

Political Roasting as Social Criticism: Social Actor Strategies in Kiky Saputri's Resolusi Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Previous studies have examined political humor using Fairclough's critical discourse analysis or investigated social actor representation in news discourse through van Leeuwen's framework. However, little attention has been paid to how political roasting on mainstream television constructs social actor representation through the simultaneous use of inclusion and exclusion strategies. More importantly, existing studies rarely explain how these discursive strategies negotiate the tension between political criticism, media institutions, and symbolic power. This study addresses this gap by examining Kiky Saputri's political roasting in Resolusi Indonesia through Theo van Leeuwen's social actor representation framework. This study aims to analyze the social actor representation strategies in the political roasting delivered by Kiky Saputri in the 'Resolusi Indonesia' program at Metro Tv. The Focus is on the application of exclusion and inclusion strategies based on Theo van Leeuwen's social representation theory. This research employed a qualitative method with critical discourse analysis approach, particularly the inclusion and exclusion strategies. Data were collected through documentation of the program's recordings and analyzed to identify forms of representation and the meanings constructed. The findings show that Kiky Saputri tends to use inclusion strategies to highlight the involvement of the political elite, while employing exclusion strategies to obscure or reduce the legitimacy of that group. These results indicate that political roasting can serve as an effective medium for social criticism, though still bound by mainstream media discourse. This research contributes to political communication studies by offering new perspectives on comedy's role in shaping public opinion.

Keywords: Resolusi Indonesia; Critical Discourse Analysis; Exclusion; Inclusion; Kiky Saputri

INTRODUCTION

In an era where social media has become a primary channel for political communication, humor has proven to be an effective tool for capturing public attention and shaping perceptions of political leaders (Pamungkas et al., 2024). The shifting dynamics of Indonesian politics in 2024 have brought forth new practices in delivering criticism, one of which is through roasting in stand-up comedy. This phenomenon has emerged alongside the growth of the stand-up comedy community. In the political dimension, particularly political roasting, Kiky Saputri is an Indonesian female comedian born on October 22, 1993. A graduate of the State University of Jakarta (UNJ) with a background in education as a teacher, she became widely known as a stand-up comedian and actively appearing in various national television programs. Her

popularity began to rise after participating in *Stand Up Comedy Indonesia* (SUCI) on *Kompas TV*. Kiky is recognized for delivering social and political criticism through humor, especially roasting, which goes beyond ordinary jokes by including sharp satire directed at public figures, including officials and politicians.

Kiky's reputation in roasting is well established, she even earn the title "queen of roasting." She has headlined various shows featuring political roasting, targeting legislative candidates, ministers, and other officials. Although she is widely recognized for her success, her career has not unfolded as smoothly as it seems. One notable incident occurred when her roasting material for the presidential candidate pair Ganjar–Mahfud removed in a one sided decision without prior notice during the *Lapor Pak!* program on Net TV. This case became a unique phenomenon, as the use of roasting in stand-up comedy as a new campaign medium was deemed a blunder that damaged the pair's public image. Kiky expressed disappointment over the incident, arguing that it risked shaping public opinion to perceive her as a supporter of the pair due to differences between her intended material and what was aired. This incident continued to be referenced in her subsequent performances, both in formal and informal contexts. She mention this case in Denny Sumargo's "*Curhat Bang*" podcast, stating: "*When I met Mr. Ganjar, I had already asked for his permission, he said it was fine, but on the day of airing, my producer told me the material had been removed*"(Sumargo, 2025). This phenomenon makes it relevant to examine and analyze the discourse structure of Kiky Saputri's roasting.

Atif Saputra (2023) examined the social and cultural practices in Kiky Saputri's roasting of the Minister of State-Owned Enterprises Erick Thohir in *Lapor Pak!* using Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model. He found that the relationships between the mentioned figures corresponded to a third-person role, while the identities comprised: the first person as the stand-up comedian, the second person as the minister, and the third person as a famous Indonesian artist. However, Atif's study, which employed Fairclough's approach, focused only on the representation of social actors. By using van Leeuwen's approach, the analysis of social actor representation roles can be explored more deeply through its multimodal elements. As (Couldry, 2013) said, audience studies through media practice theory by defining media as communication infrastructures shaped by technological, economic, political, and social forces. This perspective examines how media are routinely and socially integrated into everyday life, emphasizing that such practices reflect human needs and raise ethical questions about how people live together.

Meanwhile, Rosdiana & Budiono (2024) applied Theo van Leeuwen's framework to identify exclusion and inclusion strategies in news coverage of the ACT embezzlement case in online media. In her findings, she found that the news texts on Tempo.co (July-August 2022) were framed as a corruption crime, namely the embezzlement of funds for the benefit of the foundation's executives by applying van Leeuwen's critical discourse analysis. This is an illustration of how van Leeuwen's framework can be used to uncover implicit messages in discourse and thus is appropriate to the current research. Another study that analyzed the rhetorical styles on Bintang Emon's humor was conducted by Riska Rahman (2021) using Fairclough's critical discourse analysis. Their research showed that humor is not only a mode of subjective entertainment, but also a mode of social criticism.

These studies discussed social criticism in comedy or representation strategies in media discourse. However, the phenomenon of political roasting in Indonesian stand-up comedy,

especially Kiky Saputri, has evolved into an interesting and new form of social criticism. This style mixes humor, satire and direct interaction with public figures, reaching wider audiences than conventional criticism. However, although it is a potential new tool for public critique, academic research on this phenomenon is limited, particularly from the perspective of critical discourse analysis. However, no research has been done on political roasting narratives on television with the approach of Theo van Leeuwen to explore power relations between political elites and civil society.

The current situation before 2024 election where roasting was part of television programs such as 'Resolusi Indonesia' creates a new space to analyze social criticism discourse. This study aims to fill the gap by analyzing Kiky Saputri's roasting narrative in 'Resolusi Indonesia' on Metro TV, focusing on social representation strategies as theorized by van Leeuwen. It adds to a better understanding of how social criticism is represented through popular media and how power relations are constructed, maintained or challenged through roasting in the public sphere.

Metro TV is owned by Surya Paloh, a political figure and Chairman of the NasDem Party known for his close political ties to Anies Baswedan. In the case of elections this relationship can affect the direction and framing of the station's coverage. Although mass media often claim neutrality, ownership by political actors can create structural bias, a tendency to show positive images of politically aligned groups and to downplay or hide those that could be detrimental to them.

This study, based on the use of Theo van Leeuwen's Critical Discourse Analysis, assumes that there are certain social representation strategies used in the roasting narratives, especially through inclusion and exclusion mechanisms in describing certain groups, both political elites and civil society. The working hypothesis is that television media as a discursive space is not completely neutral, but frames criticism in a way that is aligned with hegemonic interests. So the criticism that comedians give can have a different meaning depending on the institutional context and power dynamics surrounding it. Based on this hypothesis, the study aims to analyze the construction of roasting narratives in 'Resolusi Indonesia' using van Leeuwen's social representation framework to track the way critical messages are accommodated, constrained, or even eliminated from coverage.

To understand how such framing processes occurred, a conceptual framework is needed that can explain how social actors or groups are represented in discourse. This makes the theory of social representation relevant, as it refers to the way a group or individual is represented in discourse so as to construct some meanings in the public perception. Social representation in texts doesn't only involve identifying who is present, but also how they are portrayed or omitted through various linguistic and semiotic strategies (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2010). Such representation is important in understanding power relations because it determines who is considered significant, who is ignored, and how their roles are framed in a narrative. In the context of discourse analysis, social representation can be used to examine how certain groups, such as political elites or civil society are symbolically presented, whether through inclusion or exclusion strategies in media discourse.

Accordingly, this study employs elements such as nomination and role allocation as part of inclusion strategies, as well as backgrounding and suppression as part of exclusion strategies. Through these strategies, it's possible to analyze how Kiky Saputri shapes discourse

in her narratives through mechanisms of social representation that involve both inclusion and exclusion dimensions.

In this research context, roasting defined as a form of humor that deliberately delivers mockery or satire toward certain individuals or groups is used as the object of analysis to assess how role representation processes happened. In a social context, roasting is not merely entertainment but can also serve as a medium for critique towards power, public policy, or ongoing social issues. As stated by Riswara (Riswara, 2024), *“roasting in stand-up comedy is a technique involving jokes that mock or ridicule a person, yet still aim to entertain the audience”*. Through witty and satirical delivery, roasting can carries public concerns about social inequality or elite behavior without having to express them directly or confrontationally. And by the development of media, roasting has become increasingly popular as an alternative form of criticism that is more easily accepted by the public, particularly the younger generation. Therefore, in this study, roasting is positioned as a symbolic form of social critique, in which comedians like Kiky Saputri not only entertain but also represent the voice of civil society in delivering criticism toward dominant groups.

The phenomenon of roasting as a medium of social criticism has developed significantly alongside the simultaneous general elections in Indonesia. During that period, various issues emerged regarding the silencing of parties who vocally expressed criticism. However, roasting in stand-up comedy differs in and continues to be accepted by the public as a form of social critique. This is because, although roasting often contains sharp and critical material, the roasting delivery used light humour techniques and making it easier to be accepted by the general public.

Consequently, roasting has rapidly evolved into a new medium for producing public discourse, especially on political themes. Roasting has been widely performed through various media, one of which is mass media. In current time, mass media isn't only serves as an information channel but also as a site of meaning production saturated with power relations. From a critical perspective, media often functions as a tool of symbolic domination used by interest groups to maintain their hegemony. Media possesses symbolic power capable of influencing the public's thought structure through the discourses it presents. In the context of political roasting on television, media holds the authority to determine which criticisms can be aired and which are to be censored. In other words, media is not entirely neutral but plays a role in controlling the extent to which social criticism can be consumed by the public. This relationship between media and power is crucial to analyze because it affects how narratives, such as Kiky Saputri's roasting are framed, adjusted, or even cut to serve certain interests.

One phenomenon that illustrates the power relations in media discourse production can be seen in the case involving Kiky Saputri, in which her roasting material directed at the presidential candidate pair Ganjar–Mahfud in the *‘Lapor Pak!’* program on Net TV was removed unilaterally caused by pressure from the successor of the candidate pair. Although the media was not the primary actor in this censorship, the decision to remove the segment demonstrated the media's vulnerability to political pressure. This case presents its own irony, as Kiky Saputri despite openly supporting the Prabowo–Gibran pair attempted to present balanced criticism toward all candidate pairs through her roasting. This case shows that although roasting is packaged as comedy, critical discourse that targets the political elite still risks controlled by the media, as its distribution channel, does not always have the freedom to preserve it.

This phenomenon is also discussed by Ach Syihab Arya (Satya, 2023), who explains that freedom of expression is in fact regulated in Indonesia's positive law, as stipulated in the fourth amendment to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Article 28E paragraph (3), which states that "*every person shall have the right to freedom of association, assembly, and expression of opinion.*" Nevertheless, criticism, whether stemming from the comedian's own concerns or from those of society often becomes a boomerang for the comedian. Based on this explanation.

METHOD

The subject of this research is a video entitled "*TANPA DICUT! Kiky Saputri dan Ate Roasting AMIN #RESOLUSIINDONESIA*", uploaded on Metro TV's YouTube channel on January 5, 2024. The object of the study is the roasting discourse produced by Kiky Saputri in the Anies Baswedan and Cak Imin roasting segment in the '*Resolusi Indonesia*' program. This object is analyzed using a qualitative research method with Theo van Leeuwen's critical discourse analysis approach. According to (Creswell & Poth, 2018), the qualitative approach aims to understand phenomena experienced by research subjects such as behaviors, perceptions, motivations, and actions, through descriptive data expressed in words or language to explain a particular context. The researcher chose the qualitative method because, when combined with Leeuwen's critical discourse analysis approach, it aligns with the aim of revealing how social representations are constructed through Kiky Saputri's roasting narrative, particularly in terms of multimodality and inclusion exclusion dimensions.

In this study, the researcher used the documentation data collection technique. The research object was taken from the data source, namely the video "*TANPA DICUT! Kiky Saputri dan Ate Roasting AMIN #RESOLUSIINDONESIA*" uploaded on Metro TV's YouTube channel on January 5, 2024. The researcher extracted every roasting discourse delivered by Kiky Saputri in the segment roasting Anies Baswedan and Cak Imin in the '*Resolusi Indonesia*' program on Metro TV, transcribed it verbatim into written form, and then analyzed it using the media text analysis technique with Theo van Leeuwen's social representation strategy approach. This study selects the *roasting* segment as the object of analysis because it contains elements of social criticism conveyed through humor. A total of 18 units of analysis were identified, consisting of 10 narrative excerpts from the roasting of Anies Baswedan and 8 narrative excerpts from the roasting of Cak Imin. Each unit represents one complete joke containing a coherent critical message, including its setup, punchline, and relevant multimodal cues (e.g., gestures, intonation, and facial expressions), which were analyzed as an integrated discourse event. Media text analysis is the process of examining and interpreting messages conveyed through various forms of media, such as news, advertisements, films, and others, to understand their meaning, structure, and influence. Media texts are not limited to written words, but also encompass all forms of communicative expression, including images, sounds, and other visual elements (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2016; Sobur, 2012).

RESULTS

Based on the analysis, the researcher found that the study reveals how the process of social representations are carried out by Kiky in her roasting performance. One example occurs when Kiky said, "*What? Display case? Wait, let me look it up on Google, the terminology of...*"

while making a gesture as if using a mobile phone and imitating the distinctive speaking style of Anies Baswedan. Through this narration she doesn't explicitly mention the name of the figure, yet through the gesture as an impersonation technique and the structure of the joke, the audience can recognize who is being criticized. This technique can be categorized as a form of suppression (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2021), an exclusion strategy in which the figure is removed from the narration but is still implicitly represented. In this context, the use of impersonation and speaking style becomes an effective tool for the non-dominant group (comedians) to safely express resistance toward the elite power group, without explicitly stating the political figure's name or position.

The unit of analysis in this study is one complete roasting joke (roasting sequence) rather than an individual sentence. A roasting sequence consists of a setup and its corresponding punchline that together construct a single critical message directed toward a particular political actor. This unit was selected because social actor representation, as conceptualized by Theo van Leeuwen, is often realized across a complete humorous sequence through linguistic choices, contextual references, gestures, and visual performance rather than through isolated sentences. Accordingly, each roasting sequence was treated as one analytical unit and coded according to the inclusion and exclusion strategies identified in van Leeuwen's framework. Using these criteria, the study identified 18 units of analysis, comprising 10 roasting sequences targeting Anies Baswedan and 8 roasting sequences targeting Muhaimin Iskandar (Cak Imin).

Table 1

Form of the suppression strategy application.

VISUAL	NARRATION
	Apa? Etalase? Bentar saya cari dulu di google, terminologi... <i>What? Display case? Wait, let me look it up on Google, the terminology of...</i>

Source: Data analysis result.

In another moment, Kiky said, “*we know that Mr. Anies is skillfull, skilled at answering, skilled at choosing words, but not skilled at choosing his pairing.*” This joke is an example of the backgrounding strategy (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2021), which involves concealing the targeted social actor within the narrative. In this context, Kiky explicitly criticizes Anies Baswedan for his perceived inability to choose a suitable vice-presidential candidate, while implicitly also criticizing Cak Imin's qualifications—without explicitly mentioning his name in the narration. According to van Leeuwen, the backgrounding technique allows a social actor to remain implicitly present in discourse, enabling critique or judgment without making a direct reference.

Table 2

Form of the backgrounding strategy application.

VISUAL	NARRATION
	<i>we know that Mr. Anies is skillfull, skilled at answering, skilled at choosing words, but not skilled at choosing his pairing</i>

Source: Data analysis result.

In one moment, Kiky delivered a joke saying, “*One sells sarung, the other one sells words, right?*” This joke is a perfect example of the role allocation strategy, used to expose both actors, Anies Baswedan through the phrase “*selling words*” and Cak Imin through the phrase “*sells sarung*.” Although neither actor is not mentioned directly, Kiky employs symbols that associated with them, allowing the narration to remain light in tone while still delivering a sharp satirical edge to include them into the narration.

Table 3

Form of role allocation strategy application.

VISUAL	NARRATION
	Yang satu jualan sarung, yang satu jualan kata-kata <i>One sells sarung, the other one sells words, right?</i>

Source: Data analysis result.

In another moment, Kiky said, “*hoping to become the president, sir?*” This joke reflects the use of a double nomination strategy (van Leeuwen, 2008), where two social actors are implicitly brought into the discourse. The word “*Sir*” serves as an indirect form of nomination to include Anies Baswedan as subject of the critique. Although his name is not explicitly mentioned, the narrative context and Kiky’s distinctive gestures, such as her speaking style and body expressions clearly point to Anies. On the other hand, the phrase “*Pak Ngarep*” also brings in figure from the opposition side, Kaesang Pangarep, functioning as a narrative bridge to construct her joke. The use of these two actors enriches the critical dimension through a comparative technique that is humorous yet remains sharp in discourse.

Table 4

Form of nomination strategy application.

VISUAL	NARRATION
	Pak <i>ngarep</i> ya jadi presiden? <i>hoping to become the president, sir?</i>

Source: Data analysis result.

DISCUSSION

After conducting an analysis using Theo van Leeuwen's critical discourse analysis approach on 18 narratives, the researcher concluded that Kiky Saputri, in the roasting segment of '*Resolusi Indonesia*' program, consistently employed inclusion strategies, particularly role allocation, to present political figures. This is reflected in the data, showing that Kiky always represented the roles of the social actors through her narrations. On the other hand, in her roasting, Kiky also frequently used the backgrounding strategy to obscure the identity of the roasted actors, particularly Anies Baswedan. Nevertheless, Kiky still affirmed actor whos being criticized through the full context of the discourse.

Based on the finding, it can be understood that Kiky Saputri consistently applied social actor representation strategies in both inclusion and exclusion forms. The use of inclusion strategies such as role allocation and nomination shows how Kiky actively featured dominant groups in her narrative. Rather than explicitly naming political figures, Kiky Saputri frequently employed indirect lexical references, abbreviated names, and humorous nicknames. The interpretation of these expressions was based on the immediate interactional context, including the sequential flow of the performance, accompanying gestures, audience responses, and the broader political context surrounding the event. Because these references were intentionally implicit, the analysis treats them as probable social actor representations rather than unequivocal identifications. This approach is consistent with van Leeuwen's notion that social actors may be represented indirectly through linguistic and contextual cues rather than explicit naming. The nickname "Bowo", which may allude to Prabowo Subianto within the immediate interactional context. Or, the phrase "Pak-ngarep" is interpreted as an indirect nomination strategy. This interpretation is not based solely on lexical similarity but also on the surrounding performance context, including Kiky Saputri's delivery, facial expression, timing of the punchline, and audience reaction. Nevertheless, because the political actor is never explicitly named, the reference remains implicit rather than definitive.

Meanwhile, exclusion strategies such as suppression and backgrounding were used to control the discourse she delivered in order to keep the politeness border. Anies Baswedan and Cak Imin, as the main subject of the roasting discourse in this research, were sometimes

concealed through phrases like “*Pak*” to avoid direct mention or appearance in the narrative, or by completely removing their presence from the discourse context.

In addition, Kiky often concealed their presence in the overall discourse, so even without explicitly mentioning the social actors that are being criticized, she could still represent them through various strategies such as linguistic plays, gestures, and gimmicks to allow sharp criticism to be delivered while maintaining a sense of safety and politeness toward the criticized social actors, in this case, the more dominant political elites. The dominance of role allocation in her narratives indicates that Kiky chose to present criticism in an indirect yet sharp manner. This strategy shows her tendency to construct narratives prioritizing humor while retaining satire’s social function as a tool of criticism against the ruling elites. This is in line with Kiky’s unique comedic style, which not only entertains but also has ideological meaning behind each joke, a kind of compromise between critical expression and the limitations of mainstream media spaces.

The findings in this analysis provide a broader and more nuanced view compared to the research of Atif Saputra (2023) who studied a similar subject and object, namely Kiky Saputri in the ‘Lapor Pak!’ program using the approach of critical discourse analysis Norman Fairclough. The deployment of van Leeuwen’s framework offers a broader perspective in understanding how roasting in stand-up comedy operates in the political sphere (Yesicha, 2023, 2025). The results of the study indicate that stand-up comedy roasting can be an alternative medium to subtly and comically voice criticism against dominant groups. Not only does this strategy decrease the resistance of those who are being criticized, but also increases the public attention in political discourses which were not common before in Indonesia. More generally, this signals a change in the way society criticizes and criticizes. It also symbolically represents a form of symbolic resistance against dominant groups, this time, high-profile political elites such as Anies Baswedan. This shift can be interpreted as progresses of democracy practices in Indonesia, with the incorporation of popular culture such as stand-up comedy, particularly political roasting.

This finding aligns with previous research using van Leeuwen’s representational dimensions in a different context. Ananda (2024) observed similar patterns of social actor inclusion presented a positive representation of political figures, emphasizing constructive traits and favorable public perceptions. In contrast, this study finds that Kiky, through her roasting discourse, reveals social practices in the form of ideology and representation toward Prabowo Subianto and Ahok from the perspective of society, with some even interpreting Ahok’s tough and controversial leadership style as a form of fairness and transparency., suggesting a consistent discursive strategy across genres.

During the research process, the author discovered an interesting phenomenon, which Metro TV, owned by Surya Paloh, a political figure and owner of Media Group, known to have close political ties with Anies Baswedan, who was previously nominated by his party, NasDem, as a presidential candidate in the 2024 election. This means that media ownership by political actors like Surya Paloh can naturally raises questions about the independence and objectivity of the media. In this regard, it is important to recognize that media are not always in a neutral position, as this indicates the potential for possibility bias in political representation, where the media tend to provide more positive portrayals of figures within the owner’s political sphere of interest. In this case, the ‘*Resolusi Indonesia*’ program aired on Metro TV.

However, Metro TV featured Kiky Saputri, who at the time was openly known to support the Prabowo–Gibran, which positioned her in opposition to the Anies–Cak Imin camp. Based on this context, the researcher found that featuring Kiky as the roaster of Anies–Cak Imin could act as a double-edged sword: it could damage the public image of Anies Baswedan and Cak Imin, but on the other hand, it could also serve as a beneficial tool. With the right framing, the fact that Anies Baswedan and Cak Imin were openly criticized by an opposition supporter could be used to portray them as ideal leaders, ones who are not opposed to criticism, even if it comes from political rivals.

Therefore, the inclusion of Kiky Saputri, a critic from the opposition in ‘*Resolusi Indonesia*’ can be seen as a brilliant strategy by those in coalition with Anies Baswedan, in this case Metro TV. The role of Metro TV here functions as a spin doctor. A spin doctor is a person whose role and responsibility is to determine strategies in the arena of political power struggles. In Indonesia, spin doctors are more commonly known as campaign managers or heads of winning teams, who direct public opinion in shaping the image of a candidate (Aryadillah & Fitriansyah, 2022; Kumar, 2008)). In the context, hosting the ‘*Resolusi Indonesia*’ program at a perfectly timed moment when the issue of freedom of expression was particularly hot. In other words, what could have been a weapon for the Prabowo–Gibran side instead became a weapon for the Anies–Cak Imin side, as with the right discourse, this could become a key factor in their political campaign’s success.

Media discourse functions not only as a reflection of reality but also as an ideological mechanism that shapes political legitimacy through selective narratives. The reporting on Hasan Shaikh (2026) fall by The Daily Star indicates how free media can align with elite and transnational agendas, potentially constraining local political agency.

The results of this study indicate that Kiky Saputri’s through her political roasting in ‘*Resolusi Indonesia*’ has opened new way to makes use of social actor representation strategies aligned with Theo van Leeuwen’s framework, particularly inclusion and exclusion strategies. These strategies are a way of entertainment, but also a way of social criticism. This allows civil society to intervene symbolically in the public discourse. This supports the idea that political humor is a way of participating in politics indirectly.

Thus, the implication of this research lies in understanding how representation strategies in roasting contribute to the dynamics of power between dominant groups and civil society. This research opens new space in the discourse on freedom of opinion and expression, particularly through political comedy in the form of stand-up comedy (Kraxberger & Prakken, 2025; Oppliger & Anderson, 2025). And these implications concern the future role and relevance of political comedy, contributing to an evolving understanding of the functions political comedy performs within the contemporary media system (Kraxberger & Prakken, 2025; Leicht, 2023). Based on van Leeuwen’s approach to analyze social actor representation strategies, this study shows that satirical humor such as roasting can be an alternative way of delivering criticism to dominant groups in an effective way and reducing resistance. It also broadens our understanding of the ways in which practices of popular culture such as stand-up comedy can become incorporated into spaces of democracy and symbolic resistance to hegemonic power. So it is important for us to know how popular culture grows and how we can take advantage of it in everyday life, especially as a way to transmit criticism in a lighter, more accessible form.

The findings should not be interpreted as direct evidence of Metro TV's political intention. Rather, they indicate that the institutional context of media ownership may shape the conditions under which political criticism is produced and circulated. Future studies combining discourse analysis with media production research or interviews with producers are needed to examine this relationship. This study extends van Leeuwen's social actor framework by demonstrating that inclusion and exclusion strategies operate simultaneously within humorous political discourse. Rather than functioning merely as representational devices, these strategies enable comedians to balance criticism, audience engagement, and institutional constraints.

CONCLUSION

Thus, the use of roasting in stand-up comedy is a new form of socio-political critique in Indonesia. This method makes it possible to express sharp criticism in a light-hearted and humorous manner, thus making it more accessible to the general public. In this case, Kiky Saputri has an important role as a representative of the civil society group that dares to challenge the political elite, especially Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar as presidential and vice-presidential candidate in the 2024 Election. Kiky's performance helps to consolidate stand-up comedy as a legitimate medium of critique in the democratic space. Inclusion strategies are present, such as role allocation and nomination, showing how Kiky actively places dominant groups in her narrative. For example, the word "Bowo" to refer to Prabowo, the phrase "Pak-ngarep" to refer to Kaesang Pangarep, and the explicit use of the name "Agus" to refer to Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono. However, exclusion strategies such as suppression and backgrounding are used to manage the discourse that she delivers in the meantime. In some cases, Anies Baswedan and Cak Imin are covered up in the generic forms of "Pak" and not overtly present or directly named in her roasting discourse. Moreover, Kiky often does not include them in the narrative at all, but manages to evoke them through a number of strategies, including linguistic play, gestures and comedic gimmicks. She is able to give sharp criticism in this way, and to do it in a safe and polite way to the social actors that are criticized, in this case the more dominant political elites.

The analysis of stand-up comedy roasting discourse is still relatively novel in academic fields, especially in the framework of critical discourse studies. The researcher recognizes that a limitation exists in the multimodal variety of the research subject, which is the use of a televised recording of a roasting segment, such as visual expressions, audio nuances, and direct responses from the audience. Therefore, it is recommended for future research to use more visually and audio diverse objects such as live performances or interactive digital content to provide richer interpretive possibilities when applying the critical discourse analysis approach of Theo van Leeuwen.

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