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'INDONESIAN CIVIL WAR': COMPARING DISCOURSE IN THE CAMPAIGN OF JAKARTA'S 2017 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION

'PERANG SIPIL INDONESIA': PERBANDINGAN WACANA DALAM KAMPANYE PEMILIHAN GUBERNUR JAKARTA 2017

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Abstract

Political discourse today is no longer fully-dependent on the performance of the political machine or elite; however, it has shifted to active participation of their supporters. This phenomenon is widely recorded in social media as the background event. Without exception to Jakarta's 2017 gubernatorial election that received an international spotlight because the roar is so massive in the universe of cyberspace. This qualitative descriptive study examined the pattern of campaign movements as a political discourse conducted by the public in supporters community account as a form of public participation in the politics of free-active democracy. It aimed to map out the pattern of discourse movements arising from the supporter community accounts of one of the candidate through the perspective of the discourse comparison offered by Sawirman (2014). The findings show that there are three supporting accounts of candidates which posited as primary, secondary and tertiary discourse. For the configuration of the discourse, gradable adjectives are used as a linguistic strategy to weaken and to dispel sympathy for opposing factions. It is based on the spirit that speakers are superior to their rivals. In general, the pattern of discourse movements identified is synergistic and mutual in order to demonstrate the superiority of their group by degrading the opposing side.

Keyword: *BREAK comparative discourse, Jakarta's 2017 election, social media in Indonesia*

Abstrak

Kontestasi politik di Indonesia saat ini tidak lagi tergantung sepenuhnya pada kinerja mesin atau elit politik; namun telah bergeser kepada partisipasi aktif simpatisan/pendukung mereka. Fenomena ini banyak

terekam dalam media sosial sebagai salah satu arena pertarungan wacana. Tak terkecuali Pemilu Gubernur DKI Jakarta 2017 yang mendapat sorotan internasional karena gaungannya begitu masif di jagat maya. Penelitian berjenis deskriptif-kualitatif ini berupaya meneliti pola bahasa kampanye sebagai wacana politik yang dijalankan oleh masyarakat melalui akun komunitas pendukung sebagai bentuk partisipasi publik dalam politik demokrasi bebas-aktif. Selanjutnya, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk memetakan pola pergerakan wacana yang timbul dari akun komunitas pendukung salah satu kandidat melalui analisis perbandingan wacana yang ditawarkan oleh Sawirman (2014). Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa ada tiga akun pendukung kandidat yang bertindak sebagai wacana primer, sekunder dan tersier. Untuk konfigurasi wacana, pemilihan kata sifat bertingkat digunakan sebagai strategi linguistik untuk melemahkan dan menghilangkan simpati untuk faksi lawan. Ini didasarkan pada spirit bahwa pembicara merasa lebih unggul dari saingan mereka. Secara umum, pola gerakan wacana yang diidentifikasi adalah sinergis dan saling menguntungkan untuk menunjukkan keunggulan kelompok mereka dengan merendahkan pihak lawan.

Kata kunci: *perbandingan wacana BREAK, Pilkada Jakarta 2017, media sosial di indonesia*

Introduction

The situation of head-to-head battles in elections is an inevitable consequence of the democratic political system (Young, 2009). This kind of battle has a clear purpose and direction of competition; in particular, it is between two parties competing for the most votes (horizontal conflict). The situation above occurs in many countries, from the level of presidential (national) to regional (regional) elections. Indonesia as the third-largest democracy and one of the most decentralized political systems in the world also experiences this political affair (Walden, 2017). In particular, the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial Election, which recently became the international spotlight (Smit, 2018).

There are two candidates: the incumbent, Basuki Tjahja Purnama-Djarot Syaiful Hidayat (later Ahok-Djarot) facing Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno (Anies-Sandi) to compete for the seat of Governor-Vice-Governor of DKI Jakarta. This position is highly strategic and decisive considering that Jakarta is the capital city of Indonesia and a barometer of Indonesia's national political struggle (Hamid 2014; Syailendra, 2017). Not surprisingly, the competition that occurred not only scattered around the province of DKI Jakarta alone, but indirectly, also seeped into areas throughout the territory of Indonesia.

Political battles in Jakarta's current elections not only take place at the political elite but also creep down to the grassroots level. Ordinary people are also actively voicing their support or argument with various mediums one of

them is through social media (Sadasri & Prajarto, 2013). Referring to the concept of Habermas 'Public Sphere' (1989), the people of Jakarta and other areas have been symbolically bound and engaged with each other through long discussions and debates in almost every topic in the social media arena. Referring to the background of the incident which is one of the busiest social media cities in the world (SemioCast, 2012), Jakarta elections can be claimed as one of the most thrilling political discourse battles in the digital world.

From a linguistic point of view, the discourse on political contestation is an interesting phenomenon to study, given that political discourse/campaign is a form of linguistic performance most often practiced in the era of open information (Enli, 2017). Political discourse is shaped in the midst of society and involves many constituent variables for shaping political realities and cool influences. The aspects of language that will be highlighted will be the determining factor of success of the discourses that are rolled out.

The relationship between language and reality has always been a fierce debate. However, one thing that can not be denied is the potential and ability of language in shaping, strengthening, bending, and even destroying reality in human perception (Wittgenstein, 2013). In the digital age, the battleground of discourse in constructing reality has moved into the digital world or in particular, social media (Enli, 2015). This process is more open and unpredictable because everyone can be a producer, distributor, or consumer of the revolving discourse. On this basis, linguistic analysis of major influential discourse producers, it is important to learn the ins and outs in order to understand the ideas and messages offered.

The previous inquiry shows that there have been volumes of researches that relate political discourse in social media or digital world, for instance, Agustina (2017) who investigates politeness in politician's language in Jakarta's 2017 Gubernatorial Election. The other study which has been conducted by Adek (2016) explores how black-and-white campaigns were massively used as political tools to support and neglect a candidate in Indonesia's 2014 presidential election. Meanwhile, Sadasri (2013) examines the power mapping that takes place in new media through micro celebrities through Foucaultian discourse analysis in Jakarta's 2012 Gubernatorial Election. While Djurubasa (2017) analyzes the discourse through campaign issues on Presidential Election 2014 in social media and sorting it by keyword through Fairclough's analytical approach, Ammann (2010) focuses on Twitter usage by American senate candidates and tweet content during the mid-2010 election season.

This research tries to inspect the aspects of language in political discourse through a qualitative perspective. Language content spread across social media will be analyzed based on social media texts (or postings) submitted by Twitter-based community accounts that is limited in the context of Jakarta's 2017 Gubernatorial Election. In Twitter medium, there is no website administrator, so as filter or gatekeeper over the information submitted is on the actor and the visible feedback from the interactivity built on the support community relation and its follower (supporter/reader). By dismantling the mastery presented in media content, this study is expected to see how social media is used in the political context by discourse producers as actors. Discourse analysis on the content of this support community account is also expected to contribute to the theory of comparison and movement of discourse which is currently still very limited in number.

Methods

Based on the nature of the research questions and purposes, this study was categorized as a descriptive-qualitative because "the focus of qualitative approach is to understand how meanings are (re)constructed" (Merriam, 2009, p. 13). In analyzing the data, discourse comparison approach called BREAK proposed by Sawirman (2014) was employed as grand theory. Specifically, the analysis focused on finding the position, the configuration and types of discursive movement of each discourse. The analysis of position is aimed at seeing where the position of each discourse, while the analysis of configuration is used to reveal the discourse is formulated through some features attached to each discourse. Last, the analysis of discourse movement is intended at mapping the path of movement of each discourse.

As reported by We Are Social (2016), almost ninety percents of adults in Indonesia use social media everyday to perform several purposes including political affair. The growing use of social media is believed has important implications for the political process in most countries around the world such as Arab-Spring phenomenon in Middle East and North Africa. Based on that basis, this research took selected document in social media-based as the source of the data. They were selected since these three accounts were heavily involved in the debate on the Jakarta Election especially in supporting one candidate (Ahok-Djarot) and weakening another candidate (Anies-Sandi). In every post, those accounts always get a response from both candidates' supporter. This kind of setting is believed by researchers being able to represent the actual and natural discourses occurring in the community, especially social media users.

The number of data taken as samples was seventeen. These data were considered sufficient since an in-depth analysis was called for. They were purposely selected based on the variance and the importance of their contents. Moreover, they represent many negative issues such as radicalism, racial discrimination, until personality. The data were then divided into three categories: (i) Gembong Politik (later GP), (ii) Potret Politik (PP), and (iii) Politik Kampus (PK). Therefore, the total of categories analyzed was three categories. The data were collected from Februari 2017 to May 2017.

The data were analyzed by using features of position, configuration and types of movement from Sawirman's BREAK theory (2014). There were several steps used in conducting the investigation. The early step is to read and re-read the data to get a sense of the whole context, such as to gain a general understanding of what the speakers are talking about. The next step is to label condensed meaning units by formulating codes and then grouping these codes into selected categories. The third was the identification of adjectives employed by the producer of the discourse in referring to a/the political campaign by using linguistic devices. The linguistic devices found were then categorized based on the framework proposed by Sawirman's BREAK theory. Last was a comparison of the results of the configuration and type of discursive movement of all discourses to see the overall signification of the selected adjectives. This research is also aimed to see whether the pattern of campaigns that support groups do have a common thread or different from each other employed by three accounts in social media Instagram in representing Ahok-Djarot as the better pairings.

The researchers have adopted Sawirman's (2014) BREAK theory which adequately accounts for the critical comparison of discourses. Sawirman (2005; 2014) argued that analyzing a text should take into account micro and macro-linguistics. Sawirman, like Fairclough agrees that the notion of discourse from a merely unprompted and natural "language in use" (Brown & Yule, 1983) and a means to recognize the speakers' intentions (Van Dijk, 1985) to be part and product of social practices (Chiluwa, 2008). Sawirman (2014) expanded that in every form of discourse, there is always a subliminal message behind the formulation of the language. This message can be political or ideological. Furthermore, discourse is able to represent the intention of a producer through linguistics perspectives such as intensity analysis, reduplication, repetition, contour, tone, intonation, and many other aspects. Last, Sawirman coins that every discourse has its own movement. Then, the movement is classified into two namely *convergent* or *divergent* (p. 16). *Convergent* displays the inherence

of message and spirit between each discourse. *Divergent* refers to differences among those discourses (p. 17).

Results and Discussions

This section is devoted to answer the three questions underpinning this study, i.e. the position of discourses, the configuration, and its movement. The first is an identification of discourse position by measuring the crowd of each discourse as a starting point for critical analysis; the second is breaking off the formulation of the discourse through linguistic analysis and its cooperation with many other fields to reveal the intention, idea, and purpose of the producer of the discourse; whereas the latter is to consider and to map the movement between the discourses based on their intention, message, and purpose.

Position of the Discourses

The Position of the discourses is purposed to enroll each discourse into several names. In this case, there are three selected producers of discourse namely @gembonk.politik (GP), @potretpolitik (PP) and @politikampus_ (PK). To facilitate classification between those three discourses and its mention in analysis, each discourse will be categorized into the primary, secondary and tertiary discourses. To be clear, the primary discourse acts as the main discourse and other discourse is present as its comparison.

The parameter to be used as a benchmark or the separation of these three discourses is the level of crowd activities. Researchers argue that in a crowded setting it will be easier to uncover the essence and spirit of the discourse. Therefore, the classification of the discourse position is described as follows:

Table 1. Identification of Position of Discourse

Position of the Discourses	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
Producers of the Discourse	PP	PK	GP

Configuration of the Discourses

Discourses exist through language use. In this term, language use refers to some constructions that exist in social media. The language on social media is never the same as the language in scientific or formal forums. Speakers in social media are a collection of people from diverse racial, cultural, educational, and experiential backgrounds. The diversity of these abundant language-generating variables in the end could form unique and particular discourse configuration.

The uniqueness of social media languages should be addressed with the right approach. Therefore, the only way to understand the form, purpose and purpose of the use of language deeply and critically, then the method of content analysis is needed. This is exactly what the content analysis method has to say as a method and technique (see Berelson, 1952; de Sola Pool, 1959).

1. PRIMARY DISCOURSE: Analysis of Form, Essence, Spirit

In simple terms, discourse can be defined as an influential language form in a speech society. In order to that, language symbols can have an effect and influence; a discourse must be fabricated in a form that can interact with the recipient community (or its audience). This set of signs will become the main core of the discourses. Of the many aspects of language, the adjective has the highest ability to explain and demonstrate a quality of the object it refers to (quality sign). Based on that principle, the analysis of the form of discourse here will focus on the analysis of adjectives that arise from discourse producers.

Table 2. Data of Gradable Adjectives in PP account (12 Feb-19 April 2017)

inner nature	measures	perceptions	properties
<i>nyinyir</i> 'nosy'	<i>pintar</i> 'smart'	<i>busuk</i> 'rotten'	<i>cabul</i> 'pervert'
<i>basi</i> 'boring'	<i>bego</i> 'moron'	<i>hangus</i> 'scorched'	
<i>sakit</i> 'sick'			

Table 3. Data of Non-Gradable Adjectives in PP account (12 Feb-19 April 2017)

Non-Gradable
<i>kampret</i> 'damn'

Form Analysis

Signs (in the form of adjectives) in the primary discourse can be divided into gradable and non-gradable categories. Gradable adjectives simply place the quality of an object to a certain extent after going through certain measurement methods. Based on the results of the identification table, the most widely gradable adjectives are 'inner nature'. This means the discourse producer (PP) tends to use a feeling approach (inward attitude) to enlarge the influence of the signs that uses in the political campaign. Other types of gradable adjectives that appear are size adjectives, perceptions and properties. Interestingly, the non-gradable adjectives only appear once in the word 'damn' (*kampret*).

Essence analysis

From the set of identified adjectives, almost all adjectives refer to poor or disgraceful qualities. This happens in both types of adjectives. Symbolically, this act indicates that the speaker speaks with a tendency to designate a bad price/quality to the recipient. For more details, see the following data:

Table 4. Analysis of Component Meanings of Adjectives in PP account (12 Feb-19 April 2017)

features of adjective	'damaged'	'hated'	'immoral'	'awful'
<i>basi</i> 'boring'	+	+	+	+
<i>bego</i> 'moron'	+	+	+	+
<i>busuk</i> 'rotten'	+	+	+	+
<i>cabul</i> 'pervert'	+	+	+	+

The only identified adjective that has a positive connotation is *smart*. The lexicon 'smart' can be decomposed into some components: [+competent, +superior, +skillful]. However, the use of adjective *smart* in this discourse no longer contains the connotation of positive meaning. This is because the word *smart* is juxtaposed with the verb *play* which then forms a new brand meaning: 'proficient at deceiving or pretending to be smart.'

There is only one non-gradable adjective that is *damn*. The word *damn* is lexically included into the noun word class. However, grammatically, the speaker performs its secondary meaning which turns its classification into adjective with meaning component: [+animalistic, +annoying, +troublesome]. Similar to other previous identified adjectives, the *damn* lexicon also refers to a bad or negative connotation.

Spirit Analysis

The spirit accommodate behind the appearance of the above adjective is self-righteousness. This spirit refers to the highest judgment to oneself through poor prejudice to the opponent. This dichotomy is considered highly effective morally because society will be very easily affected and then encourage their choice of position to a party deemed to be of better value than the underestimated party. This political attitude is also practiced in the USA Election recently carrying a spirit of superiority to one race over another (Wilks, 2017).

2. SECONDARY DISCOURSE: Analysis of Form, Essence, Spirit

In the second discourse, four language signs are found which refer to the assessment/description of properties (adjective) of a thing. The following is the identification of adjectives contained in the secondary discourse.

Table 5. Data of gradable adjective in PK account (10 Feb-7 Mei 2017)

Inner Nature	Measures
jahanam 'hellish'	murahan 'cheap'
bahlul 'foolish'	layak 'proper'

Form Analysis

Of the four adjectives found, they are all included in the gradable adjectives. Based on distribution by classification, adjective of inner natures and measures both appear twice. Almost the same as the primary discourse producers, secondary discourse still has a tendency to use the feeling approach (inner natures) to achieve the strongest influence of the adjectives used. The adjective of measures occurs twice; *cheap* and *proper*. The lexicon 'murahan' (*cheap*) is an adjective created from the affixation of *murah* morphemes and the suffix *-an*. The 'proper' lexicon has a color quite different from the other three adjectives because it implies positive nuance.

Essence Analysis

From a collection of adjectives that have been found, the use of gradable adjectives in secondary discourse is still dominated by negative and poor description. This approach symbolically signifies that the speaker produces a discourse with a tendency to undervalue its receiver (political opponents). For more details, it is explained as follow:

Table 6. Analysis of adjective componential meaning in PK account (10 Feb-7 Mei 2017)

Characteristics	'Undervalue'	'Disfavour'	'Immoral'	'Awful'
<i>jahanam</i> 'hellish'	+	+	+	+
<i>bahlul</i> 'foolish'	+	+	+	+
<i>murahan</i> 'cheap'	+	+	+	+
<i>layak</i> 'proper'	-	-	-	-

The only adjective that has a positive connotation is *proper*. The meaning component of *proper* can be decomposed into [+fit, +appropriate, +deserved]. However, the use of adjective *proper* in this discourse is no longer in a circle of

positive meanings. Since the adjective *proper* is paired with the negation marker, then, it automatically converts its meaning into 'unsuitable or inappropriate.'

Spirit Analysis

The spirit behind this secondary discourse is the assassination of the opposing character. These are reflected in three identified adjectives: *hellish*, *foolish* and *cheap*. The adjective *hellish* refers to the level of the worst punishment believed by most Muslim voters. The adjective *foolish* refers to the cognitive qualities of a person which is below standard. The adjective *cheap* refers to the absence of great qualities from the hearer. These three adjectives have the same intention especially in removing the sympathy of the people to choose opposing party.

3. TERTIARY DISCOURSE: Analysis of Form, Essence, Spirit

In this tertiary discourse, four language signs are found that refer to the assessment/description of properties (adjectives). The following is the identification of adjectives in tertiary discourse.

Table 7. Data of non-gradable Adjective in GP account (15-20 April 2017)

Non-Gradable
<i>waras</i> 'sane'
<i>radikal</i> 'radical'
<i>sarap</i> 'insane'

Table 8. Data of gradable adjective in GP account (15-20 April 2017)

Gradable; Inner nature
<i>manis</i> 'sweet'

Form Analysis

Of the four adjectives identified, three of them belong to non-gradable type. The adjectives *sane*, *radical* and *insane* have semantic behaviors as classifier or expression of membership in a group. The word *insane* is inserted into the adjective class after experiencing transposition of meaning which was originally at the verb class. In this case, *insane* is interpreted as 'absurd or mad'.

Tertiary discourse is no longer dominated by gradable adjectives. The only gradable adjective found is *sweet*. The lexicon *sweet* in this case is an adjective that expresses the level of beauty of a behavior or action. Also, the

lexicon *sweet* has a different connotation from the other three previous adjectives because it has positive meaning.

Essence Analysis

From the data that has been identified, the use of non-gradable adjectives in tertiary discourse refers to vivid dichotomy/categorization to identify the standpoint of the recipient. This act signifies to ensure the membership and alignments of its recipient. For more details, see the following data:

Table 9. Analysis of adjective meaning intensity in GP account (15-20 April 2017)

Option	'Yes'	'No'
<i>waras</i> 'sane'	50	50
<i>radikal</i> 'radical'	100	0
<i>sarap</i> 'insane'	100	0

The word *sane* is used by the speaker to ensure the choice of side made by the recipient. In this occasion, the speaker is still in the stage of asking and clarifying the choice of the recipient. In contrast to the use of words *radikal* and *sarap*, the speaker has been clearly classified the speaker as part of the destructive nature (*radikal*) and unwise (*sarap*).

Furthermore, only one adjective has a positive connotation as occurred in 'manis' (*sweet*). The word *sweet* in this case has several components of meaning suchlike [+soothing, +liked, +received]. However, the use of adjective *sweet* in tertiary discourse is actually not positive one. The choice of word *sweet* is used to explain the level of ability in practicing a falsehood process. This process subsequently forms a new meaning such as 'smart in pretending or cheating.'

Spirit Analysis

The spirit underlying this tertiary discourse is identity politics. This is evident from the three non-gradable i.e. *sane*, *radikal* and *insane*. The word *sane* shows an expression of sarcasm towards the recipient which no longer uses their common sense in making choices. The word *radikal* refers to the classification after the recipient chooses their side. The word *insane* refers to the absence of sanity from the opponents as a consequence of their choice. All three of these adjectives have the same intention of classifying the recipient into a certain group due to the difference in political choice with the speaker.

Discussion

Based on the above findings, there are two interesting things that need to be discussed. The first is how aspects of language reflect the political communication styles in the grassroots. The use of adjectives in the political discourse above implies an act of condescension towards the interlocutor. This peculiar pattern is very vulnerable in the end, causing feelings of threatened or the loss of face to the speech partner. This conception is in step with the findings of other researchers such as Nisa (2016), Mustika, Agustina and Ramadhan (2019), and Faizah, Mustika and Prasetyo (2019) who concluded that the debate of Indonesian political supporters in social media was filled with verbal violences.

The second thing that can be drawn is the revival of identity politics in Indonesia democracy. Through the mention of defects and scathing criticisms of each competing governor candidate, these partisan groups believe that they are in the most correct side. They seem without hesitation to assassinate the opposing character to elevate the value of their chosen candidates without regard for politeness and ethics in democratic interactions. This insight is closely related to the findings of Muhtadi (2019) and Mietzner (2020) which refer to the rise of identity politics in the practice of democracy in Indonesia lately.

Conclusion

This research examines the comparison of three discourses from supporting community accounts in second largest social-media platform used in Indonesia, Instagram. Specifically, this research investigated where the position of each discourse, how the configuration of each discourse and how the pattern of the three movements of the discourse in support of their candidate governor in Jakarta Election 2017. All three are discussed through the paradigm that discourse is the practice of using language symbols in carrying out a function and influence in their speech society.

According to the analysis of discursive position, the primary discourse is occupied by PP accounts; secondary discourse by PK account; and tertiary discourse by GP account. The classification is based on the intensity of activity of each account in producing the discourse. In addition, the primary discourse also generated the most data compared to the two other comparative discourses.

The configuration of the discourse displays several important points. Primary discourse has gradable adjectives that exist with the essence to show poor quality of the receiver with spirit 'holier than you.' The secondary discourse is also dominated by a gradable adjective with the essence of showing the bad quality of the hearer with a spirit of assassination of opponent's characters. The

tertiary discourse is built on the basis of the non-gradable adjectives with the essence of criticizing opponent's choice through political identity way.

For the type of movement, primary and secondary discourse has the same type, namely KO-KO. The essence and spirit conceived behind the two forms of discourse have compatibility and support each other. In other cases, tertiary discourse moves with DI-KO type. The essence contained in its form has a significant contrast between the primary and secondary discourse but is still one path in spirit perspective.

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