

# Construction of the National Democratic Party's Political Strategy in Anies Baswedan's Declaration as a 2024 Presidential Candidate of Indonesia

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## Abstract

The election of the new President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia will be held on February 14, 2024. Registration for presidential and vice presidential candidates will be held from October 19 to November 25, 2023. However, the National Democratic Party (NasDem) has declared Anies Rasyid Baswedan as a presidential candidate without a vice president, and a coalition of supporting parties has not yet been formed. NasDem has not yet met the presidential threshold requirement to carry a presidential candidate, which is a minimum of 20% of the total seats in the Parliament or 25% of the national valid votes in the 2019 elections. Although NasDem's plan to form a coalition axis of change with the Democratic Party (PD) and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) to meet the presidential threshold has not yet found agreement, since being declared a presidential candidate, Anies Baswedan has immediately stepped on the gas to conduct political safaris to various regions to introduce himself to the public as a presidential candidate from the NasDem party. The purpose of this research is to analyze the construction of Surya Paloh and Anies Baswedan's political speeches at the NasDem Party presidential candidate declaration event. This research explores aspects of commodification related to the criteria for selecting presidential candidates. This research uses a qualitative approach with the critical discourse analysis method of the Teun Van Dijk model, which focuses on three elements: text, social cognition, and social context. The results showed that in the context of the macrostructure thematically, on the superstructure context, and on the microstructure.

**Keywords:** Construction of political strategy, Commodification, Presidential candidate, Coalition, Presidential threshold

## 1. Introduction

On February 14, 2024, a general election will be held to elect a president and vice president. Many names are predicted to enliven the presidential candidacy, including Anies Baswedan, Ganjar Pranowo, Sadiaga Uno, Erick Tohir, Ridwan Kamis, Airlangga Hartarto, Prabowo Subianto, Puan Maharani, and Agus Murti Yudoyono. Various surveys on the electability of various candidates have been conducted by survey institutions in Indonesia. Ganjar Pranowo is the figure with the highest electability, followed by Baswedan. Even one of the political parties, without first forming a coalition, has declared a presidential candidate without nominating a vice president. This is a quick step by the National Democratic (NasDem) Party to announce its 2024 presidential candidate.

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It is no secret that Baswedan has both weaknesses and strengths. The advantage is that he has served as Governor of Jakarta. The weakness is that during his position as governor, there have been blunders over various statements he denied himself. Even some projects are considered not pro-people and not even useful. For example, the infiltration well project is not maximized. Even the infiltration wells make the roads dangerous for vehicles to pass through. Bamboo monuments, whose benefits are unknown, must be dismantled because they are fragile. The shoe monument and also the bicycle monument have provided no benefits for Jakarta residents. Jakarta is still flooded, but Anis refuses to normalize the river. These things really weaken Baswedan. Even he must get ready for the KPK summons related to Formula E corruption. This certainly weakens his national credibility.

Despite things that are considered less than perfect, the NasDem Party made a different, surprising decision. The NasDem Party declared Anies Baswedan a candidate for president on November 10, 2022. The chairman of the NasDem Party called him the best presidential candidate. That's why what NasDem wants to find is the best one rather than the good one (Mahadi, 2022). Why him? The answer is why it is not the best (Eva Safitri, 2022).

NasDem's decision to choose Baswedan must have been the result of a careful calculation of the advantages and disadvantages. NasDem must have been very sure that his choice was the right one. NasDem wants this much earlier decision to provide more time for him to establish communication with various parties, especially potential voters. NasDem already believes that choosing him is because he is a commodity that has a high bargaining value. NasDem is the first to determine the choice of prospective leaders of Indonesia.

Since the declaration, Anies Baswedan seems to be hunting with time. He immediately made visits to various regions to meet with community leaders and pockets of potential voters. Thus, he will always be covered and be the only one to be promoted by the media long before the presidential candidate campaigns. He has started long before the campaign, meaning that he is far ahead of schedule in establishing communication and mobilizing support from various regions.

In terms of news, whatever the public's response, whether positive or negative, still has a good impact on Anies Baswedan. His name is becoming more widely known. That is the purpose of his presence in various regions, which is enlivened by rejection by some members of the public. As revealed in cultivation theory, the media constructs messages about something, in this case, Anis Baswedan (Shrum, 2017). The relentless media coverage has not only made him more famous but also changed the perception of the public. Those who do not know or those who hate will change their minds. Their perceptions can change or reverse direction from hate to longing with continuous news for a long time (Nwabueze & Okonkwo, 2018).

This strategy was deliberately carried out after the declaration. Although the campaign period is still long, NasDem has already started mobilizing the audience, even though baswedan's opponent is not yet known. He seems to understand that if the audience has sympathized with her, then their perception changes and they are already in a position to support her. If these supporters already have a positive perception of you, when the time to compete comes, they are easily mobilized.

Anies Baswedan as a political actor can take advantage of the existence of media that supports him to perceive and influence the minds of potential voters. The purpose of this study is to analyse the construction of Surya Paloh and Anies Baswedan's speeches at the inauguration of the National Democratic Party's presidential candidates. The research is directed at exploring aspects of commodification related to the criteria for selecting presidential candidates.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in this context refers to the use of language, both spoken and written, as an object of study in the form of speech scripts, recorded conversations, live conversations, meeting notes, debates, lectures, etc. However, the analysis is not only based on language analysis but goes deeper than

language units to reveal the meaning of an utterance. However, the analysis is not only based on language analysis but goes deeper than language units to reveal the meaning of an utterance. According to the poststructuralist view, language is not only a medium of expression but also a medium for exercising dominance and spreading power. Language becomes a tool for institutions to spread their power.

CDA is heavily influenced by Russian theorists Mikhail M. Bakhtin and Valentin N. Volosinov (Titscher & Jenner, 2000). Ideology, according to them, views that every use of language is ideological. Volosinov (1975) asserts that linguistic signs are the domain of class struggle, which is a struggle for signification. Meanwhile, Bakhtin emphasizes the dialogue nature of texts, with the understanding that each text is seen as part of a series of texts that react to each other and refer to and modify each other.

Ideologies are conceived as basic systems of shared social representations that may control more specific group beliefs (knowledge, attitudes), and influence models via the instantiation of such beliefs in concrete models of situations and experiences. Ideologies themselves have to be inferred from more directly observable structures of cognition, interaction, and society. For this reason, the paper sets out to show the linkage between opinions, attitudes, and ideologies and to look for ways of explaining variation in opinions as well as in shared social dimensions of evaluative beliefs (attitudes). This is elucidated using a sample text (Dijk, 1995; Van Dijk, 2015).

CDA views discourse as a form of social practice (Van Dijk, 2015). This implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situations, institutions, and social structures that host it. A dialectical relationship is a two-way relationship; discursive events are shaped by situations, institutions, and social structures but also shape them. The complex relationship between language and social facts can be recognized by the ideological effects that are often unclear and hidden in language use and the influence of power relations (Titscher & Jenner, 2000).

## 2. Methods

This research uses a critical paradigm with an interpretive qualitative approach. Interpretation of the meaning behind Anies Baswedan and Surya Paloh's speeches. Data were obtained through observation, interviews, and documentation. The focus of analysis is the monologue discourse of Anies Baswedan and Surya Paloh's speeches at the Anies Baswedan's declaration event as the NasDem Party's presidential candidate on October 3, 2022. Monologue discourse is a discourse produced by a person in the form of an oral speech, campaign, lecture and many more. The data were analysed using Teun A. van Dijk's critical discourse analysis, which analyses text analysis, social cognition, and social context in macro, supra, and micro text structures to reveal the meaning behind the language used. The macrostructure is a critical discourse study that begins by looking for the meaning of a global topic or theme. The supra-structure (schematic) is the author's strategy to support the general meaning by providing a number of supporting reasons arranged in the introduction, body, and conclusion. Microstructure (semantic, syntax, stylistics, and rhetoric) is the style of the speaker.

## 3. Research Findings

The findings on the critical discourse analysis of Anies Baswedan and Surya Paloh's speeches on the declaration of Anies Baswedan as the NasDem Party's presidential candidate according to Teun A. Van Dijk are divided into 3 structures: macro, supra, and micro (Kintsch & Van Dijk, 1978).

**Macro structure:** In general, Anies Baswedan's speech contained flattery to Surya Paloh, Chairman of the NasDem Party, who endorsed him as a 2024 presidential candidate. Baswedan thanked him because there is already a party that supports him. When asked by Reuters in Singapore, he said, "I am ready to run for president if a party nominates me," He said, as quoted from Reuters in Singapore on Friday, September 22. This is what should happen because he is not a member of the cadre of one of the political parties, so he can be more free to establish communication with many parties (CNNIndonesia, 2022a). In the speech, he stated

that he accepted the proposal of the NasDem party to become a presidential candidate in the 2024 general election.

**Supra structure:** Baswedan's speech has a clear structure. He started by mentioning the atmosphere that occurred when the speech was delivered, where the situation was bright, which was then analogized as the brightness of Indonesia in the future. Then he quoted the NasDem manifesto, in which there were things that he thought were suitable for creating a bright Indonesia. The content of his speech was a thank-you to NasDem and Surya Paloh in particular for endorsing him to become the NasDem Party's presidential candidate.

**Microstructure:** In his speech, Anies Baswedan mentioned the contents of the NasDem manifesto, and he stated, "I continue to hold the message, I continue to remember the message, and I continue to carry the message since it was read at that time". The phrase 'since it was read at that time' implies that it is as if he has lived the NasDem manifesto.

*"In the National Democrat manifesto entitled Restoration Indonesia, let me read some of its contents. This is the content of the manifesto: 'We aspire to a mature Indonesian democracy that is a place where diversity meets unity, dynamism meets order, competition meets equality, and freedom meets prosperity'.*

*That message has stayed with me since it was read out at the time. I've seen the National Democrats consistently live up to the message of that manifesto."*

Anies felt that he accepted NasDem's invitation after hearing a statement delivered by Surya Paloh regarding the condition of the Indonesian nation. He admitted that he was invited to fix Indonesia's problems and continue what had not been done. Keep in mind that NasDem had opposed him during the 2017 DKI Regional Head Election (Pilkada). At that time, NasDem supported the Basuki Tjahaja Purnama-Djarot Saiful Hidayat pair, while Anies-Sandiaga Uno was carried by the Gerindra Party and PKS.

Baswedan's statement, "comparing diversity with unity, dynamics with order, competition with equality, and freedom with welfare," implies that he is in line with the NasDem Party. As history records, he seems to forget that he became governor because of the support of intolerant people, groups that are currently disbanded by the government, namely HTI and FPI. The identity politics that colored the Jakarta election succeeded in getting rid of Ahok. Perhaps if the election was conducted honestly, he would not have won.

He further stated that

*"And that is when Bang Surya and friends at NasDem invite us to stand side by side, to walk together, to continue development in this republic, to improve what is lacking, to complete what is not yet complete, then by asking for the pleasure of Allah SWT by asking for guidance from Him, and with all humility, bismillahi rahmanirrahim, we accept and we are ready to answer that challenge".*

This time, Anies Baswedan did not mention her track record. His statement contains the hope that he will continue development, improve what is lacking, and complete what has not been completed. The facts on the ground when he was governor showed that he did not want to complete the Ciliwung river channel. Jokowi even said that the Ciliwung river channel needs to be improved to reduce flooding in Jakarta. But in fact, Acting Governor Heru, who in a very short time can continue to make the Ciliwung river channel (CNBCIndonesia, 2022).

Not only the Ciliwung River, but also Baswedan refused to normalize the river when he was asked by the Minister of PUPR. He argued that normalization would still be ineffective if there was no water management in Bogor. Instead, he blamed other regions. Jakarta floods because other regions are unable to control the water.

PUPR Minister Basuki Hadimuljono and DKI Governor Anies Baswedan reviewed flooding in the capital city of Jakarta. After reviewing the floods, Basuki and Anies Baswedan exchanged opinions about the normalization of the Ciliwung River. Mr. Basuki initially said that normalization along the Ciliwung River had been handled

for only 16 km out of 33 km. Then the ones that have not been normalized look like puddles. The statement was then refuted by him by saying that in addition to normalization, there must be control over water entering Jakarta from Bogor.

*"I apologize, Mr. Minister, but I have to take a view because you said earlier. So, as long as water is allowed from the south to enter Jakarta and there is no control from the south, then whatever we do on the coast, including in Jakarta, will not be able to control the water," Anies explained.*

This is not just a matter of differing opinions; there has been defiance. If he does normalization, then the impact is the widening of the river. If the river is widened, there will be evictions. This is certainly contrary to his siding with the weak that he echoed during the campaign. Behind it all, Baswedan is indeed different from the PUPR Minister, who focuses on solutions, while he focuses on concepts, which then stop at the concept and there are no concrete actions. As a result, Jakarta continues to be flooded.

On the other hand, Baswedan's speech was a form of resistance to Prabowo from the Gerindra Party, which had endorsed him as governor of DKI Jakarta. Instead of returning to Prabowo and inviting Prabowo to re-nominate him as a presidential candidate, he left Prabowo and joined a party that was willing to nominate him as a presidential candidate. He became an ungrateful figure to his supporters. He is not loyal, he is not faithful, and he easily leaves the person who has contributed to making him the governor of DKI Jakarta.

### **Surya Paloh's speech**

At a macro level, Surya Paloh's speech uses a chronological order model. He began with a long history of determining three nominees and then choosing one of the three presidential candidates. Then he explained that his decision as Party Chairman was not Surya Paloh's personal decision but a decision that had been based on various inputs, suggestions, views and considerable self-contemplation. The decision made is also not a momentary decision but a decision that has been in process for quite a long time.

Judging from the second element, namely superstructure, Surya Paloh's speech is very structured. He started with an opening where he tried to open up that he was not an authoritarian leader. He received input and involved many parties to make decisions. Then, Surya Paloh explained that no human being is perfect. He conveyed this to see Baswedan's figure who also has weaknesses. As a public official in Jakarta, he has many weaknesses, many ideas that cannot be applied, and there are still many things that need to be addressed. So Surya Paloh said that nobody is perfect.

*So Bung Anies' main task will be to look back at the extent to which the dignity and dignity of the value of our national life has been successful to be continued, which has not been successful to be improved, these moderate thoughts are offered by NasDem.*

Surya Paloh also then advised Baswedan to continue the things that have been started and are good, improve those that have not been done with his moderate thoughts. He also emphasized that his declaration was the NasDem Party's good intention for 2024. He and Nasdem Party continue to support the government until the end of the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin administration.

Surya Paloh closed his speech reiterating that the choice of the NasDem Party was Anies Baswedan who he considered the best of three good candidates. He is the final choice of 3 candidates owned by the NasDem Party, not the only candidate. This proves the NasDem Party's commitment to remain democratic. He advised everyone to oversee this candidacy. He also advised to remind, reprimand, and straighten out if he did something he shouldn't have done.

*I ask you to guard, guard the NasDem Party's nomination of Anies Baswedan. The journey is still long, reprimand, say what is not right, say what is not suitable, say what is not in accordance with what I might not say today so that this interaction process produces something, an effort to improve on our shortcomings.*

In a micro way, Surya Paloh gave a satire to the current government, which he considered only focused on physical development. According to the NasDem Party, the government's work is not in line with the wishes of

the NasDem Party. The government only focuses on infrastructure development, including roads, national roads, toll roads, dams, factories, and others. Surya Paloh may be disappointed with the government's work, which has not focused on the mental revolution delivered by Jokowi during the 2019 presidential election campaign. This disappointment then made Surya Paloh turn and choose Anies Baswedan as a figure who was able to bring changes to the mental side of the nation with character.

*"We can not only build the journey of this nation's life by looking at the development of physical aspects alone. That is needed and very much needed, but what is no less needed is nation- and character-building to build the character of the nation's children, both of which we need.*

Anies said the government must also think about how people can unite through instruments that build a sense of togetherness or equality. Therefore, according to him, Jakarta Provincial Government presents these instruments through various modes of public transportation (CNNIndonesia, 2022b).

Character building is not only done through education but also through habituation. "Performance characters such as hard work, discipline, thorough work, not giving up easily—those are all characters. It's not just about being honest, polite, or respectful to parents," he explained (Merdeka.com, 2017).

However, Baswedan's words and deeds are in stark contrast. During his time as Governor of Jakarta (2017–2022), he actually built physical things that provide less benefit to the citizens of Jakarta. Take, for example, the construction of shoe monuments, the construction of *getah getih* bamboo, the painting of residents' roof tiles, infiltration wells on the streets, the construction of bicycle monument, and plastic trees, which are physical developments and are not useful for Jakarta residents. However, for things that are directly related to congestion or flooding, there is no real action. Regarding character education, he was unable to show any development or change aimed at improving the quality of the character of Jakarta residents. Everything is nonsense. Just being a governor with a very small scope of operations is not enough, let alone being a president with a very broad scope. What will the world say?

*So Bung Anies' main task will be to look back at the extent to which the value of the dignity of our national life has been successful in being continued and has not been successful in being improved. These moderate thoughts are offered by NasDem. NasDem wants to emphasize its commitment to continue supporting the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin government until the end of its term. Because there are no differences in principle, shortcomings must exist, and it is the duty of friends, the duty of parties in the governing coalition, to always guard with good intentions and do what is best for the government, both for this nation and country.*

Surya Paloh spoke about moderate thoughts. What Surya Paloh wants to convey is that currently in the Jokowi-Ma'ruf government there have been deviations or perhaps things that are not in line with the NasDem Party's vision and mission. On the other hand, he still wants to support Jokowi-Ma'ruf in the government. This is done because there are several ministers from NasDem. Paloh does not want his ministers to be removed. Therefore, he said he would continue to support the government.

At the end of his speech, Surya Paloh said:

*I ask you to guard the NasDem Party's nomination of Anies Baswedan. The journey is still long; reprimand, say what is not right, say what is not suitable, say what is not in accordance with what I have said today, so that this interaction process produces something, an effort to improve on our shortcomings.*

Surya Paloh's message to rebuke, to say what is not right, to say what is not suitable, and to say what is not appropriate, are words that are not yet certain. Anies Baswedan's candidacy became an experiment. Whether the public accepts Annie or not Surya Paloh chose him to show who he really is so that people can choose other candidates who have not yet appeared. It could be that Surya Paloh wants his character to die by itself early on. Thus, his candidacy is actually not finalized. If in the future things are found that are not incriminating for his candidacy, it is not impossible that his candidacy will be cancelled. Moreover, the

coalition has not yet been formed. It could be that the political parties that previously wanted to form a coalition cancelled their coalition.

Baswedan's candidacy is a means to test or provoke other parties to immediately bring up their presidential candidates. His candidacy became a means to force out other candidates. This nomination is used by the NasDem Party to measure how popular he is, how much he is desired by the people, and how much Surya Paloh benefits from Anis' nomination in the 2024 presidential election. This is to prove how much the party supports NasDem.

#### 4. Discussion

Every party has the right to nominate a particular figure as a presidential candidate. Parties are free to determine presidential candidates. This is also the case with Surya Paloh. The choice fell on Anies Baswedan from three names nominated by the NasDem Party, in addition to Ganjar Pranowo and Andika Perkasa. There is no free lunch. Surya Paloh's choice of him was definitely not free. There is a purpose behind his nomination as the NasDem party's presidential candidate.

First, Surya Paloh is disappointed with the current government, which focuses on physical development in the form of buildings and others. Jokowi pays less attention to the elements of mental development and national character. Jokowi forgot his promise of a mental revolution. Until now, the concrete form of the mental revolution is unclear. As evidence shows, corruption is still proliferating in front of Jokowi. One of them is the corruption of social assistance by Social Minister Juliari Batubara, who stumbled over the COVID-19 social assistance (bansos) corruption case. The previous social minister, Idrus Marham, was ensnared by a bribery case related to the steam power plant Riau-1 project. Previous Minister of Maritime Affairs, Edy Prabowo Imam Nahrawi was caught in bribery related to the distribution of financing with a government assistance scheme through the Ministry of Youth and Sports at KONI for the 2018 fiscal year (FY). They were in the closest circle to Jokowi but ended up in detention cells due to bribery and corruption cases. Thus, the mental revolution promoted by Jokowi is not going well.

The selection of Anies Baswedan is a political choice. Surya Paloh has a special agenda if Angela Davis is elected president. Surya Paloh, who is a businessman, certainly has a hidden mission. He must hope that his business octopus will grow if Angela becomes president. He is a figure who can still be influenced and arranged. For example, cases of overpayment occurred several times when he was governor of Jakarta. Overpayment is an extraordinary act of carelessness.

Because of the high hopes for the continuity of his business, Surya Paloh had to pay dearly. He had to sacrifice large funds for Anies Baswedan to conduct political safaris to various parts of Indonesia even though the campaign period had not yet arrived. Surya Paloh knows very well that the skewed view of Baswedan is so inherent, especially with the identity politics that brought him to the seat of Governor of Jakarta. Surya Paloh poured in this huge amount so that later, he was elected president despite his less than perfect track record. Many things he has done are not beneficial to the citizens of Jakarta.

In addition to the interests of certain groups, the choice of Anies Baswedan by the NasDem Party is Surya Paloh's resistance so that the next president is no longer from the PDIP Party. He may wish to have an alternative president. One of them is Anies Baswedan. He wants his president to come from another tribe. He did not choose Ganjar Pranowo, who is also a PDIP cadre.

Apart from business matters, Anies' election is a way to slow the pace of the crown prince from Cikeas. With Ann being nominated, the position of presidential candidate is closed. If you want, then the Democratic Party only gets the vice presidential seat. Even then, if Anies chooses Agus Harimurti Yudoyono (AHY) as his vice candidate, if Baswedan chooses a figure other than AHY, then AHY for the second time must swallow a bitter pill. At that time, AHY lost in the first round of the Jakarta election in 2019.

The declaration on October 3, 2022, was an attempt by the supporting parties to start branding Anies Baswedan as intolerant, who are close to being banned community organizations. Surya Paloh realizes that Anies Baswedan is less popular with some Indonesians. He is not the first choice and still loses prestige to Ganjar Pranowo. He does not yet have a strong enough mass base to win. Therefore, he aggressively made visits to various regions to introduce himself early on.

Anies Baswedan's selection is Surya Paloh's way of testing his electability so that he began to circulate early and gain support. On the other hand, Surya Paloh wants to see how the public interest in Anies Baswedan develops. Is Angie accepted in the community? Is the track record that he has always favored able to boost his electability? It is known that his arrival is not always attended by many sympathizers; sometimes it tends to be empty. The track record that he maintains has become a subject of ridicule.

## 5. Conclusion

There is no free lunch. There is no sacrifice without demanding a reward. Anies Baswedan's nomination as the Nasdem Party's presidential candidate has an ulterior motive. If he is elected president then he must pay for that. Anis must pay his debts because he has been given 'loans' for facilities, has been given privileges which of course cost a lot of money. All these debts must be paid when he is elected president. Surya Paloh's speech as Chairman of the NasDem Party became the starting point of his journey. Surya Paloh's speech was an announcement that the NasDem Party had a presidential candidate. This speech became an announcement for all Party members. Surya Paloh's speech was constructed to ensure that he was worthy of becoming president. The NasDem Party, which is known as a Nationalist Party, has changed its mind, has changed its stance.

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The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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