

# FRAMING POLITICAL DYNASTIES IN KOREAN ONLINE NEWS OF INDONESIA'S ELECTION

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## Abstract

Language choices are often used to reveal and reflect writers' perspectives on certain issues, particularly constructed in online news media. Such language choices can affect readers' stance in evaluating the issues being raised, leading to framing the news. This study aims to reveal the framing of Indonesia's political dynasty during Indonesia's regional election in 2024 in online Korean News. This study applied Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis method to uncover the news construction in three Korean news: Seoul Economic Daily, Kyunghyang Shinmun, and Yonhap News, through syntactical, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures. The analysis results show that the syntactical structures on three news highlights 대규모 시위 (large-scale demonstration) as the main cause of the cancellation of the candidacy. Meanwhile, the script structures are structurally complete, holding all the 5W+1H elements. On the thematic structure, the three Korean news reports surrounded the same issue, the change of regional election law, also using the same pronouns: 장남 (first son) and 차남 (second son) to refer to the main figure being discussed. Lastly, the three news articles have distinctive styles in their rhetorical structures while delivering the information, but still attempt to shape audiences' opinions through diction, character quotations, and narratives about the integrity or ambition of power. Based on these findings, this study recommends further research by applying a critical discourse analysis approach to unpack the interplay between language use and power relations, concerning with critical issues discussed in online news.

**Keywords:** *framing analysis; Korean news; political dynasty; regional election*

## 1. Introduction

News media are known as a tool for delivering political issues, including political dynasties, in which language style plays a prominent role in influencing the audience's perspectives and forms narratives that benefit certain parties (Eddyono, 2021; Farid, 2023). Political dynasty is commonly associated with corruption, collusion, and nepotism, undermining democratic values and potentially limiting freedom of elections (Naufal, Ramadhan, & Muhibban, 2024). This contradicts the definition of election that should be free and direct. This aligns with Setiawan & Djafar (2023), which states that one of the main indicators of a democratic government is when people are actively involved in the political

decision-making process, either directly or through a representative. One of the main functions of Regional Elections is to get a leader that fits the region's people's preferences and priorities because they choose their leader, making it an important moment for democracy in Indonesia (Sarbaini, 2020; Zulhidayat et al., 2024).

Despite the formal democratic participation mechanism, the political dynasty continues to thrive in Indonesia. This issue started with Soeharto's authoritarian rule during the New Order era when the ruling family and close elites surrounded political power, including media control. The appointment of Soeharto's daughter as a social minister was framed in the media to maintain national stability and development (Azzahra & Sukri, 2022; Eddyono, 2021). However, as Indonesia entered the Reformation era, media control weakened and varied, such as online mass media, which allowed more diverse narratives.

The recent example of a political dynasty occurred during the 2020 Regional Election. The online mass media frame has different focuses and approaches, and there are supportive and critical narratives to the case. The political dynasty support narratives stated that the people chose both Gibran Rakabuming Raka (son) and Bobby Nasution (son-in-law). In contrast, critical narratives opposed the political dynasty by emphasizing negative effects, such as normalizing the nepotism practice in Indonesia's politics (Aziz & Wahid, 2020; Putri & Aisyah, 2021). The recent regional elections in 2024 are also following changes to the age requirements, which are perceived as benefiting Kaesang Pangarep (the President's youngest son). Although the voters have the right to vote directly, the political parties' priorities are candidates with strong capital and family backgrounds (Mukhlis et al., 2024; Suhendarto, 2024). Therefore, this study investigates how linguistic devices appear in the framing of political dynasties in Korean online news of Indonesia's election.

Furthermore, this situation has not only become a domestic concern but also drawn international interest, particularly from South Korea. The close bilateral relationship, which began in 1973, plays an important role in South Korea's interest in understanding Indonesia's stability and political conditions (CNN Indonesia, 2024; Embassy of the Republic of Korea to the Republic of Indonesia, 2024). In order to maintain active cooperation, it is very important for South Korea to value and be motivated to understand Indonesia in those conditions.

The framing theory proposed by Pan and Kosicki (1993) will be applied to analyze how online mass media in South Korea frame the changes in regional election laws involving Kaesang Pangarep. Framing is a storytelling strategy used to shape how events are interpreted by constructing particular versions of reality for the audience, including impactful issues (Suharyo, 2021). Previous researchers have applied the framing approach to various political issues, such as Ma (2022), who examined the application of framing in how the United States and South Korea are portrayed in the mass media in different North Korean leadership eras. Besides that, Febriyanti and Karina (2021) revealed how the mass media framed Gibran Rakabuming Raka after the Solo Regional Election, emphasizing his victory and the new history of President Jokowi's dynasty. On the other hand, Cabucci and Maulina (2021) applied framing to how the media framed a company, which is a social issue. It revealed that the media highlighted the company and were not objective. Referring to these findings, this research is expected to provide a more in-depth understanding of the language structure of mass media, specifically on South Korea's online mass media constructing political issues in Indonesia.

However, how the South Korean online media construct narratives on Indonesian political issues remains unknown due to the lack of focused research. Previous research (Krisdianti & Nugraha, 2021; Ronasyifa & Samsudin, 2022; Widyana, Fianita, & Megasari,

2021) has analyzed linguistic features in online Korean news, but none of the research explored linguistic devices of framing (i.e., metaphor and representation). To fill the void, the present study aims to scrutinize how language choices are applied to frame Indonesia's political issue in South Korea's online news media. The selection of Indonesia's election issue is due to the following change in the age-limitation law for candidates, which many perceive as a beneficial action for certain people (BBC Indonesia, 2024).

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1. Pan and Kosicki's Theory of Framing

In a mass media context, framing is a method of delivering information to shape the reader's perception. In 1993, Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki stated that the framing method emphasizes the media's strategy construction and process. This research is implemented by adopting Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis model to explore South Korea's online mass media frames of Kaesang Pangarep. This model identifies framing analysis through four aspects, to be specific (Suharyo, 2021):

<b>Structure</b>	<b>Framing Device(s)</b>	<b>Observed Unit(s)</b>
Syntactical	News scheme	Headline, lead, background information, quote, source, statement, closure
Script	Completeness	5W+1H
Thematic	Detail, coherence, sentence form	Paragraph, proposition, sentences, relation between sentences, pronoun
Rhetorical	Lexicon, graphic, metaphor	Word, idiom

Source: Suharyo (2021)

Table 1. Pan and Kosicki Framing Core

Based on Table 1, Suharyo (2021) presents the elements of Pan and Kosicki's framing cores. First, the syntactical structure, also known as the news scheme, consists of headline, lead, background information, quote, source, statement, and closure. These elements define the way information is organized and delivered in news text. Furthermore, the script structure is focused on the completeness of presented information through answering the 5W+1H (what, who, when, where, why, and how) question to provide a comprehensive overview of event reports. Also, a thematic structure deals with the depth, coherence, and shape of sentences in news narratives. This includes paragraphs, propositions, sentences, and relationships between sentences and the use of pronouns that strengthen the continuity of information in articles. Last, the rhetorical structure includes lexicon choices, the use of graphics, and metaphors, which aim to influence audiences in a more expressive and interesting way. The choice of words or idioms in the news will form a certain nuance, as well as assist in delivering messages more persuasively. These structures work together to form an audience's view of the issues presented in the news.

### 2.2 Political Dynasty

A political dynasty consists of political and dynasty words. According to Oxford Learner's Dictionaries, politics is linked to the state, government, or public affairs, while a dynasty is a ruler from the same family. This implies that a political dynasty is a state, government, or public ruler from one family. The political dynasty is essential for democratic

countries to avoid. Unfortunately, political dynasties have happened in some countries, namely India with the Nehru-Gandhi and the Philippines with Duterte-Marcos. Furthermore, Indonesia has a political dynasty that has recently gained people's attention, which is President Jokowi. Based on BBC Indonesia, President Jokowi's political dynasty is reflected in Gibran Rakabuming Raka, his first son, who is able to be the next vice president by changing the age-limitation law. Also, according to Tempo, his brother and the second son of President Jokowi is intent on running for the regional election in 2024 (Martinez, Baladad & Bello, 2024; Novilia, Purnama, Wardhani & Trenggono, 2023).

### 3. Research Method

A descriptive qualitative approach was applied in this research. This approach was used due to the adaptability that enables modifications during the process to findings (Lim, 2024). Also, this approach aims to explain in depth how a phenomenon occurs scientifically (Niam et al., 2024). In this context, the linguistic elements contained in the data source were identified and classified to give related descriptions to the framing of political dynasties in Korean online news of Indonesia's election.

The data were gathered from South Korea's online mass media, such as the Seoul Economy Daily (서울경제), Kyunghyang Shinmun (경향신문), and Yonhap News (연합뉴스), as summarized on Table 2. The three news media were chosen because of their widespread coverage and accessibility on the internet portal (daum.net). The data have been filtered to the related topic and published dates, which are from 22-27 August 2024. This period is selected as it marks the existence of the Kaesang Pangarep and the age limit law issue.

<i>Source's Name</i>	<i>Writer</i>	<i>News Title</i>	<i>Publish Date</i>
<i>Seoul Economic Daily</i>	Yeonseung	대규모 시위에 결국...인니 대통령 차남 출마위해 법개정 보류 (Large-scale Demonstration Ended Up ... The Law Amendment that Allows Second Son of Indonesia President to Run for Election is Postponed)	22 August 2024
<i>Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>	Seo Young Kim	차남 주지사 출마시키려다...인니 '대규모 시위' 역풍 맞은 조코위 (Tried to Nominate the Second Son for Governor... Jokowi Get Backlash through Indonesian 'Large-scale Protest')	25 August 2024
<i>Yonhap News</i>	Eui Rae Park	대규모 시위에 인니 대통령 차남, 지방선거 출마 결국 무산 (Due to Large- scale Demonstration Against the President's Second Son, The Candidacy for Regional Election Ultimately Cancelled)	27 August 2024

*Table 2. Korean News Identity*

The Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis devices is applied as the key instrument. It is done by categorizing it into the four framing elements: syntactical, script, thematic, and rhetorical. As an example, the headline of the Seoul Economic Daily (서울경제) uses a passive construction, 법개정 보류 (law change postponed), with an explicit cause, 대규모 시위에 결국 (at the end due to a large-scale demonstration), which highlights the direct impact of mass action.

The research procedure starts by collecting data using note-taking and documentation techniques from the relevant news article. After the data is collected, it is then translated, identified, and categorized into Pan and Kosicki framing devices. The next step, the researcher presents the data in a narrative text to define how the media frame a related issue. Following this step, the researcher summarizes the results' analysis into a conclusion. To ensure the data is precise, the researcher involves a data validation expert on the related topic, a Korean Language lecturer from Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia. The framing devices data is given, checked, and confirmed by the validator. The result is 100% accepted.

## 4. Results and Discussion

### 4.1 Syntactical Structure Analysis

The headlines of three Korean news outlets show a similar cause-and-effect pattern, but each has a slightly different nuance. Seoul Economic Daily uses a passive construction, 법개정 보류 (law change postponed), with an explicit cause, 대규모 시위에 결국 (at the end due to a large-scale demonstration), which highlights the direct impact of mass action. Kyunghyang Shinmun, on the other hand, employs an active form, 역풍 맞은 조코위 (Jokowi faced backlash), creating the impression that President Jokowi is a direct target of criticism. Meanwhile, Yonhap News also uses a passive form like Seoul Economic Daily, 출마 결국 무산 (candidacy ultimately canceled), which confirms the final result of the political action process.

In their lead paragraphs, all three outlets tend to expand on their headlines by explaining that the law revision was aborted due to public pressure, thereby maintaining the cause-and-effect structure. Their background information is presented in chronological order. It starts with the attempt to change the law to allow Kaesang Pangarep's candidacy, followed by public reaction, and the stance of related institutions (e.g., the Constitutional Court and General Election Commission). To strengthen their narratives and ensure credibility, the three Korean news outlets include sources by quoting statements from relevant parties that reflect public reaction or opposition stances. In their closing sections, each outlet reinforces the narrative structure in different ways: Seoul Economic Daily maintains a neutral tone, Kyunghyang Shinmun connects the issue to a similar case of legal manipulation, and Yonhap New conveys criticism of President Jokowi's political dynasty.

These findings are aligned with Matondang and Septianda (2019), who state the passive construction is able to imply contradiction and indecisiveness to audiences, or in this research, conveys the event over agent(s). Meanwhile, Maulana and Putri (2024) demonstrate that the chronological structure is used to establish the paragraph in order, which indicates the strategy of delivering information to direct the audience's attention to

the event in sequence. Therefore, the syntactical structure not only delivers information but also influences how the audience interprets the event from the beginning.

#### 4.2 Script Structure Analysis

The **what** unit of three Korean news outlets have the same focus as the headline and lead (syntactical structure) in each news. *Seoul Economic Daily* with the large-scale demonstration in various cities, *Kyunghyang Shinmun* with the criticism towards President Jokowi, and *Yonhap News* with the cancellation of Kaesang Pangarep's candidacy. It is reflected on, ...수천 명이 수도...앞에서 시위를 벌이며 선거법 개정 추진에 반대했다. [par. 2] (...thousand protested in front of...against the law revision); 이번 시위는...주요 도시에서도 열렸다. [par. 5] (This demonstration... also held in major cities); ...차남까지 무리하게 선거에 출마시키려다 역풍을 맞았다. [par. 1] (...tried to force (until) to second son to run the election but faced a backlash.); ...조코 위도도(조코위) 인도네시아 대통령 차남의 계획이 결국 무산됐다. [par. 1] (Indonesia President Joko Widodo (Jokowi)'s second son's plan ultimately cancelled). However, the reason of these events is shares the same **why** unit, which is against the law change in order to allow Kaesang Pangarep to run for the election. For example, this echoed in *Yonhap news*, 대규모 시위가 벌어진 이유는...선거법을 개정하려고 해서다. [par. 6] (The reason of the large-scale demonstration... it's because the attempt of election law revision).

On the **when** unit, the three news' main events occurred in the same month (August), around 20-27<sup>th</sup> (for example, in Korean mentioned as 20 일), and mentioned 11 월 (November) as the date of the regional election will be held. But, *Seoul Economic Daily* and *Yonhap News* is also mentioned 5 월 (May) for additional context of the happened event. As well as the **who** unit on the three Korean news is surrounded by the same main characters, President Jokowi (조코위 대통령); Kaesang Pangarep (카에상 팡아름); demonstrators (시위대), which consist of the labour party (노동당), students (학생), civil groups (시민단체), and opposition parties (야당); council (국회/하원); Supreme Court (대법원); Constitutional Court (헌법재판소/헌재); and the President Jokowi supporters, namely supported parties (지지하는 당) and (ruling parties) (야당). Besides that, Seoul Economic Daily involved police (경찰) and Sufmi Dasco Ahmad, the vice council (수프미 다스코 아마드, 부의장). Anies Baswedan (아니스 바스웨단) is mentioned in *Kyunghyang News* and Prabowo Subianto (프라보워 수비안토) has appeared in *Yonhap News*. Meanwhile, both *Kyunghyang Shinmun* and *Yonhap News* are including Gibran Rakabuming Raka (기브란 라카부밍 라카) the General Election Commission (선거관리위원회/선관위), and Jokowi's brother-in-law/former chief justice (조코위 대통령의 매제/ 전 헌재소장).

The three Korean news reports stated that, the **where** (unit) it happened is in Jakarta (자카르타). Additionally, *Seoul Economic Daily* is mentioned at a specific place, namely in

front of the Council in Jakarta (자카르타에 있는 의회 앞에서) and various cities, such as Surabaya, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Makassar, etc. (수라바야와 반둥, 옥야카르타, 마카사르 등). Meanwhile, *Yonhap News* only mentioned it in the news placeline, Jakarta=Yonhap News (자카르타=연합뉴스). Last, the **how** unit, in the *Seoul Economic Daily*, the Council decided to suspend the proposed law revision (...국회는 법안 개정 작업을 중단하기로 했다. [par. 13]). *Kyunghyang Shinmun* has cancelled a scheduled session of law change discussion (...심의를 위해 잡아둔 전체회의 일정을 취소했다. [par. 13]). Meanwhile, in *Yonhap news*, the council gave up to revise the law (...국회도 선거법 개정을 포기했다. [par. 5]).

The script structure analysis reported that the three Korean news have completeness of 5W+1H framework. Each outlet presents the main actors, events, and settings with clarity, allowing readers to follow the political and legal process step by step. Although they cover the same issue, their emphasis differs, some foreground the Council's action, others highlight judicial interpretation, or protest movements. This finding aligns with Annisarahma and Assegaf (2023), who emphasised that the completeness of structural elements, particularly 5W+1H, enhances clarity and journalistic integrity. In this context, the Korean news articles successfully apply this structure to organise complex political events into a coherent and comprehensible narrative.

### 4.3 Thematic Structure Analysis

The thematic structure of the three Korean news reports collectively underscores the polemic surrounding the change of regional election law in Indonesia, especially involving Kaesang Pangarep's candidacy. However, the three news stories have different main highlights. *Seoul Economic Daily* focused on the mass pressure as the main factor in the postponement of the law change. *Kyunghyang Shinmun* mainly discussed the intense criticism of President Jokowi's political dynasty from the opposition. Meanwhile, *Yonhap News* highlighted the cancellation of Kaesang's candidacy as the institution's decision. These different highlights indicate the varied narrative priorities and framing of each media outlet in portraying the event, such as public reaction, institutional stance, or familial ambition.

As the demonstrations are persistently emphasized as a decisive action that forces and influences legislative decisions, with coherent chronological structures that trace the legal attempts, public backlash, and eventual cancellation of the law revision. The coherent chronological structure is supported by causal words, such as 이를 두고/놓고/둘러싸고 (in this regard), 이에 (hence), 그러자 (then), or 그러나 (however). It also strengthens the continuity and thematic development of narratives, as well as affirming the relationship between legal action, public reaction, and political decisions. Furthermore, this news also frequently uses familial terms such as 장남 (first son) and 차남 (second son). Specifically, *Kyunghyang Shinmun* and *Yonhap News* discuss Gibran Rakabuming Raka, who has a similar case. This highlights the role of family bonds in the political landscape, which reinforces the criticism that President Jokowi's influence extends into institutional decisions for the benefit of his sons.

These findings match with Hanifah, Sutjipto, and Anindhita (2024), who stated that the theme is formed in chronological order. This temporal sequence is often reinforced by using causal marks to explain the event clearly and frame the meaning behind it. Besides that, the repetition of significant themes in each news, whether public pressure, family relations, or institutional decisions, shows that thematic is affirming the form of meaningful construction of political dynamics that occur.

#### 4.4 Rhetorical Structure Analysis

The strong rhetorical uses in the three Korean news narrations to describe the political tension and public response. *Seoul Economic Daily* uses dramatic and emotional words, but still remains factual and neutral, such as 불을 지르다 (set a fire) and 물대포와 최루탄을 쏜다 (firing water cannons and tear gas) to define the strong resistance from the mass and tension during the demonstration. Additionally, the word 대규모 시위 (large-scale demonstration) is mentioned four times, which suggests the suppression of the event's scale. The idiom on this sentence, 헌법재판소 판결을 존중하라 (Respect the Constitutional Court's decision) appears as an exclamation from a protester to strengthen the rejection. In contrast, *Kyunghyang Shinmun* employs more critical narration, which shows in some words such as 법을 무력화하다 (incapacitate the law), 정치 왕조 (political dynasty), and 무리하게 출마시키려다 (force to run for nominee). Besides that, the word of 정실주의 (nepotism) has emerged to accuse the government's actions explicitly as and emphasizing the media's critical attitude towards President Jokowi's policies.

Meanwhile, *Yonhap News* also similarly tends to be critical and sarcastic, but unlike *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, it maintains a neutral impression. It shows through 총대(를)메다 (taking responsibility) and 들고 일어나다 (rise against). The strong idiom, 끝없는 갈증 (never-ending thirst) and 혼란에 빠뜨리다 (plunge into chaos), which contain in the direct quotation of a political figure is provided additional dimension in the form of political legitimacy to the criticism. Same as *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, *Yonhap News* also mentioned 정치 왕조 (political dynasty) to describe the involvement of family power. These rhetorical findings is align with Tandi, Gobang, Sedu, and Kedoh (2024), in their research, which mentions *birokrasi bersih* (corruption-free bureaucracy) to give an impression of integrity and transparent commitment, while this research mentions 끝없는 갈증 (never-ending thirst) to illustrate the greed for power. Both strategies aim to persuade the audience to agree with the narration from the news writer.

## 5. Conclusion

This research has delineated the framing of political dynasty in three Korean news articles based on the result of textual analysis on syntactical framing core, syntactical, script, thematic, and rhetorical analysis from the three Korean news articles. The research reveals that they have similar but also different framing patterns while delivering the information. Through a syntactical structure, the three news articles mention that demonstrations are the main reason to foil the attempt to allow Kaesang Pangarep to run for the regional election by changing the law, and how public pressure is able to influence legal and political

decisions. All the three news stories also have the completeness of 5W+1H, showing clarity in conveying the essential elements of the issue, such as what happened, who was involved, where and when it occurred, why the event took place, and how it unfolded. Thematically, the news has a coherent and chronological structure, while different rhetorical styles and diction show the characteristics of each media, adopting different tones, ranging from dramatic, explicitly critical, to sarcastically neutral, to shape public perception.

Theoretically, this study expanded the application of Pan and Kosicki framing analysis in the context of cross-country reporting, especially on Indonesian domestic political issues framed by foreign media. These findings present that elements of the framing structure, such as syntax, script, thematic, and rhetoric, can reflect the perspective and interest of foreign media in interpreting political phenomena of other countries. Thus, this study also enriched the literature on political framing and demonstrated the flexibility of Pan and Kosicki's approach to examining the dynamics of media representation of global issues in a strong local context. However, this research is only limited to Korean news for certain periods, which does not reflect the framing dynamics that may change over time. Based on these findings, it is suggested that further research could expand this study by applying a critical discourse analysis approach to unpack the framing trends regarding power relations between the news producers and readers related to political issues in the last decade.

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