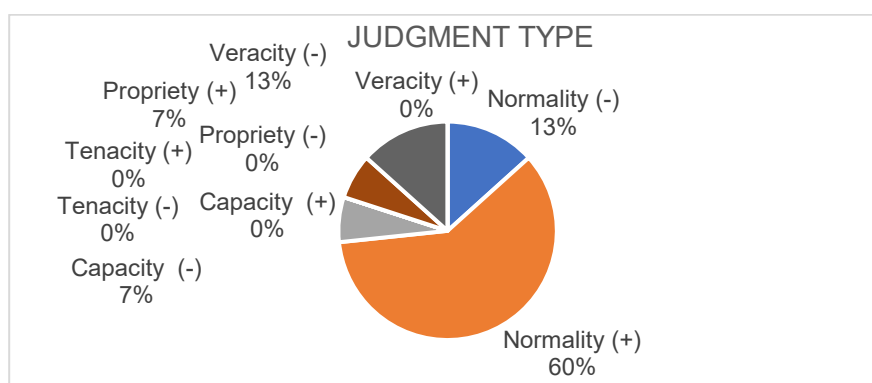
The statement suggests that the newscaster initially portrayed JW as a commendable political figure, emphasizing his integrity and the apparent political neutrality of his family, as none of his relatives were involved in politics at the time. However, this positive portrayal is gradually challenged as the newscaster introduces a contrasting perspective voiced by critics. Attention is drawn to the political involvement of Widodo's son, who was nominated as a vice-presidential candidate—an act perceived to be enabled by the influence and authority of his father as the sitting president. While the entry of his son into politics could be considered legitimate in principle, the controversy arises from the perceived manipulation of eligibility requirements. Specifically, critics argue that constitutional regulations concerning the minimum age for vice-presidential candidates were altered to accommodate his candidacy, raising concerns over the abuse of executive power. As a result, the newscaster's narrative subtly transitions from a depiction of political integrity to one that casts doubt on the ethical implications of dynastic influence and regulatory manipulation within the political landscape.

Judgment Analysis on AM (Post Editor) Speech

Judgment	Sub-system	Polarity	Frequency	Overall Percentage
Social esteem	Normality	Negative	2	13%
		Positive	9	60%
	Capacity	Negative	1	7%
		Positive	0	0%
	Tenacity	Negative	0	0%
		Positive	0	0%
Social sanction	Propriety	Negative	0	0%
		Positive	1	7%
	Veracity	Negative	2	13%
		Positive	0	0%
Total			15	100%

Table 7. Judgment Type – AM

There are 12 social esteem accounts for 80% and 3 social sanction accounts for 20%. The most dominant one is the normality with positive polarity, accounting for 60%. It means that AM frequently used social esteem in his discourse, which reflected his preference for moral standards as the principles to judge people's behavior. The highlight of the positive normality is reflected through AM words, such as "*seen as a departure from that*", "*very humble*", "*a new hope*", "*amazing*", etc. AM saw the behavior of JW's during his governance over the years as special and different from the previous leaders because of his non-military and political background. He views JW's behavior that has been done throughout his government over the years as filled with positivity.

Figure 7. Judgment Type Pie Chart – AM

Van Dijk Ideological Square to Analyze AM (Post Editor) Speech

Categorization	Frequency	Ratio
Emphasize Positive Things about Us	0	0%

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Emphasize Negative Things about Them	4	67%
De-emphasize Negative Things about Us	0	0%
De-emphasize Positive Things about Them	2	33%
Total	6	100%

Table 8. Van Dijk Ideological Square – AM

Based on the judgment analysis, AM classified the behavior of JW during his presidency as conforming to the moral standard. However, as the neutral party that does not side with the pro or contra party, based on the ideological square data, there are two categories; 4 emphasize negative things about them, accounting for 67%, and 2 de-emphasize positive things about them, accounting for 33%. This situation contrasts with the judgment analysis. This indicates that AM presents speeches on these topics as an independent third party, rather than as someone who directly witnessed the political dynamics or the actions of Joko Widodo's family. He does not express support or opposition toward the presidential candidate, maintaining a neutral stance. His role is that of an observer and commentator. In this context, 'them' refers to Joko Widodo's party, while 'us' represents AM and the neutral party.
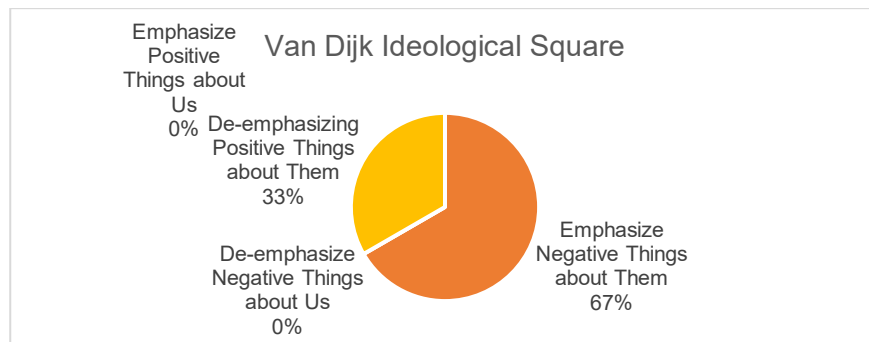

Figure 8. Van Dijk Ideological Square Pie Chart – AM

AM emphasized negative things about them as he mentioned, "*Political dynasties have been a big part of Indonesian politics, pretty much since the beginning, since Independence.*" And "*Critics think that it's an especially bad look for him now to seemingly start his own political dynasty.*"

The statement illustrates that the phenomenon of political dynasties in Indonesia is not new, having been entrenched in the political landscape long before the 2024 presidential election. It underscores the enduring nature of such practices and reinforces the perception that political dynasties are a longstanding negative feature of Indonesian politics. In this context, the involvement of JW's family in political affairs, particularly the candidacy of his son, is framed as a continuation of this problematic tradition. Furthermore, in a subsequent statement, the newscaster (AM) presents critical perspectives that further substantiate concerns about the familial consolidation of political power. These critiques highlight how JW family's

actions reflect broader patterns of dynastic politics, not only in the presidential election but also across other areas of political engagement in Indonesia.

Nevertheless, AM also de-emphasizing positive things about them by saying, "*There are a lot of elite families that have stayed at the top of Indonesian politics, both at the national and regional level. JW rose in large part to the national stage because he was seen as a departure from that. He came from a lower middle-class background, he was a furniture seller, and he was seen as very humble. He didn't have any of these elite connections to political families or the military.*"

The statements above initially highlight how JW's positive attributes contributed to his political entry and helped him build extensive connections. However, over time, these qualities gradually lost their distinctiveness and ceased to be seen as exceptional or advantageous, instead becoming commonplace.

Judgment Analysis on DD (Lead Indonesia Analyst Global Counsel) Speech

Judgment	Sub-system	Polarity	Frequency	Overall Percentage
Social esteem	Normality	Negative	0	0%
		Positive	1	20%
	Capacity	Negative	4	80%
		Positive	0	0%
	Tenacity	Negative	0	0%
		Positive	0	0%
Social sanction	Propriety	Negative	0	0%
		Positive	0	0%
	Veracity	Negative	0	0%
		Positive	0	0%
Total			5	100%

Table 9. Judgment Type – DD

There are only 5 social esteem accounts for 100% and no social sanction. It means throughout DD's talk, he only uses social esteem and moral standards as principles. The dominant one is the capacity sub-system with negative polarity accounting for 80%. DD's seen JW's lack of capability compared to other politicians. This is reflected through his words, "*lacks a significant political influence or affiliations*", and "*not like Prabowo or Megawati*". Not only that, DD also mentioned that JW's party, specifically his son not capable of going up as the vice president candidate. Jokowi's son managed to become a candidate because other people supported. It was reflected in the following sentences, "*The 36-year-old would-be candidate did not meet the minimum age requirement of 40 to run for office, but his uncle and chief justice on the Constitutional Court, Anwar Usman, presided over the hearing to change the rule.*"
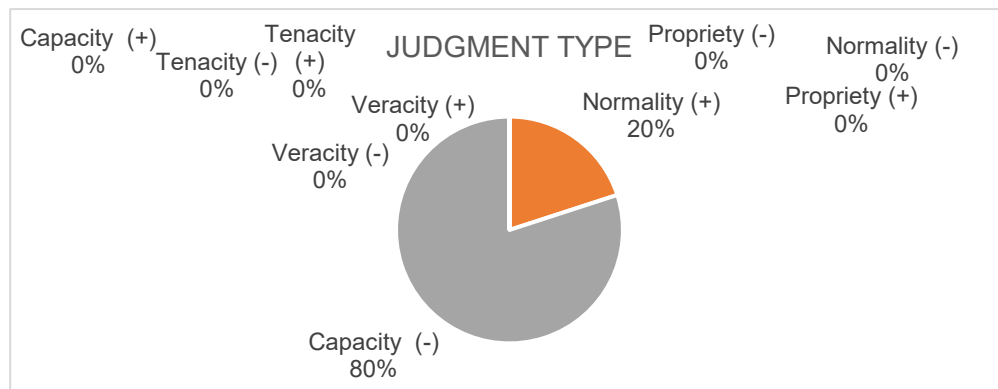
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Figure 9. Judgment Type Pie Chart – DD

Van Dijk Ideological Square to Analyze DD (Lead Indonesia Analyst Global Counsel) Speech

Categorization	Frequency	Ratio
Emphasize Positive Things about Us	0	0%
Emphasize Negative Things about Them	4	57%
De-emphasize Negative Things about Us	0	0%
De-emphasize Positive Things about Them	3	43%
Total	7	100%

Table 10. Van Dijk Ideological Square – DD

Based on the judgment analysis, JW's party lacks competence, thus resulting in is immoral means to push Gibran towards the vice president candidate position. This is further proven by the data of ideological square; 4 emphasize negative things about them, accounting for 57%, and 3 de-emphasize positive things about them, accounting for 43%. In this context, "them" refers to "JW 's party", and "us" refers to "DD and the neutral party". The emphasis on negative things about them is shown in his statement that said, "*Unlike many established politicians in Indonesia, Jokowi lacks a significant political influence or affiliations, partly because he doesn't have any political party, not like Prabowo or Megawati, who have their own political parties with loyal followers.*"

DD highlights that Joko Widodo (JW) entered the political arena without the advantage of a strong familial political background, setting him apart from many of his contemporaries. This perceived weakness in political lineage prompted him to strategically form alliances with influential political figures and parties known for their loyalty. Through these alliances, he gradually introduced members of his own family into the political sphere, thereby contributing to the establishment of a political dynasty. While the practice of political dynasties has been a persistent feature in Indonesian politics, JW's approach is particularly notable due to its apparent involvement of neutral state institutions—most controversially, the Constitutional Court. Such involvement is viewed as a disruption to democratic

norms and institutional impartiality, making this case one of the most visible and contentious instances of dynastic politics in the country.

Nevertheless, DD also de-emphasizing the positive things of them to appear normal and not special in his speech that said, "*I think Jokowi considered both as a promising candidate to continue his agenda, but I think the problem crops up when this proposal was rejected by Megawati as the matriarch of PDI-P.*". The speech above shows a disregard for the positive things that Jokowi has. The once positive traits of him, "a promising one," became a normal trait, "not promising" again in his following words. Although the "not promising" words were not obviously emphasized by the words, it is implied.
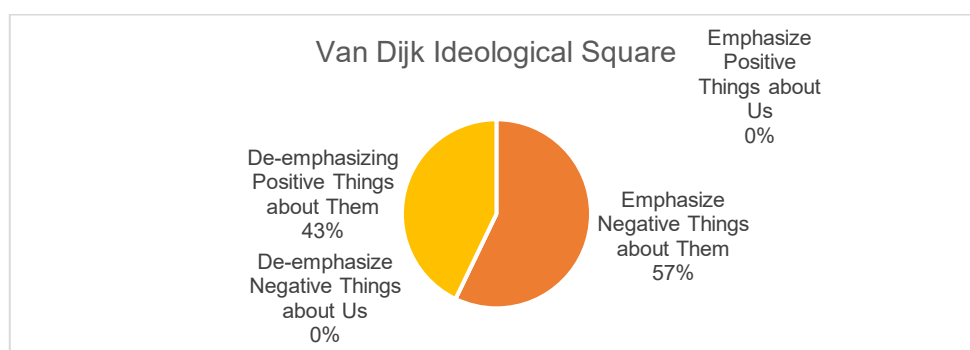

Figure 10. Van Dijk Ideological Square Pie Chart – DD

The findings of the judgment analysis on the panelist from the local media is that there are two sides. The pro-Jokowi camp is represented by PB and the contra-Jokowi camp is represented by BK. As the contra-party, BK's frequently used social sanctions and mostly emphasized negative things about them, Jokowi's party. However, contrary to that, the pro-camp, PBs mostly used social esteem to judge Jokowi's party behavior and also constantly de-emphasize negative things about us Jokowi's party. Meanwhile, the overseas media is a neutral party. Whether it is the newscaster, AM, or DD, all of them frequently use social esteem to judge people's behavior and emphasize negative things about them, the Jokowi's party. It can be seen that, because Indonesia is the one who conducted the presidential election, the information the media have is more comprehensive, even presenting the views from different camps. Each camp has its stance, one proved the other did the political dynasty practice, while the other denied all of the accusations. Meanwhile, compared to the local media, the overseas media only has neutral views, not deeply to the political current. However, despite being neutral, they mentioned and saw the behavior of Jokowi's party as the practice of a political dynasty.

Different from the previous studies conducted by different researchers before, there is no research yet regarding the difference between local media and overseas media in portraying the issue. This difference could be reflected by how the media chose a concept to deliver the issue, the choices of speaker they invited, and how their speaker conveyed their speeches about the issue. This will contribute to broadening the research on Critical Discourse Analysis, especially towards political dynasties. In addition, since the issue is a sensitive topic, there are not many local researchers who have conducted the study in this regard. The research is still limited, and this research will help to add more scope to the study of this issue and

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bring different perspectives. In the previous study conducted by Rannie et al. (2023), they conducted research about the reasons behind the practice of political dynasty and the impacts it has on *Pilkada* (Direct Regional Head Election) from the perspectives of human rights, law, and justice. The findings showed that the conclusion drawn is that dynastic politics emerged because the recruitment function of political parties was not based on quality, and regulations were weak. Compared to this previous research, the current one did not investigate deeper the reason behind the practice of political dynasty in the Indonesian presidential election 2024. Through the judgment and the ideological square analysis, the researchers inferred that the reason is that they want to benefit one party, build political power, and improve political influence. However, further studies can conduct research on those aspects to know whether there are other motives behind the political dynasty practice.

Another previous study conducted by Sunarsih et al. (2022), has undergone research on the local mass media perspectives on representing the 2019 presidential election candidates. The findings showed that four mass media, Dua Jurai, Jejamo, Saibumi, and Radar Lampung represent two presidential and vice presidential candidates neutrally. However, only one mass media, that is Lampung Post, represents the first candidates (Jokowi-Maruf Amin) in positive light, while the second candidates (Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno) in negative light. Different from this previous study, in the current study, the researchers conducted research on the 2024 presidential election. On top of that, the researchers compared two types of media, the local and the overseas. The object of the research is also different, because compared to studying the media perspectives as one, this research studies the different perspectives of the panelists of the media.

A previous study conducted by Silitonga & Muqsith (2023), analyzed how different media were independent and neutral while reporting the news about the 2024 presidential election through interviewing journalists from various media. The findings showed that it is difficult to achieve independence and neutrality when reporting the news because of the tendency of media conglomeration. Compared to this, the current research did not conduct an interviewing process with the concerned parties, but analyzed through a video format. In addition, the research mainly focuses on political dynasty topics, not media conglomeration.

Meanwhile, a previous study conducted by Sufajar & Guridno (2021), analyzed the difference between the political dynasty practices in Banten province and Central Maluku District. The findings showed that there are similarities in the basic kinship relations framework between these two regions. However, the dominance of the Hatuhaha group over the social life of Central Maluku and Maluku people is shown in the political dynasty practice in the Central Maluku region. In addition, the findings also showed that there is corruption in the management of power because the officials who carried out the political dynasty practice focused only on bringing economic and political benefits to their own group. This study conducted the political dynasty practice in more depth compared to the current research.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, there are three party perspectives towards the political dynasty practices in the 2024 presidential election: pro-Jokowi's, contra-Jokowi's, and

neutral parties. In the local media, there are no neutral party representatives, only pro and contra camps. The pro one is represented by PB, which uses social esteem, taking moral standards as the principles in judging their party's behavior. PB views the behavior conducted by Jokowi's party as normal, conforming to the norm, and they did not violate any regulations. He also emphasizes that through dismantling and denying the negative accusations about them, using the ideological square, he de-emphasizes negative things about us. However, BK's is the contra-Jokowi that expresses social sanction frequently. He takes the legal requirements seriously as his principles for judging Jokowi's party behavior. He criticized their behavior as corrupt and a sign of abusing power. In addition, BK further expresses his contrary attitudes by continuing to mention negative things about them to further prove Jokowi's action of benefiting one group through shady means. Nevertheless, compared to the local media, the researchers found that there are only neutral parties. They are the newscaster, AM, and DD. Furthermore, compared to the local media panelists who used two types of judgment, the overseas media panelists only used one type of judgment, that is, social esteem. They take the moral standard as the principle for judging the parties that are involved in the political dynasty practices. Even though they are neutral, most of their statements talk about the negative things about Jokowi's party.

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