



THEO VAN LEEUWEN'S EXCLUSION AND INCLUSION STRATEGIES: AN ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENT JOE BIDEN'S POLITICAL SPEECH

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Abstract

The researcher conducted research to find out how the process of exclusion and inclusion in very important topic that is happening at this time regarding the speech made by President Joe Biden as the President of the United States to criticize the actions of the Russian state which attacked the State of Ukraine. This study uses a qualitative descriptive method with Discourse Analysis approach through the theory proposed by Theo van Leeuwen to describe how the social actors are described in the speech delivered by President Joe Biden. In President Joe Biden's speech, 13 data were found that were used to marginalize the social actors, namely the Russian government which carried out attacks on Ukrainian state. In this study, no exclusion strategy was found, but four inclusion strategies were found, namely *Differentiation – Indifferentiation*, *Assimilation – Individualization*, *Objectivation – Abstraction* and *Association – Disassociation*. The most dominant inclusion strategy found was *Differentiation – Indifferentiation* with the percentage of 50%. Meanwhile for *Objectivation – Abstraction* and *Assimilation – Individualization* is 12,5%, while the percentage of *Association – Disassociation* is 25% were found.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, exclusion, inclusion strategies and Joe Biden's political speech.

INTRODUCTION

The special operation taken by Russia against Ukraine based on Russia's own point of view carried out by Russia to liberate the Donbas and Luhansk nations which have been under Ukrainian. However, the two main areas are ethnic Russians who refuse to have their territory controlled by Ukraine but the actions taken by Russia from the point of view of western countries led by America consider it an invasion of a sovereign and independent country. This contradiction can be seen from several news reports that show contradiction discourses between Russia and western countries as follows: Based on a statement from the European Union from official website, it states: "The EU and its member states stand united in their unwavering support for Ukraine and firmly condemn Russia's unprovoked and unjustified military aggression. (European Council. 2022). Further a statement from the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Boris Johnson said: "The PM said President Vladimir Putin had launched a "vast invasion by land, by sea and by air" without provocation. (O'Coner, 2022). The next statement from President Putin is: "Russian President Vladimir Putin on Monday recognized the independence of two breakaway regions in Ukraine's east as independent and ordered military forces to deploy there. (Russian Service. 2022). The next statement from President Putin: "Recognition of the two entities, which call themselves the Donbass and Luhansk people's (Hernandez. 2022). The next statement from President Putin: "The purpose of this operation is to protect people who, for eight years now, have been facing humiliation and genocide perpetrated by the Kyiv regime," Putin said. Putin alleges that Ukraine is targeting and killing Russian speakers in eastern Ukraine, where Russian-backed rebel separatists have been fighting the Ukrainian government since 2014 (The Conversation.com. 2022).

One of the discourse contradictions is found in President Joe Biden's speech as the president of America and the leader of the NATO organization which states that the actions taken by President Putin are invasions and strongly opposes the actions taken by Russia invented Ukraine. This discourse contradiction can be analyzed using Critical Discourse Analysis. The speech taken from official YouTube NBC News entitle "Joe Biden's Full Speech Denouncing Russia's Invasion of Ukraine, NBC News." These Political Speech can be studied using Critical Discourse Analysis which study to analyze a different point of view looking at the context in languages (Eriyanto, 2009; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997), then in this case language used in political speech with certain objectives by

the speaker of the speech. Consequently, government, represented by its leader, frequently received criticisms from the press that sometimes are sensitive and bias (Sari and Pranoto, 2021). Therefore, conditions make the society deliver opinion.

In political speech, there are many points of view that can be studying because political speech has a specific purpose that owned by the person who brings the political speech. In political speech, language serves as one of the devices to convey message shared among people in various context (Kuswoyo, 2016:257; Afrianto et. al, 2014:78; Samanik, 2018). The political speech delivered by Joe Biden, there are many interests of western countries against their opponent, namely Russia. The function of political speech itself serves as a way to show the position, strength and regulate the power possessed by one particular party. In this case the party who wants to show power is the United States. In this study, the researcher used a Critical Discourse Analysis approach through the theory proposed by Theo van Leeuwen (2008). The representation of social actors by Theo van Leeuwen is a theory to understand how groups or people marginalize their position in Critical Discourse Analysis. Social actors become significant because social actors are important to be analyzing Critical Discourse Analysis. Using the critical discourse analysis framework, we can see how oral dan written texts are structured and then observe it to look how text influence the reader to consume the information (Azijah and Gulö, 2020; Cahyaningsih and Pranoto, 2021; Istiani, R & Puspita, Dian, 2020). In this context, language is exploited to obtain and establish social and political stance in particular setting both socially and politically (Puspita and Pranoto, 2021).

Numerous CDA studies have been administered lately. Pranoto and Yuwono (2019) analyzed how a state leader position his attitude towards big issues such as terrorism and globalization. Using similar method, Puspita and Pranoto (2021) revealed the attitude of Japanese newspaper in narrating disaster in the country. Furthermore, Sofyan and Zifana (2019) analyzed the representation of political figure in Kompas and Republika using Leeuwen's theory (2005; 2008) which revealed the notion of non-neutral position of the media. Similarly, Rido and Evayani (2019) discussed the representation of social actors in sexual violence issue in The New York and Jakarta Post by utilizing Leeuwen's theory (2008). The findings showed that both media represented different focuses and strongly described the perpetrator as active agents.

This research analyzes President Joe Biden's speech strongly condemns the actions taken by Russia by attacking Ukraine as a threat to world peace. The researcher used the strategy proposed by Theo van Leeuwen exclusion and inclusion. The results of this study describe how social actors are represented through exclusion or inclusion strategies, as well as the dominant strategy used by President Joe Biden. Based on the background above, the researcher formulates the research title as follows: "Theo van Leeuwen's Exclusion and Inclusion Strategies: As an Analysis of President Joe Biden's Political Speech."

METHOD

This study employs of qualitative descriptive research method (Kardiansyah, 2016; Farras and Nurmaily, 2020) which means that this study attempt to collect the data in the form of words or interpretations, which this study attempt to show exclusion and inclusion. The findings in this research are analyzed and described qualitatively. In the process, the data are processed using some relevant approaches and the explained descriptively (Gulö and Rahmawelly, 2018). Strategy in the President Joe Biden's political speech used to represent social actors, The researcher chooses qualitative description research method as explained by Litosseliti (2010:52) to assist the researcher in answering the research problem based on the interpretations and descriptions of the findings. In other words, the results of the analysis are in form of words and Sentence Shoji, J., & Puspita, D. (2021). In conclusion, qualitative method also pays a comprehensive view on inductive and deductive processes (Suprayogi, and Pranoto, 2020; Rido et. al, 2020; Mandasari, and Aminatun, 2019; Sari, and Oktaviani, 2021)

Van Leeuwen (2008) explains exclusion as a linguistic mechanism that excludes certain social actors from discourse. This mechanism can be divided into two types: suppression and backgrounding. Suppression occurs when the social actors are completely omitted from the article, without any reference to them. In this case, the omission is not radical, as the social actors may be mentioned later in the text. On the other hand, inclusion is a linguistic mechanism that involves presenting the social actors in the discourse. Activation refers to presenting the social actors as actively involved in a sentence. Passivation, which has two forms (subjected and beneficialized), refers to the process of making the social actors less active. Genericization occurs when the social actors are mentioned in a general manner, either in plural or singular form. Specification, on the contrary, involves mentioning the social actors specifically and describing their actions in detail. Assimilation is the grouping of social actors, while individualization refers to mentioning the social actors as singular entities. Association occurs when two or more social actors are presented as a group working towards a common goal or purpose. Dissociation, however, refers to mentioning multiple social actors in the same sentence, but without any association between them. Interdetermination is the presentation of social actors as either groups or individuals who are "anonymous," often realized through the use of uncertainty pronouns like somebody, some, some people, and someone. Determination, on the other hand, involves mentioning the social actors anonymously but with specificity.

Differentiation is a linguistic mechanism used to highlight differences among social actors, whether positive or negative. Nominations involve presenting social actors by their unique identities, often using proper nouns. Categorization is used to refer to specific social actors who belong to distinct categories, such as social status or religion, making it easy to identify them. Functionalization occurs when social actors are mentioned in relation to their roles or occupations, using suffixes like -er, -ant, -man, -women, -ee, etc. Identification is a subcategory that presents social actors based on external characteristics or attributes beyond their job or role. Personalization involves presenting social actors using their proper names or possessive pronouns. Impersonalization, on the other hand, refers to presenting social actors as abstract or objectified entities, without emphasizing their human qualities. Lastly, overdetermination occurs when social actors participate in multiple social practices simultaneously.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this study, the object of the research is President Joe Biden’s political speech on the Official YouTube of NBC News which entitled “Joe Biden's Full Speech Denouncing Russia's Invasion of Ukraine, NBC News”. Based on the analysis, exclusion strategy was not found. The fact that usually exclusion strategies are found in the news article that the journalist used this strategy to remove social actors directly from the news to avoid something that would threaten the safety of journalist and informants of the news (Ali, 2020). In this study, the writer found four aspects of the inclusion strategy, namely: - Differentiation - Indifferentiation, Objectivation - Abstraction, Assimilation – Individualization and Association – Disassociation. The general finding of the analysis presented in table, below:

The Percentage of Inclusion Strategy in President Joe Biden’s Political Speech

No	The Criteria of Inclusion	Nominal	Percentage
1	Differentiation – Indifferentiation	6	50 %
2	Objectivation – Abstraction	2	12,5 %
3	Nomination – Categorization	0	0%
4	Determination – Indetermination	0	0%
5	Assimilation – Individualization	2	12,5%
6	Association – Disassociation	3	25%
	The Total of Inclusion Strategy	13	100%

The data above can be described regarding the results of the research that has been carried out. The table show the aspect of criteria that are mostly found in the analysis process from the criteria that dominant appears and the criteria that slightly appear in President Joe Biden’s political speech, and the researcher also summarizes the data in the form of percentages that are used to see the data more clearly in seeing more dominant criteria in the analysis. In this study, it produced 13 data included in the Inclusion strategy. Inclusion divided into 6 criteria, in this study 4 inclusion criteria were found, which are Differentiation – Indifferentiation, Objectivation – Abstraction, Assimilation – Individualization and Association – Disassociation. Although, what was not found are Nomination-Categorization and Determination-Indetermination because no datum was found on the position of Russia or Vladimir Putin on directly related to more than one social actor or more than one social group.

Differentiation – Indifferentiation

Datum 1

Differentiation	Indifferentiation
<i>Military has begun a brutal assault on the people Ukraine, provocation without justification, without the necessity. This is a premeditated attack. Vladimir Putin planning this for months as we've been saying, all along. He moved more than a 175,000 troops military equipment positions along the Ukrainian border.</i>	<i>Tells you all you need to know about his intentions all along. He rejected every good Faith effort. The United States and our allies and partners made to address on due to security concerns through dialogue to avoid needless conflict and a very human suffering.</i>

Based on Datum 1 above, it is part of the Differentiation and Indifferentiation which include from the Inclusion strategy. This can be seen from linguistic evidence in the Datum 1 above consisted of phrases and sentences that have been highlighted with bold marker. Therefore, the inclusion strategy happened in the perspective of political action and it can be seen from the Datum 1 above. The inclusion strategy especially in Differentiation in the words "*brutal and assault*", based on the explanation from “Meriam-Webster Dictionary” “*brutal*” means

direct and clear about something unpleasant, not thinking of people's feelings while "assault" means the act of attacking a building/an area in order to take control of it. Therefore, the phrase "brutal and assault" refers to the positions of the Russian military as a party that categorized as "not good" in the terms of an attack carried out to the Ukrainian state.

Thus, based on the linguistic evidence of the sentence which made the Russian state was very cruel, carried out the oppression. Furthermore, connected with the discourse contained in the word "premeditated" means a crime or bad action and planned in advance, while "attack" means an act of using violence to try to hurt or kill somebody. The connection with the sentence confirms that Russia is in an even worse position because it carries out attacks that can be said to be criminal and these actions are very bad. The word "attack" further emphasizes Vladimir Putin as a cruel social actor because he commits murder to achieve his interests and these actions are not carried out spontaneously but already planned contained in the word "planning", this word means an act or process of making plans for something. Therefore, it can be concluded from the discourse that was built is that the act of attack had been well planned by Vladimir Putin.

Furthermore, on the Datum 1 above also can be categorized as the aspect of Indifferentation, because social actor is placed in a good condition compare with his political opponents based on the point of view of political point of view. Therefore, the inclusion strategy can be seen by the speaker of the speech regarding his condition and his political allies and from linguistic evidence in the phrase and sentence that have been highlighted. Furthermore, the Indifferentaiton aspect found in the words "rejected". Based on the explanation from "Meriam-Webster Dictionary", the word "rejected" means reject something or to refuse something. The word refers to actions taken by Russia who refused to act peacefully and invaded Ukraine to control Ukrainian territory. This can be seen from the word "good" which means high quality or an acceptable standard. It can be interpreted that America's actions were better than the action taken by Russia by attacking Ukraine with military force.

On the other hand, America and its allies have given a policy to resolve peacefully contained in the phrase "faith and effort", this means trust in somebody's ability, trust that somebody will do what has been promise. Based on the meaning of the word, the discourse made by the speaker that the Russian side is a very bad party because it does not want to resolve the problem peacefully by not using military force contained in the words "dialogue", this word means a conversation, "avoid" means to prevent something bad from happening, "needles" means not necessary that could be avoided, "conflict" means which countries disagree strongly or are involved in a serious argument, "human" means connected with people, and "suffering" is physical or mental pain. Based on those meaning, it refers to the word "-dialogue" it can be seen that America wants to do a good communication without attacking. Then, referring to the words "avoid, needles, conflict", it can be understood that the America strongly reject the Russian action which caused a bad situation for Ukrainian citizens and left a great harm to the society and humans referring to the phrase "human suffering".

Objectivation - Abstraction

Objectivation - Abstraction is one of the aspects in inclusion strategy referring to the point of view of the speaker that directly and indirectly mentions the social actor in the speech delivered by speaker.

Datum 2	
Objectivation	Abstraction:
<i>This is a premeditated attack. Vladimir Putin planning this for months as we've been saying, all along.</i>	<i>The Russian government has perpetrated cyber - attacks against Ukraine. We saw stage political theatre in Moscow and mission baseless claims Ukraine was about to Invade and launch a war against.</i>

Inclusion strategy that performed by the speaker based on Datum 2 above, particularly on Objectivation aspect and linguistics evidence can be seen from word that had been highlighted with bold marker. Thus, Datum 7 can be seen through political action point of view. Furthermore, according to Objectivation aspect which referred to social actor who are displayed directly by the speaker, which can be seen in the word "Vladimir Putin". The speaker in his speech directly mentions the social actors whose goal is Russian President namely Vladimir Putin who is considered as the person behind an attack that happened in Ukraine. Furthermore, in Datum 7 showing social actors that are not spoken directly or abstractly as a means of Abstraction aspect, it contained in the word "The Russian government". The word does not specifically mention the social actors but the abstraction refers to the Russian government, namely a country that has a state structure consisting of more than many positions and people occupying positions in the country.

Assimilation – Individualization

Assimilation – Individualization is an Inclusion strategy that reflecting or does not reflecting the social actor with their social group, especially in the speech delivered by the speaker.

Datum 3

Assimilation	Individualization
<i>Sanctioning President Putin's on the table is that a step prepared to take in. To respond the cyber-attacks as well. I spoke last night President Zelensky of Ukraine.</i>	<i>Sanctioning President Putin's on the table is a step that prepared to take in.</i>

Based on the Datum 3 above, it can be explained that inclusion strategy is performed by the speaker, particularly on Assimilation aspect. Moreover, it can be seen from linguistic evidence which consisted of sentence that have been highlighted by the writer and the Datum 9 of Assimilation – Individualization is can be the representation of political factor. The social actor in the Datum 9 above can be or cannot be related to another social actor or social group. Since, Assimilation aspect stated that the social actor can be connected or related to their social group, it referred to the sentence "*President, Zelensky of Ukraine*". Based on a definition sourced from the "Merriam-Webster Dictionary" explaining that the word "*President*" means an appointed governor of a subordinate political unit, name of person, and "*Ukraine*" means the Ukrainian country in eastern Europe on the northern coast of the Black Sea; capital Kyiv. Based on the meaning of each word, it can be seen that the discourse built is connecting the social actors with their social groups referring to the word "*President*" as the head of state held by a person named "*Zelensky*" is directly related to his social group in the word "*Ukraine*", which a country on the European continent with its capital in Kyiv, which President Zelensky is directly linked to his country. Meanwhile, for the Individualization aspect which does not reflecting the social actor with their own social group, the following data is referring to discourse evidence in the speech which can be seen to the word "*Sanctioning, President Putin*". Based on the definition sourced from the "Merriam-Webster Dictionary", the word "*sanctioning*" means the detriment, loss of reward, or coercive intervention annexed to a violation of a law as a means of enforcing the law. Furthermore, for "*President Putin*" is name of a person who positioned as a President in his country. In the speech that delivered by the speaker stated clearly by mentioning the social actor and it is not connected to his own country as his social group.

Association – Disassociation

Association – Disassociation is an inclusion strategy that connects and does not directly connect to social actors with another social groups in the speech that delivered by the speaker.

Datum 11

Association	Disassociation
<i>United States is not doing this a long. For months. We've been building a coalition of Partners representing well, more than half the global economy 27 member European Union including France, Germany, Italy as well as United Kingdom Canada, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and many others to amplify joint impact of our response. I just Spoke with the G7 leaders this morning and we're in full and total agreement.</i>	<i>The Russian stock market Klein was today. Russian government borrowing rates spike over 15%.</i>

The inclusion strategy that contained based on Datum 11 above is Association – Disassociation aspect. Furthermore, it shows linguistics evidence from word and sentence and the perspective of economic. It can be explained that inclusion strategy is performed by the speaker, particularly on Association aspect which connected the social actor with another social group, refer to the word "*United States, European Union*". Based on definitions sourced from the "Merriam-Webster Dictionary", explaining that these word means a federation of states especially when forming a nation in a usually specified territory, European Community economic, scientific, and political organization consisting of Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, Greece, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Finland, Sweden, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Croatia. Within the words above and the explanations, it can be concluded that the discourse evidence in these words refers to a social group, namely the United State which is connected with their fellow countries that form an economic organization. Therefore, it can be concluded that the United State as a social group is clearly related to other social group which is the European Union as the world economic organization.

Discussion

In this study, the two strategies of the criteria in the theory of Critical Discourse Analysis by Theo van Leeuwen are the inclusion and exclusion strategies in analyzing critical discourse. In this study, the object of the study is President Joe Biden's political speech and the exclusion strategies were not commonly found in speeches, especially in political speech. Exclusion strategy are generally found in research where the object is the news, because journalists use exclusion criteria to eliminate certain social actors in contained the news for various reasons such as: used by journalists when the information obtained is not clear, used by journalists to protect sources when making risky news because it might cause a problems such as the last criminal act is to protect oneself, as people know certain social actors have power in an organization such as the government, the mafia and others who have a risk of threatening the safety of journalists. Therefore, it can be concluded based on several previous research sources which raised the inclusion and exclusion strategy in the news as found in the results of the research (Raja Ali, 2020), on the passivation aspect explaining that passivation is used to protect perpetrators. In this case is to protect the officials in authority at PT. KAI as the parties who considered dominating the actions of KRL passengers. Furthermore, in the aspect of discourse, various perspectives are found that conflict with each other referring to the interests of each social actor and social group. The conflicting viewpoints are as follows:

- a. From the point of view found in the speaker, namely President Joe Biden as the leader of America and the largest military organization in the world, namely "NATO" which strongly condemns Russia's actions to attack Ukraine. Based on the speaker's point of view, it is an act that violates international law because it has attacked sovereign country that has the freedom to determine life freely. Furthermore, the Americans together with their allies carried out the economic sanctions aimed at destroying Russia from an economic perspective, so that it could not finance the war and had a bad impact on its isolated people and all assets owned by the Russian state and citizens residing abroad, especially assets in America and allied countries and also assets in the form of US dollars. In addition, the US believes that it must provide military assistance even though it's indirectly declaring the war with Russia, but America and its allies send weapons in the form of fighter planes, tanks, cannons and others. All actions taken by America based on the speech are aimed at upholding international law, maintaining world peace and avoiding war in solving all problems between Russia and Ukraine.
- b. In addition, the perspective of the Russian side obtained from the news that has been included in the background of this research is inversely proportional to the speaker's point of view, namely "Joe Biden". The Russian side said that the actions taken by President Vladimir Putin were to defend ethnic Russians who were in the territory of Ukraine, who were oppressed and discriminated against by the Ukrainian government in the Donbas and Luhansk regions.

CONCLUSION

Based on the research that has been done, the researcher can conclude that the research of discourse analysts on President Joe Biden's political speech resulted several things. The first one, in this study, the exclusion strategy cannot be found because these strategies are generally used by journalists to avoid something unwanted. The second one is, on the aspect of the speaker's point of view referring to America and its allies who are very unhappy with Russia attacking Ukraine is considered an act of invention, a violation of international law and an act of violation of human rights. In addition, the sanctions given by America and its allies are intended to stop the war without a direct declaration of war. From the point of view of Russia, all actions taken to protect the unity of the Russian Federation and to protect ethnic Russians who are treated unfairly by the Ukrainian Government in the Donbas and Luhansk regions. Furthermore, based on the research above in the previous chapter, it can be concluded that: 1) that in marginalizing social actors in Joe Biden's Political speech there is no inclusion strategy and there are four exclusion strategies, namely: Diffentiation – Indifferentiation, Assimilation – Individualization, Objectivation – Abstraction dan Association – Disassociation. In President Joe Biden's speech, 13 data were found that were used to marginalize social actors, namely the Russian government which carried out attacks on the Ukrainian state. The most dominant exclusion strategy is: Diffentiation – Indifferentiation with a presentation of 50%. Furthermore, the second dominant is Objectivation – Abstraction with a presentation of 25%. Furthermore, the third dominant is: Assimilation – Individualization and Association – Disassociation with the same presentation of 12.5%.

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