

**IDEOLOGICAL SQUARE OF THE INDONESIAN
PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE ON 13 APRIL 2019:
A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

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JULIANTO KURNIAWAN
1641004

**ENGLISH DEPARTMENT
FACULTY OF LANGUAGES AND CULTURES
MARANATHA CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY
BANDUNG
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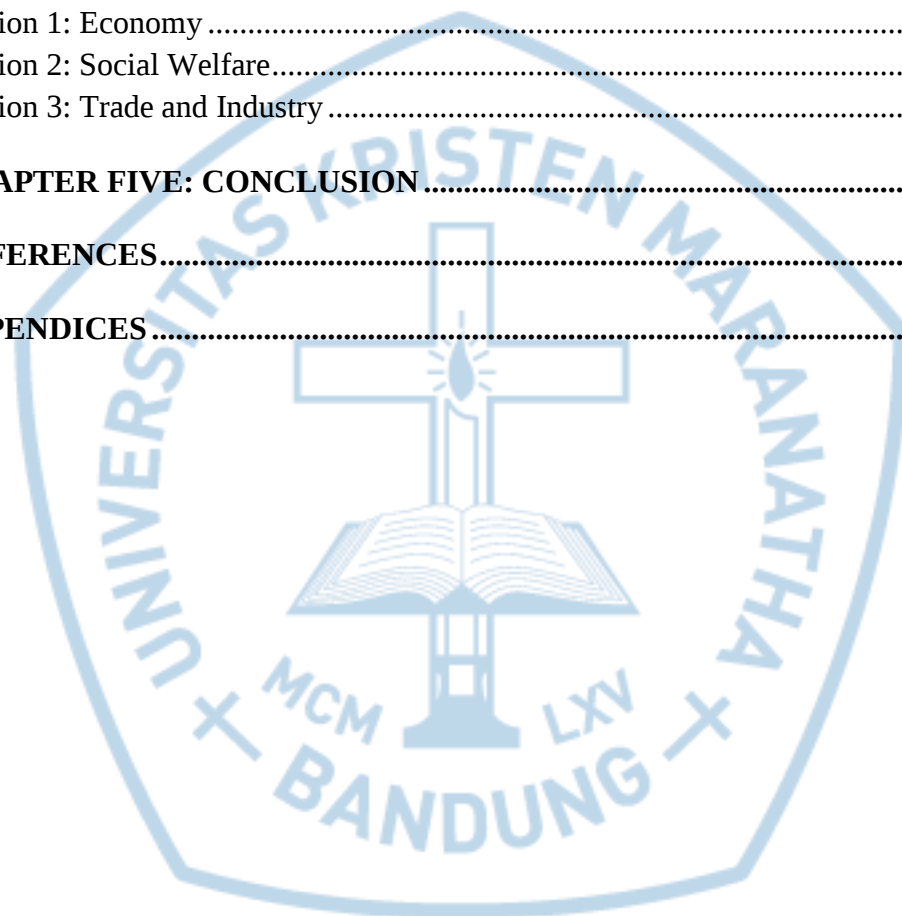
ABSTRACT

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis kategori ideologis yang digunakan dalam sebuah debat pemilihan Calon Presiden dan Wakil Presiden Republik Indonesia dalam mempertahankan dan menyerang argumen-argumen yang dilontarkan dengan menggunakan teori van Dijk (2006). Metode penelitian yang digunakan dalam analisis ini adalah metode kualitatif deskriptif. Dalam analisis ini ditemukan bahwa kedua Calon Presiden dan Wakil Presiden RI menggunakan banyak kategori ideologis untuk menonjolkan hal positif untuk dirinya dan hal negatif untuk lawannya atau disebut dengan *ideological square*. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa Calon Presiden dan Wakil Presiden nomor urut satu lebih banyak menonjolkan sisi positifnya dengan menggunakan kategori pembuktian dan contoh, sedangkan Calon Presiden dan Wakil Presiden nomor urut dua lebih banyak menekankan sisi negatif dan positifnya dengan menggunakan kategori generalisasi dan penyanggahan. Analisis ini diharapkan dapat menambah pengetahuan pembaca mengenai kategori dan *ideological square* yang digunakan dalam debat.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Every day we always face the policies and rules that control human behaviour in society. All those policies and rules cannot be established without a human group in society; moreover, a large group and organization such as citizens, community councils, and political parties take part in this process in making ideas or thoughts become an ideology as a system of beliefs.

In the political society, the ideas from a group of people are called ideology; people have the ideology that can lead them into beliefs. According to Marxist (as cited in H. Duncan, n.d.), ideology is a set of ideas and beliefs that are dominant in a society and are used to justify the privilege of the ruling class, and it is always associated with the political system, such as liberalism, socialism, conservatism, etc. Besides, van Dijk (2000) states that “ideology in society is a group idea that is not merely acquired and represented by an individual, but socially learned and collectively represented by a group of people because they have ideas in common.”

To discuss a particular subject, such as a political ideology; the group of people usually does the communication between them in society through a written text or spoken language, which is called a discourse. As written in *Collin Dictionary* (n.d.) “discourse is spoken or written communication between people, especially serious discussion of a particular subject.” To reveal the underlying meaning of a discourse, the approach that can be used is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which is developed by a Dutch linguist, Teun A. van Dijk. According to van Dijk (1995, p. 17), CDA is an approach to text and talk to investigate language in a socio-politically conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, discourse and communication. Furthermore, the role of CDA in society focuses on group relation, power, dominance, and inequality and how a discourse is reproduced and resisted by a social group (van Dijk, 1995). Hence, it is important to use a discourse analytical approach to reveal the ideology underlying a text or speech.

To be more specific in revealing the ideology underlying in a discourse, van Dijk (2000) applies a tool called ‘ideological square’ which classifies the ideology in a discourse into four basic principles, namely emphasizing the positive self, emphasizing negative other, de-emphasizing positive other, and de-emphasizing negative self.

Furthermore, these four basic principles are identified through some tools called ‘ideological categories’ (van Dijk, 2000), which help in classifying the utterances of the participants. The utterance is classified into a certain category such as Generalization, Consensus, Disclaimers, Counterfactuals, etc. before the ideological square basic principles can be determined.

In this thesis I choose the data source from Indonesian Presidential Debate 2019. A debate is one type of discourse because it involves formal communication between people and a debate itself becomes the subject of the discourse. Based on *Collins Dictionary* (n.d.) a debate is a formal situation in order to discuss and express different opinions of a particular subject. The Indonesian Presidential Debate 2019 involves two candidates who are competing to get the president's chair of Indonesia. The first candidates are Joko Widodo and Ma'aruf Amin and the second candidates are Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno. The debate itself is divided into several sections and each section has various themes; the first debate was on 17 January 2019, the second on 17 February 2019, the third on 17 March 2019, the fourth on 30 March 2019, and the fifth on 13 April 2019.

The reason why I take this data to be analyzed in my thesis is because the presidential debate has many ideological beliefs that underlie the debate section of Joko Widodo and Ma'aruf Amin, and Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno. Thus, from this debate section, I would like to identify the ideological category of each statement of the candidates and determine the ideological square of the two pairs of candidates in order to find out the strategies used by each party, which is Jokowi's party and Prabowo's party.

By doing this analysis, I hope that it can give a new insight to the readers and help them to be more critical in understanding a discourse. I also hope this thesis can be a useful reference for further researchers in Critical Discourse Analysis.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The problems that are analysed in this thesis are as follows:

1. What are the ideological categories that are used in the Indonesian presidential debate?
2. How are the ideological categories used to support any of the four basic principles of the ideological square?

1.3 Purpose of the Study

Based on the statement of the problem above, the analysis is done for the following purposes:

1. to identify the ideological categories that are used in the Indonesian presidential debate.
2. to find out how the ideological categories used support any of the four basic principles of the ideological square.

1.4 Organization of the Thesis

In this thesis there are five chapters. The first chapter is Introduction, which is divided into Background of the Study, Statement of the Problem, Purpose of the Study and Organization of the Thesis. The second chapter is Literature Review, which explains the theories that I use in my thesis together with a review of a previous study. The third chapter is Methods of Research, which is divided into Research Design, Data Collection Technique, Framework

for Analysis, and Data Analysis. The fourth chapter contains the findings and discussion regarding my data analysis. The fifth chapter is Conclusion, in which I conclude all the findings and give my personal opinions. At last, References and Appendices are put at the end of the thesis.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter I am going to elaborate further the theory and terms that are used in my analysis. The theory is taken from *Ideology and Discourse* (van Dijk, 2006), which focuses on the ideological discourse structure, more specifically the ideological square.

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

According to Fairclough (1995, as cited in Nasser & Marzieh, 2010, p. 56), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a branch of Discourse Analysis that has been developed and that sees discourse as a form of social practice. It studies how language mediates and represents the world from different points of view. The social practice that is meant by Fairclough is related to van Dijk's theories (2006) regarding the social practices such as power abuse, dominance, and inequality in a text which are enacted, reproduced, and resisted. Furthermore, CDA functions to analyze a discourse, either it is written or spoken, in order to find out the ideologies underlying it (O'Halloran, 2005, as cited in Nasser & Marzieh, 2010).

Based on van Dijk (2000, as cited in Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010, p. 59), there are two main strategies that underlie the ideology of a discourse, namely positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. The positive self and negative other-presentation discourse will predict the following ideological structure in discourse (van Dijk, n.d., p. 144).

2.2 Ideological Square

In a discourse there must be an ideological structure that underlies it. Ideologies are used either explicitly which is quite easily detected, or implicitly, very indirectly, or concealed, which makes the ideologies hard to detect and there are some hidden meanings that can be revealed (van Dijk, 2000).

As written in *Ideology and Discourse* (van Dijk, 2000), in ideology the meaning of an utterance written in a text or talk has a big role in concluding what the speaker's ideology stands at. Thus, semantic meaning and style is more likely affected by ideology than morphology. This is because morphology deals with word-formation while semantics deals with word meaning that has been recognized before in every human being; the word that comes to our mind along with its definition for the first time can be portrayed positively or negatively, it also depends on the speaker's point of view about the word. "In other words, we need to look for those properties of discourse that mostly show the ideological variations of underlying context models, event models, and social attitudes" (van Dijk, 2000).

In an ideological discourse, especially in a debate, there are requirements for each group to emphasize who we are and what we have that others do not. The group of each party should distinguish what we have (Us) and others (Them) do not have by comparing our actions, aims, norms and our resources like ideas or evidences. We basically refer to ‘ourselves’ positively and others negatively, which is also called group identity. In addition, to make the distinction more easily, van Dijk (2000) formulates the strategy into four principles, as follows: emphasize positive things about Us, emphasize negative things about Them, de-emphasize negative things about Us, de-emphasize positive things about Them.

These four possibilities form a conceptual square, which is called the ‘ideological square’ (van Dijk, 2000). The basic principles of the ideological square can be applied to all levels of discourse structure that the use of the principles is to distinguish our good things and their bad things.

2.3 Ideological Categories

The ideologies and representation are somehow not explicitly showed in a discourse. Moreover, the use of ideology categorization in the discourse can bring various levels of analysis, which can be classified into more than one category. Hence, to be more detailed and clearer, below are some ideological categories and examples.

2.3.1 Argumentation

According to van Dijk (2006), argumentation is used to determine our standpoint and tries to make it more acceptable, credible, or truthful in order to sustain the chosen point of view.

Example:

“It is cold, close the door.” (Anscombe & Ducrot, 1988, p. 3, as cited in Amossy).

The argument in this utterance is the words “It is cold” and it is acceptable for the people who are in the same room as the speaker. Furthermore, the utterance elevates the credibility for the hearers through the argument that someone in the room should close the door. In this example, the speaker tries to determine his standpoint and make the others agree that they have to close the door because it makes the people in the room feel cold.

2.3.2 Actor Description

The purpose of Actor Description is to investigate what an actor can be referred to as a group or individual, group name, role, function, as specific or unspecific based on their action.

Example:

In one case, a man from Romania, who came over here on a coach tour for a football match--if the hon. Member for Perth and Kinross (Ms Cunningham) would listen she would hear practical examples--decided

that he did not want to go back, declared himself an asylum seeker and is still here four years later. He has never done a stroke of work in his life.

Why should someone who is elderly and who is scraping along on their basic income have to support people in those circumstances? (Gorman, C).
(van Dijk, 2000)

In this case, the man from Romania is represented as an individual. He does not want to go back, but he stays in the country, and he prefers to be called an *asylum seeker*. Based on what it is told in the statement, we can categorize this man as negative.

2.3.3 Counterfactuals

Counterfactual is an ideological category whose purpose is to make the readers imagine a particular event that does not happen. In addition, the use of counterfactuals in the discourse is to persuade the readers and ask for some empathy (van Dijk, 2000, p. 66).

Example:

“I suggest that he start to think more seriously about human rights issues.

Suppose he had to flee this country because an oppressive regime had taken over. Where would he go? Presumably he would not want help from anyone else, because he does not believe that help should be given to anyone else (Corbyn, L).” (van Dijk, 2000, p. 66)

In the example above, the speaker makes the audience imagine and feel the situation that does not literally happen by using the words *suppose* and *presumably*. The speaker wants the audience to feel emphatic about his bad condition if he has to flee the country, which actually does not really happen (van Dijk, 2000).

2.3.4 Disclaimer

Disclaimer is an ideological category in responding to one's idea positively and then giving an opposite idea in the second sentence by using 'but' as one of the rejecting terms (van Dijk, 2000).

Example:

"I did not say that every eastern European's application for asylum in this country was bogus. However... (Gorman, C)." (van Dijk, 2000, p. 67).

By saying 'I did not say' the speaker uses a hedge in order to save face; the main point usually comes in the second statement whose purpose is to make a negative image of the other party (van Dijk, 2000).

2.3.5 Evidentiality

A speaker's purpose of using Evidentiality in a discourse is to give proofs or evidence in order to convince the hearers about a particular subject.

Example:

According to the magistrate court yesterday, she has cost the British taxpayer £40,000. She was arrested, of course, for stealing (Gorman, C.).
(van Dijk, 2000, p. 69)

Gorman mentions the evidence given by the magistrate court which is reliable and trustworthy. Besides, she adds some additional information about the evidence that the woman who costs the British taxpayer for £40,000 and gives another piece of information that she was arrested.

2.3.6 Example

Example is an ideological category whose purpose is to make a powerful move in an argumentation. The example is usually in the form of vignette or short story (van Dijk, 2000).

Example:

“The Daily Mail today reports the case of a woman from Russia who has managed to stay in Britain for five years. According to the magistrates’ court yesterday, she has cost the British taxpayer £40,000. She was arrested, of course, for stealing (Gorman, C).” (van Dijk, 2000, p. 69)

The speaker in this text gives an example or evidence about the news with the intention of supporting the main idea of his utterance (van Dijk, 2000).

2.3.7 Generalization

The purpose of Generalization in one's arguments is to make the concrete events generalized thus making the claim broader. However, the use of generalization usually comes with an example in the argument. (van Dijk, 2000).

Example:

"I heard about many other of similar cases (Corbyn, L)." (van Dijk, 2000, p. 72)

The text above is generalized. He states by saying the word 'many other similar cases' which basically does not explain which particular cases he talks about because it shows plurality and not specific enough (van Dijk, 2000).

2.3.8 History as Lesson

History as Lesson is an ideological category which is useful in an argumentation because it can show the present situations and compare them to the negative or positive history (van Dijk, 2000, p. 73).

Example:

History shows that unless we stand up for human rights wherever they are abused around the world, eventually it will come back and one human rights will be abused. (van Dijk, 2000, p. 73)

In the example above, it can be learned from history that if no one of us stands up for human rights, the human rights will be abused again.

2.3.9 Hyperbole

The function of Hyperbole in a discourse is to exaggerate or enhance the meaning of a speaker's statement (van Dijk, 2000).

Example:

“Opening the flood gates.” (Ms. Gorman). (van Dijk, 2000)

In this statement, Ms. Gorman says “Opening the flood gates”, which is a metaphor and implies that there are so many asylum seekers who come to the country. The word *flood* is usually depicted with a big amount of water. Thus, in the statement, Ms. Gorman wants to say that there is a big number of asylum seekers in the country (van Dijk, 2000).

2.3.10 Implication

The use of implication in an argument is to deduce and infer implicit information. A speaker does not need to say everything they know or believe; thus, they speak it implicitly (van Dijk, 2000).

Example:

... I have to hug mothers in rope lines during town hall meetings as they weep over their fallen sons and daughters. **I want to get our troops home safely**, and I want us as a country to have this mission completed honorably. ... (Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010, p. 74)

This is Barrack Obama's speech in the presidential debate on January 31, 2008. The context of this debate is about the continuation of war in Iraq where America put its soldiers there. Barack Obama says that **"I want to get our troops home safely"**, which implies that the American soldiers put in Iraq are unsafe because they are in a war and worried about not being capable of going home safely (Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010).

2.3.11 Level of Description

The purpose of Level of Description in a discourse is giving a detailed and specific description about a particular subject. "We will usually be more specific about good things about us and about the bad things of the other, and vice versa -- remain pretty vague and general if it is talking about our failures." (van Dijk, 2000).

Example:

"We may simply speak of 'police violence', that is, in rather general and abstract terms, or we may 'go down' to specifics and spell out what precisely the police did." (van Dijk, 2000)

In the example above, we assume that the police in the example do violence to someone. A writer or speaker of this discourse may generalize the issue and only say "Police violence" or if the writer or speaker wants to be more specific and detailed, they need to specify what the police precisely did.

2.3.12 Number Game

The purpose of Number Game category in a discourse is to give a number and statistics of a particular subject so that it can increase the credibility of the hearers. Besides, the number can emphasize more on the exact fact rather than opinion and impression (van Dijk, 2000).

Example:

It would open the floodgates again, and presumably the £200 million a year cost that was estimated when the legislation was introduced (Gorman, C). (van Dijk, 2000)

The number that is said by Mr. Gorman reaches about £200 million a year. This number can give a fact about the money used for asylum seekers. It can increase the credibility of the speaker and make the hearers imagine about that huge amount of money that can actually be used for other more important things.

2.3.13 Victimization

As cited in van Dijk (2006) “victimization tends to represent the other with negative terms, and especially when they are associated with threats, the in-group needs to be presented as a victim of such a threat.”

Example:

“Many of those people live in old-style housing association Peabody flats. They are on modest incomes. Many of them are elderly, managing on their state pension and perhaps also a little pension from their work. They pay

their full rent and for all their own expenses. Now they are going to be asked to pay £35 to able-bodied males who have come over here on a prolonged holiday and now claim that the British taxpayer should support them.” (van Dijk, 2000, p. 84)

In this utterance, the victim of the immigration policy is the elderly people who are in their pension state. They have to pay some tax which is used to pay the immigrants that are actually capable of paying some amount of money. Hence, the victims are the elderly people who are being threatened by the immigration policy.

2.4 N. Rashidi & M. Souzandehfar’s “A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Debates between Republicans and Democrats over the Continuation of War in Iraq” (2010)

In their research, Rashidi and Souzandehfar use van Dijk’s (2000) framework which is adopted from *Politics, Ideology, and Discourse* to find out the discursive structure and discover ideologies underlying them; in addition, the macro strategies of ‘positive self-representation’ and ‘negative other-presentation’ and some of other ideological strategies are used to analyze the data of the Republicans and Democrats’ debates (Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010).

Rashidi and Souzandehfar find out that there are differences between the two opposite ideas. On the one hand, the Republicans refuse to withdraw the American troops from Iraq; on the other hand, the Democrats show the opposite

tendencies. To gain the man powers in the debate, they use strategies from van Dijk's framework devices, such as lexicalization, polarization, and rhetoric, which are effective in persuasion and justification. Those strategies are intentionally used to control the audiences' mind and to reach their goal; the Republicans try to legitimize the issue while the Democrats delegitimize it.

In this thesis I also use van Dijk's framework about ideology and discourse to analyze the Indonesian presidential debate along with the ideological categories and the ideological square that support the statements and arguments of the new candidates of Indonesia's President and Vice President candidates and how the strategies are applied in their utterances, either positively or negatively.

Besides, the research objectives are different. Rashidi and Souzandehfar's objectives are to find out the underlying ideology in each political party regarding the political issues in Iraq and how the candidates persuade the nation in order to win the consensus. In my analysis, the objective is to find out the underlying ideology in a discourse and how the ideological categories can be of assistance in determining the four basic principles of the ideological square. Hence, at the end of the analysis, the two new candidates will be portrayed positively or negatively in the debate based on their performance in giving statements and responding to the opponent's statements.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS OF RESEARCH

In this chapter I would like to present and explain further the methods that are used in my analysis of the presidential debate in Indonesia. This chapter will be divided into four subsections, namely Research Design, Data Collection Technique, Framework for Analysis, and Data Analysis.

3.1 Research Design

In doing the analysis of the presidential debate whose purposes is to find the ideological square and the ideological categories, I apply a qualitative research method. According to Crossman A. (2019), the purpose of qualitative research is to find out the meanings, interpretations, symbols, the processes, and relation of social life. The qualitative method uses the writer's intelligence to collect in-depth perceptions and descriptions of the targeted data. Additionally, this method is suitable for my thesis as the purposes are to find the in-depth meanings and interpretations of the underlying ideology and self-representation in the Indonesian presidential debate.

Besides, the research also belongs to descriptive research which involves gathering data that describe events. It also organizes, tabulates, depicts, and describes the data collection (Glass & Hopkins, 1984, as cited in Nabavi R.T., 2010, p. 13). This qualitative descriptive method fits my analysis as I also have to organize the data step by step and describe the data in a clear way.

3.2 Data Collection Technique

In collecting the data, I apply the library research method. Mann T. (2000) states that library research is familiar with keyword searches which deal with the unknown words in the analysis, citation search and recent scholarly books and articles that can be used in the analysis through printed and online sources. This technique is suitable for my analysis as I have to find out a lot of references to get an accurate research result.

3.3 Framework for Analysis

In doing a critical discourse analysis for my thesis, I start with understanding the concept of ideological categories based on van Dijk's (2000) theory as the first step of the framework. The ideological categories are divided into several types based on the speaker's utterances and intentions.

The next important step in the analysis is to understand the ideological square based on van Dijk (2000). The ideological square is important because it classifies the data into four basic principles, namely emphasize positive Us, emphasize negative Them, de-emphasize positive Them, and de-emphasize

negative Us. These two main theories are important because the analysis will be based on those theories.

3.4 Data Analysis

The data are categorized into some ideological categories; whether it is Disclaimer, Example, Generalization, or the others. From the categories which are selected, I can make the analysis further and find out how the ideological strategies are applied in a discourse. As the result of the analysis, I can get the ideological square.

Below I would like to give a sample data analysis:

Data 1

Jokowi: Yes, it is true that it's been a long time since our commodities relied on the overseas market and it's been too long for us to export raw material, whether it is rubber, palm, fishery or agricultural commodities. Therefore, our strategies in the future, whether it is on fishery field or agricultural field is downstream policy and industrialization. It is necessary to build a lot of fishery industries – processing and canning, so we can export processed products; they have been packaged here, labeled here; the brands have been made here. This goes the same for plantation commodities. In the future, we must be brave doing the downstream policy to prevent the export of raw material; at least we export half-processed goods, or we can push the export of processed products. For products

related to agriculture, we know that young people nowadays already build online ecosystem and if this can be connected to offline ecosystem of the agricultural products, it will support the farmers to have a direct contact to the customers or buyers through the digital economy.

As stated by van Dijk (2000) that in **Generalization**, the speaker does not explain the utterance in a specific way, but usually in a general way and this is more applicable for people who talk within a limited time. In giving the statement, Jokowi mentions his programs one by one, such as processing and canning the products to push the commodities; however, he does not explain in details what he means by processing and canning specifically. He just focuses on his global programs. Thus, the use of Generalization in a discourse, especially in a debate, helps the speaker to emphasize his programs as fast as possible in order to make the audience get to know and be aware of his programs. By doing this, Jokowi **emphasizes the positive self.**

CHAPTER FOUR

IDEOLOGICAL SQUARE OF THE INDONESIAN PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE ON 13 APRIL 2019: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

In this chapter I am going to analyze the ideological square of the Indonesian presidential debate which was broadcast on some Indonesian television channels on 13 April 2019. To analyze the data, I will use van Dijk's theory on *Politics, Ideology, and Discourse* (2006), whose purpose is to find out how the ideological categories used support any of the four basic principles, namely: emphasize positive things about Us, emphasize negative things about Them, deemphasize negative things about Us, deemphasize positive things about Them. These four possibilities form a conceptual square which is called 'ideological square' (van Dijk, 2006).

In the debate section, there are some questions from the moderator regarding four topics, such as Economy, Social Welfare, and Trade and Industry. In addition, the focus of the analysis will be on the use of the categories and the results that will show the ideological square referring to the two candidates.

The debate starts with the candidates talking about their vision and mission. After that, the moderator asks a question regarding one of the topics, which will be answered by the first candidates and responded to by the second candidates and vice versa. Each of the candidates has two turns in giving their responses.

In Jokowi's and Ma'aruf Amin's responses, the self refers to Jokowi and Ma'aruf Amin and the other refers to Prabowo and Sandiaga Uno. On the other hand, in Prabowo's and Sandiaga Uno's responses, the self refers to Prabowo and Sandiaga Uno and the other refers to Jokowi and Ma'aruf Amin.

Section 1: Economy

For the first section, the moderator asks a question about an economic issue on agricultural and fishery fields. The question is answered by the first candidates who are Joko Widodo and Ma'aruf Amin, which is then responded to by Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno. The moderator's question is as follows:

Question:

Indonesia is known to be a maritime and agrarian country, but the purchasing power of the farmers and fishermen who live in the village has decreased as the effect of the low agricultural commodity price, like rubber, palm, dill, and sugar as well as fishery commodities. This can happen because of the aggressiveness of the policy of developed countries and the governance and commerce of agricultural and fishery commodities that are still conventional.

The question is, what are your strategies and concrete policies to keep the stability of the prices of agricultural and fishery commodities so that this sector can attract to millennials to make Indonesia an outstanding maritime and agrarian country in the world? The floor is yours.

In responding to the moderator's questions regarding the stability of agriculture and fishery, Jokowi says:

Data 1:

Jokowi: Yes, it is true that it's been a long time since our commodities relied on the overseas market and it's been too long for us to export raw material, whether it is rubber, palm, fishery or agricultural commodities. Therefore, our strategies in the future, whether it is on fishery field or agricultural field is downstream policy and industrialization. It is necessary to build a lot of fishery industries – processing and canning, so we can export processed products; they have been packaged here, labeled here; the brands have been made here. This goes the same for plantation commodities. In the future, we must be brave doing the downstream policy to prevent the export of raw material; at least we export half-processed goods, or we can push the export of processed products. For products related to agriculture, we know that young people nowadays already build online ecosystem and if this can be connected to offline ecosystem of the agricultural products, it will support the farmers to have a direct contact to the customers or buyers through the digital economy.

In Jokowi's first answer above, he uses the strategies called **Argumentation** category in giving his opinions. van Dijk (2006) states that Argumentation in a discourse is divided into two main categories: Arguments and Conclusion or Standpoint and Arguments. I find that in Jokowi's response, he uses the first type which is giving the arguments first and then stating a conclusion. In his arguments, he states that the country relies too long on the overseas market, so that he argues that he will make an improvement in that sector, such as downstream policy and industrialization that can lead the industrialization to the new stage where Indonesia can process the raw materials into processed goods; besides, he states a conclusion where he will develop the agriculture and fishery and create an online ecosystem and collaborate it with an offline ecosystem so that the farmers and fishermen can sell their products directly to the customers.

The argumentation which Jokowi has stated can be categorized as a good one because it is systematic, well-organized, and logical as he states his ideas and programs orderly. Furthermore, by explaining his good ideas and programs clearly to the audience, it can be said that Jokowi **emphasizes the positive self**.

The next category used by Jokowi in his response above is **Generalization**. van Dijk (2006) says that Generalization talks about events or actions which are generalized and possibly in an abstracted form; thus, it will make the claim broader but it will also be more easily understood and generally applicable. In giving the statements about the agricultural and fishery economy, Jokowi mentions some general points of his programs and plans on the fishery industry, such as processing and canning in the incoming time. However, he does

not explain in detail how the processing and canning processes are done. For instance, Jokowi doesn't say exactly what he will do in the future, such as the procedure, department, or the legalization of the downstream policy. Thus, in this case he uses the Generalization category.

The fact that Jokowi explains his programs in general makes sense for the simple reason that he is given such a limited time that he can only explain his programs briefly but it is understandable for the audience. By using this category, he **emphasizes the positive self** by making the audience understand better that he manages to do the programs in the future.

In responding to Jokowi's answers regarding the stability of agriculture and fishery, Prabowo gives his comments as follows:

Data 2:

Prabowo: Ok, thank you. This is actually the problem that I'm talking about; that our economy has gone to the wrong direction. There has been deindustrialization and the government doesn't have any strategy to handle that. Mr. Jokowi's intention is good, but Mr. Jokowi has led the country for 4.5 years. Why do you allow import? Farmers are devastated, so why don't you do industrialization? Instead, you focus on infrastructures.

Maybe focusing on infrastructures will make it easier for overseas goods to come to Indonesia, and it is not to make Indonesian goods exported to other countries. This is the thing that we want to say, that the development strategies need to be reoriented; there must be strict police; we need to stop making our money go overseas, and then focus on building the

industry, in all fields! I agree on downstream policy, but why don't you apply that? It has been four and a half years. You even give permission to your ministers to allow overseas commodities to come to Indonesia rapidly and easily. I think that is all, maybe.... (giving a chance to Sandiaga Uno to say more)

Sandiaga: The key is entrepreneurship, and business certainty. I believe that together with Prabowo Sandi, the strong government with firm leaders who take national businessmen on their sides, will present business certainty and legal certainty, so that the investments required to process raw material to finished goods can be fulfilled.

In this section, Prabowo replies to Jokowi's statement by using **Disclaimers** category. According to van Dijk (2000), Disclaimers is a category whose purpose is to reject one's ideas positively and replies it negatively after the word *but*. Prabowo says "Mr. Jokowi's intention is good, but Mr. Jokowi has led the country for 4.5 years. Why do you allow import?" The first utterance that is stated by Prabowo shows that he is trying to be polite by appreciating Jokowi's good intention. Nevertheless, Prabowo's second statement, especially after the word *but*, is in fact the main point of Prabowo's intention to attack Jokowi, because it shows that Jokowi still allows imported goods to Indonesia, which is believed to make Indonesian farmers broke. Hence, in his statement above, Prabowo uses the strategy of **emphasizing the negative other**.

Prabowo's utterance above also belongs to **Victimization**. Based on van Dijk (2006), victimization tends to represent the other with negative terms, and especially when they are associated with threats, the in-group needs to be presented as a victim of such a threat. In the data above, it is said that Jokowi's policies, such as not doing the industrialization and downstream policy, have caused farmers and fishermen broke. In this utterance, Prabowo is trying to make the farmers and fishermen his ally; in other words, Prabowo and the farmers and fishermen are all in the same group. When the group members are threatened, they become victims of the other group. Therefore, in this case Prabowo is using the strategy of representing Jokowi negatively by **emphasizing the negative thing** about him.

The next category used is **Counterfactuals**. According to van Dijk (2000), the function of counterfactuals is to make the audience imagine about a particular situation that actually does not happen in real life. In his comments, Prabowo utters, "Maybe focusing on infrastructures will make it easier for overseas goods to come to Indonesia, and it is not to make Indonesian goods exported to other countries." Through the word *maybe*, it is clear that Prabowo is making an assumption about the infrastructure that will be used for imported goods and not the exported goods. The word *maybe* can make the audience imagine the situation of the infrastructure that will be used for imported goods and it indirectly persuades the audience to believe him about situation which in fact is not happening. Thus, the use of counterfactuals in the discourse is to **emphasize negative other** where the audience is dragged to the unreal situation and make them believe it.

In this first response, Prabowo states his programs by using **Generalization**. van Dijk (2006) states that Generalization in a discourse is used to mention the ideas or opinion in a general way, which makes the claim broader, but more generally applicable and easy to understand. In his utterance, he states his suggestions “This is the thing that we want to say, that the development strategies need to be reoriented; there must be strict police; we need to stop making our money go overseas, and then focus on building the industry.” In his statements, he proposes three points about how the reorientation strategies are to be developed: the police must be strict; the money must be prevented from going overseas, and the industry must be built. These points are stated generally; he does not explain them in detail, which most probably is because of the time constraint. Thus, in this case the generalization can be said to be a good way of **emphasizing his positive image** because he can briefly state his programs clearly and understandably.

In responding to Prabowo’s and Sandiaga’s comments about establishing the business sectors, Jokowi replies below:

Data 3:

Jokowi: Mr. Prabowo, Mr. Sandi, organizing macroeconomics is different from organizing microeconomics, because macroeconomics is aggregate production, the demand and supply should be affected and protected by the government policies. If we face microeconomics, it only covers selling and buying, only establishing industries and sell the products. But macroeconomics is organizing the aggregate productions, for example, in

the primary sector like mining, agriculture, plantation, and secondary sector in manufactures. I think, it is not that easy. This means it needs big stages; this is what we are working on right now. The infrastructures that we are building now will be connected with industrial areas and tourist destinations. All this is not as easy as falling off a log and we can build and export instantly. No! This needs big stages; I have said it several times that we are focusing on the first big stage, which is building the infrastructures. The second step is human resource development. The third is structural reformation and the fourth is about technology and innovation. These are the big stages that we are working on.

In this section, Jokowi replies to the opponent's argument that states that they will give a business certainty and will stand for national businessmen so that the investments that are needed for processing raw material to processed goods can be accomplished. In this response, Jokowi gives some explanation about microeconomics and macroeconomics sectors, that they are different because the programs that is conveyed by Prabowo's party on deals with microeconomics.

This belongs to **Implication** category because by giving the basic explanation about the difference between the two terms, implicitly it shows that Prabowo and Sandiaga do not understand this point. This certainly shows a negative thing about Prabowo and Sandiaga. Hence, by explaining the basic difference between micro and macroeconomics to Prabowo and Sandiaga, Jokowi is implicitly **emphasizing the negative other** by explaining it again to the audience it implicitly says that Prabowo's party is wrong in applying the

programs; moreover, in this context, Prabowo's party only see the potential of national economics income from the microeconomics sector, but they doesn't notice another income which is macroeconomics sector that actually has a higher amount of money. This also means that at the same time Jokowi **emphasizes the positive self** as he seems to know better about micro and macroeconomics than the opposite party does.

To support his statements about the macroeconomics, Jokowi provides some examples of the real events; therefore, this belongs to the category of **Example**. Based on van Dijk's theory (2006) the function of giving examples is to give support on the data, evidence, and proof to the previous statement. He mentions in the utterance "...for example, in the primary sector like mining, agriculture, plantation, and secondary sector in manufactures." In this part Jokowi mentions the examples of the macroeconomics sector and the secondary sector in manufacture field. Jokowi **emphasizes the positive self** by stating the clear examples to support his statements.

In responding to Jokowi's answers regarding the issues of the micro and macroeconomics sector, Prabowo answers:

Data 4:

Prabowo: So, back again. Honestly speaking, I am not blaming Mr. Jokowi, I am not blaming you. This is the problem, our mistake as a country and have been going on for several years, even decades. But we have to be brave to correct ourselves; we are taking a wrong direction. We must follow The People's Republic of China; in forty years, they eliminate

poverty. Forty years! We must be able to learn from a great country. We must go back to *UUD 1945*, Article 33, learn well, we should be brave in planning, infrastructures development, industrialization, creating employment; we should protect our farmers, and protect our fishermen. That is what we should do. So, I am not blaming you, Sir, because this is a fatal mistake from the previous presidents. We all have to be responsible, yes, that is my opinion.

Sandiaga: Thank you.

Prabowo uses **Generalization** in the utterance about the country's issues, such as it is mentioned in the utterance that "...we should be brave in planning, infrastructures development, industrialization, creating employment; we should protect our farmers, and protect our fishermen." These are the suggestions that Prabowo proposes about what should be done in our country. It is clear that the suggestions have been generalized as Prabowo does not explain them in detail how he will do them; he only mentions the suggestions briefly. Hence, the purpose of this category is to **emphasize the positive self** because the time given to respond to Jokowi's answer is very limited. In the limited time Prabowo can convey his ideas so that they can generally be accepted by the audience.

In the data above, Prabowo also gives an **example** and a great story about The People's Republic of China that can eliminate poverty within 40 years. The purpose of this example is to support and emphasize the fact that Indonesia can eliminate the poverty too. Nevertheless, the reality in Indonesia is that our country cannot solve this poverty problem yet. Thus, the purpose of giving this example is

to **emphasize the negative other**, which is Jokowi as the Indonesian president who has not improved the level of economy.

After talking about poverty, to make a negative impression to the opposite party, Prabowo says an utterance that belongs to **Victimization** “we should protect our farmers, and protect our fishermen.” The policies that Jokowi applies in the government system are considered not good enough in protecting the farmers and fishermen from the bad economy. Thus, Prabowo states that we should protect the farmers and fishermen who are in this case the victims of Jokowi’s policies who does not apply the industrialization and downstream policy. It is clear that Prabowo **emphasizes the negative other**.

In the second sentence of the fourth data, it shows that Prabowo uses the ideological category that belongs to **History as Lesson**. van Dijk (2000) states that “History as Lesson is useful in an argumentation to show the present situation and compare it to the past (positive or negative) events in history.” Prabowo states, “This is the problem, our mistake as a country and have been going on for several years, even decades.” Here, Prabowo gives a statement of a negative history that has been going on until today and has not changed for decades. As it is a negative history, Prabowo gives suggestions to make the condition better by saying that they have to be brave and take the right way for the country. By using this category in this argument, Prabowo is **emphasizing the positive self**.

The next category found is **Disclaimer**, when Prabowo states “Honestly speaking, I am not blaming Mr. Jokowi, I am not blaming you. This is the problem, our mistake as a country and have been going on for several years, even decades. But we have to be brave to correct ourselves; we are taking a wrong

direction.” Based on van Dijk (2000), Disclaimer is an ideological category whose purpose is giving a polite statement first and then the next sentence is actually the main statement to attack the other party. In the first sentence, Prabowo mentions about the country’s mistakes that have been going on for several years, even decades and that he is not blaming Jokowi as this is not Jokowi’s mistake. However, in the next sentence he mentions that “we have to be brave to correct ourselves”. The word *have to* according to *Merriam Webster Dictionary* (n.d.) is “used to to say something is desired or should be done.” Thus, the implied meaning from Prabowo’s statement is that Jokowi is not brave enough to make a change in Indonesian economy area. This also indicates that Prabowo also uses the category of **Implication** at the same time. Therefore, in this statement, Prabowo tries to **emphasize the negative other**.

To conclude all the strategies that are used in this part of analysis, I would like to divide the data into the macro strategy which is separated into two types: ‘positive self-presentation’ and ‘negative other-presentation’.

In the first section, there are four data that are used in the analysis; two data belong to Jokowi, and two other data belong to Prabowo. Jokowi uses four categories (80%) that belong to positive self-presentation and one category (20%) that belongs to negative other-presentation. On the other hand, Prabowo uses three categories (30%) that belong to positive self-presentation and seven data (70%) that belong to negative other-presentation. The percentage above shows that Prabowo uses the strategy of emphasizing the negative other more often, while Jokowi tends to emphasize positive self-presentation more.

Section 2: Social Welfare

For the second section, the moderator asks a question about Social Welfare that is related to women as participants in economics area. The question will be answered by Prabowo's party and then responded to by Jokowi's party. The moderator's question is as follows:

Question:

Women's participation in economy takes a very big contribution towards family welfare and society. Global Gender Equality Index that was released in 2017 by World Economic Forum or WEF shows that the rate of women's participation in economy is 51% less than men workers, which is 84%. Besides, discrimination and violence in the working field towards women often happen.

The question is, how are the candidates' strategy and the policies applied to ensure the women's participation in Indonesia in economic activities so that the protection from the discrimination and the violence in working field are not only a discourse. We let the second candidates answer the question. You have two minutes. The floor is yours.

In responding to the moderator's questions regarding social welfare about women in economics area, Prabowo says:

Data 1:

Prabowo: I argue that the participation of women in national and state life is very important, very vital and actually it is very visible. We once had a woman president and now in this presidential campaign the role of *emak-emak* is very very big, very very big. Thus, with the role of *emak-emak* which is very big, certainly the policies, laws, will really reflect their interests because whether we want it or not, the role of *emak-emak* is very important in Indonesia's socio-political life.

Sandiaga: Two-thirds of family economy is sustained by the activity of women who start a business whether it is a home-based business or an average micro business. These great and independent women want a policy which stand for them, so that they can access the training, mentoring, also the access to borrow funds. We see that this *Oke Oce* program is dominated by *emak-emak* and great independent women, and they really become the breadwinner of the family. Also, we believe this entrepreneurship can be supported better in the future. We believe this inequality can be decreased significantly. We believe this *Oke Oce* movement will empower Indonesian women.

In the first sentence, Prabowo's answers regarding the moderator's question belong to **Hyperbole**. It shows that Prabowo says the word *very* repeatedly. van Dijk (2006) says that hyperbole is a device whose purpose is to

enhance the meaning of the word. In this context, Prabowo enhances the words *important*, *vital*, *visible*, and *big* by using the word *very*. They are used to make Indonesian women feel that they are precious and take a big role in politics and economics areas. Thus, in giving some enhancing meanings in his argument, it shows an **implication** that Prabowo **emphasizes the positive self** by supporting the Indonesian women to participate and help the politics economics area.

Prabowo's statements should belong to **Argumentation** category. According to van Dijk (2006), argumentation is divided into two main categories: Arguments and Conclusion or Standpoint and Arguments. First, Prabowo argues about women who take a role in politics and economics areas. Then, he also mentions that some of the policies may change and will reflect women's interest because they also take effect in the socio-political area in Indonesia. However, in Prabowo's response, the conclusion is not mentioned. The question that is asked by the moderator is about the strategy that will be used to ensure women's participation and Prabowo fails in answering this. Hence, the argument cannot be said to be good and **it cannot be used to emphasize the positive self**.

The next category that is used in the statement is **Actor Description**. van Dijk (2000) states that Actor Description is about how an actor is treated; whether he is treated as a group or individual or using a group name, role, function, having specific or unspecific description. In the statement, Prabowo refers to his women supporters as *emak-emak*. In fact, this word has a negative connotation as the word *emak-emak* is associated with uneducated women which seems insulting; moreover, in reality, this shows that not all Indonesian women want to be called *emak-emak* (kompas.com, 2018). However, Prabowo in his statements refers to

emak-emak as a group of women who have a big role in economy as they can fulfill and help their family's income. Besides, there are also reasons why Prabowo's party chooses the term *emak-emak* to refer to the party's women supporters. As cited in BBC News (2018) and Detik (2018), the word *emak-emak* is used to make a closer distance with Indonesian women. In addition, since the term *emak-emak* term is controversial at that time in Indonesia, this can be more memorable in the audiences' mind. Thus, through Actor Description, it can be said that Prabowo **emphasizes the positive self** as he can gain power from that term which cannot be gained by the opponent's party.

In the next response, Sandiaga Uno states that 2/3 of family's economy is supported by women. The statement belongs to **Hyperbole** category because the number 2/3 in the statement is used to exaggerate the value; it does not say the exact number and it is not known how many women actually support their family's economy. The purpose of the statement is just to make the audience know that a lot of women can also help the family's economy or can be said as breadwinners. The number *two-third* that is mentioned in the statement looks convincing, although the number actually does not show any significant purposes. Therefore, Sandiaga **emphasizes the positive self** as he mentions the number which can impress the audiences and make them convinced.

Sandiaga also uses **Generalization** category when he mentions the women who join the *Oke Oke* program are *the great and independent women*. Sandiaga only addresses them in a general way in order to make the claim more generally applicable to all Indonesian women who actually do not join the program. In this

statement, Sandiaga **emphasizes the positive self** as he can win the women's attention by referring to them as *great and independent women*.

Data 2:

Ma'aruf Amin: Our vision and mission focus on gender equality; that is why we will try as hard as possible so that women will not only be capable of economic and political fields, but also in government. In the effort of empowering women as well as high-level economy, we also have done a program called *Umi Credit* which is a microbusiness and micro *waqaf* banks that are placed in Islamic Boarding Schools and I know exactly that the customers are 100% women. Hence, these efforts will be established and developed better. Moreover, in some villages we are going to make *dewi-dewi* and *dedi-dedi*, *dewi* stands for Desa Wisata (Tourism Village), and *dedi* stands for Desa Digital (Digital Village), the floor is yours, Sir.

Jokowi: Yes, there are *dewi*, and *dedi*. I want to add a little more about a program for women. We have a program called *Mekar*, from PNM has been four years and it was reached 4.2 million customers, but in this year, we are targeting more than 10 million customers, and the focus is the street vendors, like meatball and noodle sellers.

In his response, Ma'aruf Amin says that their programs will be focused on gender equality where women can also work in economic, political, and governmental sectors. There is also a proof in his answer which can be

categorized as **Evidentiality** category. According to van Dijk (2006), evidentiality category is a tool where a speaker gives proof or evidence in order to convince the hearers. In Ma'aruf Amin's answer, he gives evidence that Jokowi's party has launched some programs to improve women skills such as *Umi Credit*, *Micro waqaf bank*, *Mekar* and *PNM*. Therefore, in this response Ma'aruf Amin **emphasizes the positive self** because he can convince the hearers through the programs as evidence to the audiences.

Furthermore, in Ma'aruf Amin's response, it is also found that he mentions the percentage of women participation in Islamic Boarding Schools which reaches 100% and this belongs to **Number Game** category. As stated in van Dijk (2006), the purpose of using Number Game in the argument is to enhance the credibility of the statements by putting some statistics and numbers which can emphasize the fact more than a mere opinion and impression. Ma'aruf Amin says that women's participation in *Umi Credit* has reached 100%. This percentage will convince the hearers that Jokowi's program has successfully been empowering Indonesian women. In addition, the percentage number that is said can make a transparency among the hearers so that it can convince the audiences more. Moreover, this statement has succeeded in answering the moderator's question about the strategy that is used to empower women. Thus, this answer can be said to be used to **emphasize the positive self** as Ma'aruf Amin can give proof that his program has gained a lot of women's participation in Islamic Boarding Schools in Indonesia.

After Ma'aruf Amin's turn is over, Jokowi adds a short statement about his programs for Indonesian women. Jokowi's statement in this answer belongs to

Evidentiality. Based on van Dijk (2000) the purpose of using evidentiality in argument is to give proof so that the hearers can be convinced more about a particular subject. In Jokowi's response, he mentions some programs such as *PNM* and *Mekar* that has gained 4.2 million customers and next year's target is 10 million customers. This shows that Jokowi's programs have been running well and gaining many customers in his first period. Thus, in this response, Jokowi **emphasizes the positive self** as he can give the evidence about the programs that can help women in Indonesia.

In addition, Jokowi applies another category which is **Number Game** category whose purpose is to increase the credibility by giving some statistics and number which emphasizes more on the exact fact rather than an opinion and impression (van Dijk, 2000). In the statement, Jokowi gives the exact number of his program named *Mekar*. This program gained 4.2 million participants and next year's target is to gain 10 million participants. This number of participants is a fact which also leads to transparency that *Mekar* program has successfully gained women participants who can improve their lives through this program. Hence, Jokowi **emphasizes his positive self** as he gives an exact number and evidence to his answers.

In responding to Jokowi's party's statements, Sandiaga Uno gives the answers as written below:

Data 3:

Sandiaga: The key is empowerment. When I worked in DKI, I once worked together with *PNM* and *Mekar*, and we saw that these great and

independent women could be breadwinners for their families. However, the thing that they were complaining is the minimum access towards the market, and how we can give a continuous program. We call it *Tujuh Langkah Pas*.

The first is registering these great and independent women that will become breadwinners for the family economy. Second, we will give training; this training of course has levels. We want them to have some basic knowledge, and after that they will be mentored, because 80% of the failure of women who go into business is caused by lack of mentors. Next we help the licensing. It is difficult to have the license businesses in *Mekar* because the residence is restricted. So, we help the licensing through *Oke Oke* movement. The next one is marketing, packaging, and in the end we help the money administration so that they know how to count cash-flow, profit and loss, and etc. The last one is capital access, because the great and independent women is really incredible, if we lend them money, 99.99% the money will be paid back.

In the first sentence of the answers, Sandiaga uses the **Disclaimer** category whose purpose is to first save the other's face but then attack the opposite party, which usually comes in the second sentence after the word *but* in order to emphasize the negative things about the opposite side. In the first response seems to agree with Jokowi when he says, "When I worked in DKI, I once worked together with *PNM* and *Mekar*, and we saw that these great and independent women could be breadwinners for their families." However, in the next sentence

he states that in *Mekar* program, the women were actually complaining about the minimal access towards the marketplace. In this context, Sandiaga tries to say that the program has already attracted great women and independent women, but the access of program itself is not good enough to support their improvement. Hence, Sandiaga **emphasizes the negative other** as Jokowi's programs need some further improvements.

Moreover, Sandiaga's answers also belong to **Argumentation** category, which according to van Dijk (2006) is divided into argument and then continued with conclusion. In the whole answer, Sandiaga gives his argument that the *Mekar* program has some deficiency, and in the next part of the answer he gives a conclusion where he suggests solutions to fix the deficiency of Jokowi's program which he names *Tujuh Langkah Pas*. This argumentation can be said as a good one because the way he states his answer is clear and easy to follow. At first, he tells what is needed to be improved. Second, he gives solution to the problem. Third, Sandiaga answers the question that is being asked by the moderator. In this way, Sandiaga's statement has answered the moderator's question about the strategies that will be used to gain women participation in Indonesia. Thus, I can conclude that based on this category Sandiaga's statement **emphasizes the positive self**.

The next category that I find in Sandiaga's response is **Evidentiality**. The function of Evidentiality in a statement is to give credibility to the hearers that a speaker knows about a particular subject (van Dijk, 2006). Sandiaga states that his program named *Oke Oke*. This program has been released by Sandiaga Uno when he was elected as the governor of Jakarta. He believes that *Oke Oke* will develop

the women's skill in managing their business so that the women can return all the money 99.99% to the government when they lend some money from *Mekar*. He also notices that *Mekar* lacks training, mentors, and basic knowledge, which causes 80% of women's to fail in business. This **emphasizes the positive self** as he can make the audiences' expectation to his program increase positively and can give improvement and solutions to Indonesian women who join the program.

In addition, the percentage that is said by Sandiaga also belongs to **Number Game** category. According van Dijk (2006), number game category functions to enhance the credibility of the evidence and emphasize more on fact because numbers are usually familiar with exact things rather than opinion or impression. In this context, Sandiaga tells the audiences the exact percentage of women who fail in business, which is 80%. In addition, he gives credibility and convinces the hearers that he already has the right solution for this, which is *Tujuh Langkah Pas* program at the end of his response, he says that 99.99% women will definitely pay back the loan to the government. Thus, through the numbers used, Sandiaga appears more credible and certainly **emphasizes his positive self**.

Moreover, Sandiaga uses **Level of Description** in giving his statements. As cited in van Dijk (2000), level of description is a tool that is used to give a specific description about the statement that is being talked. In Sandiaga's statement, he gives detailed answers to empower the women through the program which is called *Tujuh Langkah Pas*. Although he only mentions three out of the seven points, he manages to complete all the information about the program. It is said that the program will give some mentoring and training to the women and give them access to the marketplace. Thus, Sandiaga **emphasizes the positive self**

through this statement as he can convey the complete program very well to the audience in a very limited time.

Data 4:

Jokowi: So, I will continue with the *Mekar* program. It is a capital loan for businesswomen, whether it is a street vendor, meatball seller, chicken noodle, and family businesses. We lend money to them, starting from 2 million, 3 million, 4 million, even till 10 million. If they borrow more than 10 million, we will lead them to *Kur*, which has 7% interest and they will also be mentored. There will be a mentoring program and this has been running for 4 years and has 4.2 million customers. Second, related to *Umi*, which has been running for 1.5 years and has 1.1 million customers. This specializes in ultra-microeconomics, even smaller. If this program has been improved, we will make it bigger, as big as possible, so that Indonesian women can be productive and can give additional income to their family.

Waqaf micro bank that is established in Islamic boarding schools is also the same; almost 90% of the customers are women who have micro businesses, small businesses, which are given a capital loan starting from five hundred thousand, 1 million, 2 million, or even 3 million and this has been running for 2 years. Hence, we believe, *Insyallah*, these three programs will contribute to family economy independence.

In the first paragraph of Jokowi's reply, the category that is used is **Level of Description**. Level of Description in a discourse is used to tell about a particular topic or event in detail for the purpose of either emphasizing the positive self or emphasizing the negative other. If we want to emphasize the positive things about us, we will describe the positive events in detail and if we talk about our negative things, we will explain the event in a more general way.

In his reply, Jokowi tells about his three programs that are already running in Indonesia, namely *Mekar*, *Umi*, and *Waqaf* micro banks. He describes these programs in a specific way when he mentions that the programs have been running well and can make some improvement for the women merchants by giving them loans to develop their small businesses. Furthermore, Jokowi adds that there will be a mentoring program to guide Indonesian women to manage their finances.

Besides *Mekar*, Jokowi further explains his two other programs, namely *Umi* and *Micro Waqaf Bank*. In his description, Jokowi says that *Umi* focuses on microeconomy, while *Micro Waqaf Bank* has the purpose of giving loans to women in Islamic boarding schools. Thus, it can be said that in this part Jokowi describes his programs specifically and clearly so that the audience is made aware of them. Hence, it can be concluded that Jokowi's statement can lead to one Ideological Square, which is **emphasizing positive self**.

In his explanation about the programs, Jokowi also uses **Number Game** category. According to van Dijk (2000), number game gives an exact number as evidence to add the speaker's credibility. In the statement, Jokowi mentions quite a lot of numbers. First, he states the range of money that can be loaned by the

women customers in *Mekar*, which starts from 2, 3, and 4 million rupiahs, and if the money loaned is more than 10 million, it will be moved to another program named *Kur*, which has 7% interest. He also mentions that his programs have reached 4.2 million customers and they have been running for 4 years.

In the next point, when Jokowi explains another program named *Umi*, he still uses a lot of numbers. The program is said to have been running for 1.5 years and it has 1.1 million customers.

Moreover, in the explanation about the third program, Jokowi mentions that *Waqaf* micro bank gives loans to women in Islamic boarding schools, which starts from five hundred thousand, 1 million, 2 million, or even 3 million rupiahs and this program has been running for 2 years.

These numbers used by Jokowi can definitely build his credibility to the hearers because the numbers that are mentioned are part of the concrete proof that the programs really exist and are really running well. Hence, in this statement, Jokowi **emphasizes his positive thing**.

Jokowi's reply above clearly consists of proofs of all the programs that he has been running so far; as a result, it can also be said that he uses **Evidentiality** category, whose purpose is to give evidence about a particular subject or event in order to convince the hearers (van Dijk, 2006). As the evidence shows that Jokowi's program has been running well in the past four years, it can clearly be said that Jokowi is **emphasizing the positive self** as he can convince the audience through the proofs.

Section 3: Trade and Industry

For the third section, the moderator asks the candidates a question about Trade and Industry which focuses on the potential economic development and Islamic finance or well-known as *syariah* economy in making Indonesia the main central of global Islamic finance. The question is answered by Jokowi's party as he gets the first turn and then his answer is responded to by Prabowo's party. The moderator's question is as follows:

Question:

I will take the second envelope. Sir, this is Trade and Industry envelope. This is the last one and still sealed. I will read it, *bismillahirrahmanirrahim. Sharia* economic and financial development in Indonesia. The 2018 report of Islamic Financial Services Board indicates that *sharia* banking assets in Indonesia are the 9th in the world rank, reaching 28.08 billion US dollars. The market value of the *halal* food and beverage industry in Indonesia is estimated to reach US \$ 1 trillion by 2030 and the *halal* tourism industry will have a major contribution. Please write down the question, if necessary. What are your concrete strategies and policies that you will undertake to realize the economic and financial potential of *sharia* as well as to make Indonesia a major player in the global *sharia* economy? We will let the first candidates answer the question. You have 2 minutes. The floor is yours.

In responding to the moderator's questions regarding Trade and Industry, Jokowi's party says:

Data 1:

Ma'aruf Amin: First, in developing the Shari'a financial economy. We have formed a national Shari'a national finance committee called KNKS which is chaired by the President himself. This is for developing the economy and this makes Indonesia an Islamic Finance Center in the world. Therefore, we strengthen the financial institutions' position by strengthening their institutions. Besides, for establishing the service, including vintage and from its products can produce more market-friendly products, also develop better human resources. We want to encourage the halal industry, in accordance with our vision and mission; we will stimulate it. Not only for the country but also for abroad. Our halal standard has become the world's halal standard; therefore our halal standard is a reference for global halal. The floor is yours, Sir.

Jokowi: As a country with the largest Muslim products in the world. We have great power in Islamic finance, Islamic economics and we know that Indonesia is now ranked as number one in halal tourism. Thank God, and soon we will open Halal Park near GBK

In responding to the moderator's question regarding *sharia* economy, Ma'aruf Amin uses **Evidentiality** category whose purpose is to increase the credibility of the hearers as the points about the subject that is being talked about can look more convincing by giving evidence (van Dijk, 2000). He answers that

his party has made some programs such as KNKS whose purpose is to accelerate the development of Islamic Finance Center in Indonesia. This program is believed to be able to develop Indonesian Islamic Economy and make Indonesia an Islamic Finance Center in the world. Thus, in this statement, Ma'aruf Amin **emphasizes the positive self** as he can answer the moderator's question and relate it to the evidence he gives in his answer.

In Ma'aruf Amin's answer, I also find that he applies the **Implication** category whose purpose is not to say everything they know or believe but the hearers can infer the intended meaning (van Dijk, 2000). In Ma'aruf Amin's answer he says that Jokowi's party makes a new program named KNKS or *Komite Nasional Ekonomi dan Keuangan Syariah* in order to develop Indonesia to become the Islamic Finance Center in the world. As a result, Ma'aruf Amin says "...Therefore, we strengthen the financial institutions' position by strengthening their institutions." The word *therefore*, according to Collins Dictionary.com (n.d.), is to introduce a logical result or conclusion. After the word *therefore* in his answer, he gives a conclusion that he is going to strengthen the institution, produce market friendly goods, and develop the human resources. Ma'aruf Amin's answer does not say that all the plans have been carried out. Thus, the conclusion that Ma'aruf Amin states in his answer implicitly says that some parts of his arguments are still in progress and this can be said as **emphasizing the positive self** because he can show his ambition to make it true.

In Jokowi's answer regarding the Islamic Financial Center, it is said that Indonesia is a country with the most Islamic products and have power in Islamic finance. This belongs to **Evidentiality** category whose purpose is to give evidence

and convince the hearers (van Dijk, 2000). It is reported by Kompas.com (2019), “Jokowi’s statement is in line with the policies of the Ministry of Trade during his administration. For example, Indonesia strengthens trade promotion to countries which are members of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC).” Furthermore, the evidence that we can see in Jokowi’s statement is that Indonesia is chosen as the number one halal tourism destination in the world. Jokowi’s statement can convince the audiences, make them sure that Jokowi has been working on it and giving evidence that Indonesia also takes part in global Islamic finance. Thus, from the evidence he gives, it is certain that Jokowi **emphasizes the positive self**.

In responding to Jokowi’s party statements, Sandiaga Uno gives the answers as written below:

Data 2:

Sandiaga: In the global economic index, we see that Indonesia is ranked in 10th place. With the largest Muslim population, we should be able to have a better ranking. In the list of importers, as importers of halal goods, we are in the fourth position. We should place ourselves as a country that can produce *halal* goods. In my opinion, the key is that we must create an ecosystem that it is not only Islamic finance but doing the Islamic economy comprehensively, as a whole. We declare that our power is entrepreneurship, especially in *sharia* economy; there are a lot of *sharia* products. Yesterday I did a campaign of finding a *halal* product of an international network, I found an international *halal* network product

which turns out to be an Indonesian herbal product that has the potential of being exported. We are certain that with our passion we strengthen our production, so that our *halal* product can dominate the market. We cannot cram in imported products continuously. We are also sure that this ecosystem can be paired with entrepreneurship and also with the financing it will be able to create the ... that *halal* industry is not only about certification or labelling or standard, but it is bigger than that. We must be able to create products and help to create employment. For whom? For the nation's children. I believe that the *halal* tourism has the potential around 3,300 trillion and 1 trillion US Dollars, also in 2030, there is a chance that we must take. Furthermore, we cannot be the market, but we must be able to be a supplier for the world's *sharia* economy needs.

In Sandiaga's response, he uses an Implication where he uses some words such as *should* in his answer. This belongs to **Implication** category in order to say something implicitly. Sandiaga says that Indonesia is on rank 10 of economy global index, he says that "we should be able to get a better ranking". In this context, the word *should be able* is the same with the word *have to* which according to *Merriam Webster Dictionary* (n.d.) is "used to say something is desired or should be done." It shows that Jokowi's party is still not able to get a better rank of Indonesia economic global index.

He also mentions that "We should place ourselves as a country that can produce halal goods" The word *should* here is also the same as the previous statement about something that should be done (*Merriam Webster Dictionary*,

n.d.) This implicitly says that Jokowi's party is not in the position of producing halal goods because, in fact, Indonesia still imported a lot of products. Furthermore, he continues with a resolution that we should make an ecosystem where it is not only doing *sharia* economy but also doing *sharia* economy comprehensively, as a whole; it means that *sharia* economy should be applied more widely in Indonesia. Thus, Sandiaga is **emphasizing the negative other** as he implicitly says that Jokowi's party is still not able to raise the economic global index

In the next point of his answer, Sandiaga uses **Number Game** category whose purpose is to give numbers in order to make the speaker's credibility increase (van Dijk, 2000). He says that Indonesia's *halal* tourism has the potential of gaining 3,300 trillion and 1 trillion US dollars in 2030. This number shows a great amount of money that Indonesia can get from *halal* tourism. It can make his credibility increase and make the audiences agree that Indonesia can be a supplier to the world's *sharia* economic needs. Hence, through the numbers that are said by Sandiaga, he **emphasizes the positive self** because he can be aware of the future potential income from *halal* tourism and make the audiences aware of it, which will also increase Prabowo's party's credibility.

In responding to Sandiaga's party's statements, Ma'aruf Amin gives the answers as written below:

Data 3:

Ma'aruf Amin: We actually have already built the *sharia* economy, also the *halal* products, and now we have achieved many results. Even our

products are now the biggest one in the world. Bigger than other countries. Because of that, we have decided to make our banking the biggest one in the world too, together with the insurance and stock market. Even our *halal* products will become the main products in the world. That is why we accelerate the process and development by establishing the *sharia* economic development institutions. I think that is all.

Jokowi: I want to continue about our *halal* tourism which has been declared as number one in the world; this is in the world. So, we will focus and concentrate on the *halal* products that have been explained before. Next week, we will officially open Halal Park in Jakarta and we will develop it into a district park and this is our chance to introduce our halal products.

Ma'aruf Amin says in his answer that he is going to make Indonesian *halal* products, banks, insurance, stock market become the biggest one in the world. In this part, Ma'aruf Amin uses **Hyperbole**. According to van Dijk (2000), hyperbole is one of the categories that is used to exaggerate and enhance the meaning of a statement. The phrases “the biggest one in the world” and “bigger than other countries” in Ma'aruf Amin's answer are used repeatedly so that the audiences will believe that Jokowi's party has a strong desire to build Indonesia to become the biggest country in producing *halal* products, banks, insurance as well as stock market. Hence, this statement is **emphasizing the positive self** because Ma'aruf can give a strong impact on the audience by showing his ambition.

Besides, Mar'aruf Amin's answer belongs to **Implication** category because all the things that will be done by Jokowi's party are still a plan and in progress, Indonesia has not become the biggest producer of *halal* products, banks, insurance, and stock market yet in the world. Based on Kompas.com (2017), Indonesia has not become the biggest halal industry, although the majority of the population is Moslems. The country that becomes the biggest supplier for *halal* industry is Thailand which only has 5% of Moslems. Hence, Ma'aruf Amin **de-emphasizes negative self** because he can enhance the meaning of his statement to make the audiences believe and see that Jokowi's party has a strong desire to make Indonesia better. In fact, Indonesia has not been named as the biggest one in the world.

In Jokowi's answer, he uses **Evidentiality** whose purpose is to give evidence in order to strengthen the statement and convince the hearers (van Dijk, 2000). In the Jokowi's statement, I find that Jokowi in Data 3 continues his answer from Data 1 that is related with the same topic about Halal Park. He continues his answer in Data 3 to complete the sentence in Data 1. Jokowi says in Data 1 that he will open Halal Park near GBK *"...we know that Indonesia is now ranked as number one in halal tourism. Thank God, and soon we will open Halal Park near GBK."* and continue in Data 3 that in a week he will officially open the Halal Park near GBK and develop it bigger into a district park *"Next week, we will officially open the Halal Park in Jakarta and we will develop it into a district park and that is our chance to introduce our halal goods."* Thus, Jokowi **emphasizes the positive self** because he can give evidence in the very limited time as we know that most of the speaking time is used by Ma'aruf Amin.

Furthermore, he can connect remote sentences and explain what lack from the previous turn completely.

In responding to Jokowi's party statements, Prabowo and Sandiaga Uno give the answers as written below:

Data 4:

Prabowo: Well, one of the huge economic potentials comes from the hajj-savings. For a long time, there have been doubts over developing this fund properly. We want to establish banks for the hajj-savings which will be managed in a modern way, *sharia* but efficient, transparent, and the fund can be really beneficial for the people and not misused for other things. So this is one of our efforts.

Sandiaga: I think the ecosystem can surely be managed. As a country with the biggest Muslim population, we can establish institutions, for example finance institutions. It is time for us to have the biggest *sharia* bank in ASEAN. I am touched why the *sharia* financial center is not in Jakarta, but instead it's in Kuala Lumpur. Even Hongkong and London are developing it. Together with Prabowo-Sandi, we believe that a strong government sides with creating chances which will be able to make Jakarta *sharia* financial center.

In Prabowo's response, he uses **Generalization** category to explain the hajj-savings. According to van Dijk (2000), Generalization is used to generalize a statement so that it is easy to understand and more applicable to use (van Dijk, 2000). Prabowo says that he wants to make the hajj-savings developed in a modern way; it is *sharia* but still in an efficient and transparent way because he knows that the fund may be used ineffectively. In this statement, Prabowo **emphasizes the positive self** as he explains the problem about the fund for pilgrimage and comes with a solution by making the hajj-savings program which is explained briefly.

Besides, he uses **Disclaimers** category in his statement. A disclaimer is a category that is used to respond to someone's opinion positively and continue with the word *but* as one of the rejecting terms. In Sandiaga's answer, I find that he feels touched when realizing that *sharia* financial center is not in Jakarta. After this statement, he continues with the word *but* and says that the centers are in other countries such as Kuala Lumpur, Hong Kong, and London. In this context, the idea after the word *but* is actually the intended statement. Thus, through this statement Sandiaga **emphasizes negative other** because he implicitly says that Jokowi as the current Indonesian President is still not capable of making a *sharia* financial center in Indonesia.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I would like to conclude the findings of the analysis of the Indonesian Presidential Debate on 14th April 2019. At first, I would summarize my findings regarding the categories that are used to support any of the four basic principles of the ideological square in the debate. Next, I would give my personal comments on the findings. The chapter will end with the limitation of my thesis and my suggestions for future research.

In doing the analysis, I use van Dijk's theory about *Politics, Ideology, and Discourse* (2006) in Critical Discourse Analysis. The data I choose is divided into three sections, which are Economy, Social Welfare, Marketing and Industry; each of the sections contains four data so that in total there are twelve data. From those three sections, I find thirteen categories that are used by both parties. Through these categories we can see that Jokowi – Ma'aruf Amin and Prabowo – Sandiaga Uno have a strong desire to win the debate because they use a rich variety of types of categories to attack and defend themselves.

Besides, these various categories can help me identify the tendency of both parties to attack the other or defend themselves in order to reveal their ideology

and not to be dominated by the other party. It can be seen from each party's strategies. If the strategy used is emphasizing negative other, it means that they are attacking the other party; while the strategy of emphasizing positive self means that they are defending themselves.

Furthermore, I also find something interesting in the use of the implication category, in which the audiences must infer correctly what is actually meant by the speaker as the meaning is not literally expressed in the sentence. For instance, in section one, Jokowi corrects the explanation of macro and microeconomics that is previously explained by Prabowo's party. In Jokowi's statement, he does not attack the opponent party blatantly, but he prefers to give a detailed explanation, which should be inferred correctly by the audiences that Jokowi seems to know better. Moreover, through his detailed explanation, the audiences should detect that he actually implicitly attacks the other party.

In this debate, 89% of the data of Jokowi's party's strategies show that they use the strategy of emphasizing positive self, 5.5% emphasizing negative other, and 5.5% de-emphasizing negative self. On the other side, 52% of the data of Prabowo's party's strategies shows the strategy of emphasizing positive self, 43% emphasizing negative other, 5% failing to apply the strategy. In comparing both parties, it can be seen that Jokowi's party defends themselves a lot while Prabowo's party has a higher tendency to attack the other party than defend themselves.

I also find that Jokowi's party is more confident in giving examples and evidence of his work when he was working as a president in order to emphasize the positive things about themselves.

This is related to the categories that Jokowi uses quite a lot in his statement, which is evidentiality. On the other hand, Prabowo tends to explain his new program briefly that is followed by some arguments which oppose the other party's statement. It is shown from the categories that Prabowo's party uses the most, which are Disclaimers and Generalization.

Besides, Prabowo tends to emphasize negative other more than Jokowi, with the percentages of 43% and 5.5%. This happens most probably because Prabowo's party has a lot of opportunities to criticize Jokowi's work during his presidency. On the other hand, Prabowo's party also needs to emphasize their positive self that they have better programs than Jokowi's party and I think that Prabowo's party has to provide more new programs as they have to attract the audience more. Furthermore, the explanation of their programs can also be used to attract their voters. This can be seen from Prabowo's party's programs whose purpose is to correct Jokowi's inability in doing his program in the last four years, for example in Section 1 Data 2, where Prabowo corrects Jokowi's mistake in organizing agricultural economics, which makes deindustrialization and makes the farmers devastated because of Jokowi's policy of allowing import.

Next, the comparison between Jokowi – Ma'aruf Amin's and Prabowo – Sandiaga Uno's strategies in the debate shows that Jokowi's party tends to use more evidence in his argument because he has gained experience of being a president. He has been dealing a lot with the programs and he knows what happens in reality; that is why he uses Evidentiality as the main category to present the ideological square which is emphasizing the positive thing about themselves. Besides evidentiality, Jokowi's party also uses Number Game,

Example, and Level of Description in order to support the evidence and show the concrete proof of his works as a president.

On the other hand, Prabowo's party tends to use impactful words such as "*we must be brave!*" Furthermore, they use a lot of categories to counter the opponent's statement as well as emphasize negative other, for example Disclaimers, Victimization, and Counterfactuals. They also use some categories to show their positive things through the explanation of the programs, such as Example, Generalization, History as Lesson, and Number Game to support their statement.

All in all, I find that basically Jokowi uses emphasizing positive self a lot because he has to defend and maintain his ideology against Prabowo's party's comments, while Prabowo has to criticize the weakness of Jokowi's work during his presidency, which shows that Prabowo emphasizes negative other. Besides, he has to attract voters through presenting his programs and this makes Prabowo's party have to emphasize their positive self. For the variation of the strategies, Prabowo's party is better in presenting their ideas. It can be seen from the strategies that are used in the debate that Prabowo's party uses both of strategies of attacking and defending, while Jokowi's party tends to defend more and looks more passive in terms of commenting on the other party's statement.

For future research in debates using van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis, I suggest that researchers should really understand the theory, which is the ideological categories in order to analyze the discourse in depth and continue to the ideological square to determine the positive self and negative other in the discourse. I also suggest taking the data from a debate or discourse whose topics

are interesting for researchers so that it becomes easier for them to understand the topic. Furthermore, it is advisable to take a debate which has many ideological categories because it will be easier for the researchers to conclude the findings. However, they should also watch the debate several times to be able to transcribe the debate into written text.



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