

# paper check

*by* Theophilus J Riyanto

---

**Submission date:** 08-Apr-2023 09:30AM (UTC+0700)

**Submission ID:** 2058766424

**File name:** Rhetoric\_of\_Political\_communication\_in.pdf (391.64K)

**Word count:** 13009

**Character count:** 70091

## **Rhetoric of Political communication in Indonesian 2019 Presidential Debate**

By

Theophilus **Joko** Riyanto  
Liem Satya Limanta  
Samuel Gunawan  
Petra Christian University

### **ABSTRACT**

This study examines the rhetoric of political communication in Indonesian 2019 Presidential Debate between Joko Widodo versus Prabowo Subiyanto. As the incumbent president, Jokowi faced Prabowo as his challenger. This gave way to their respective political communications to influence the political environment. The modern concept of rhetorical theory (Hart, Daughton & LaVally, 2018) was used to analyze how they constructed their lines of reasoning to win the support of their prospective voters. Despite showing better lines of thought than his challenger, Jokowi was still lacking in well-spelled out lines of arguments. Furthermore this study also examined the two candidates' political agenda by using the theory of campaign packaging as proposed by Medhurst in terms of agenda setting, framing, character construction, and emotional resonance. Unlike Prabowo, this paper indicates that Jokowi was very much on the advantage based on his prior succesful first term of presidential office.

**Keywords:** Rhetoric; Presidential election debate; political communication.

### **Introduction**

The Indonesian Presidential Election Debate organized by the General Elections Commission held for the first time to add weight to the implementation of democracy in the 2004 presidential election, which coincided with the first time that the positions of President and Vice President began to be directly elected by the people in modern Indonesian politics. Furthermore, the presidential election debate was also held again in the 2009 and 2014 presidential elections. The Indonesian 2019 presidential election again brought together the two presidential candidates who had earlier fought in the 2014 presidential election – Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and Prabowo Subianto. In the 2014 presidential election, both of them were in the same position, namely as contestants for the position of president of the Republic of Indonesia. In the end, Jokowi won the contest. In the 2019 presidential election, Prabowo Subianto reappeared as a presidential candidate paired with Sandiaga Salahudin Uno as a vice presidential candidate to challenge Jokowi as an incumbent presidential candidate paired with Ma'ruf Amin as a vice presidential candidate (Nuraflah and Husniati, 2018, 19).

This study examines how the incumbent presidential candidate and his challenger built their logical flow of political communication rhetoric in the 2019 presidential election debate and how they

packed and delivered their political communication content to convince voters about their lines of political thoughts and platforms. The presidential election debate as a means of political communication requires the rhetorical expertise of each contestant in making persuasive arguments about their political thoughts and platforms (Heryanto, 2019). Holbrook in Febriansyah (2019) stated that presidential election debate played a role in increasing voters' knowledge and also helped prospective voters to identify the right figure they would choose. Therefore, this research will answer 2 (two) research questions as follows: 1) What are the lines of reasoning for argumentative-persuasive messages built by both the incumbent presidential candidate and his challenger? 2) How do the incumbent presidential candidates and his challenger pack their ideas and lines of political thoughts and platforms in the debate round being studied?

### **Review of Literature**

Wardani (2019) suggested that the two presidential candidates had not been able to optimally utilize their political speeches as a channel of political communication. This was also supported by observers' statements that the propositions of the two candidates tended to be normative and less elaborative (Khoirul in Kristimanta, 2019).

The theoretical framework of Stephen Toulmin's line of reasoning which has been modified by Roderick Hart (Hart et al, 2018, 99-107) was used as an analytical framework to map the existing regularity of reasoning in explaining arguments. Hart's modified line of reasoning framework directed researchers to identify three important main features of reasoning as follows:

#### **1). Main Claims (MC)**

(a) Main Claims (MC) are broad in scope statements; (b) MC are the most abstract statements; (c) MC is what the rhetor (the initiator) hopes will become the "main message" (i.e. "message poll", "main point", "message of importance", rather than message details); and (d) MC is often emphasized repeatedly in messages.

#### **2) Main Data (MD)**

(a) Main Data (MD) have more concrete position compared to MC.

(b) MD are statements that provide answers to the following questions:

- What prompted you to say that?
- What is next?

(c) MD consists of facts, illustrations, and evidence used to support the rhetor's claim.

### 3) Warrants (W)

(a) Warrants (W) are keys to Toulmin's approach. Warrants will allow "a movement" from MD to MC. (b) Toulmin explains Warrants as "general hypothetical statements that can act as bridges and authorize certain steps towards which our particular argument commits us."

Furthermore W consists of three parts:

- (1) Substantive Warrants (SW) – ideas accepted as factual ("playing music is a human activity; commonplace in any culture");
- (2) Motivational Warrants (MW) – the idea that the desired goals must be achieved or else some desired conditions are threatened, for example: "The development of musical skills is a valuable life resource."
- (3) Authoritative Warrants (AW) – Ideas based on the credibility of the initiator or source of testimony, for example: "According to the organizations *music* and *the deaf*, hearing loss need not prevent people from making and enjoying music".

The following is the theoretical framework from Medhurst (as cited from Barrett, 2016; Basten, 2016; Culotta, 2016) who suggested that the rhetoric of presidential candidate campaign typically contains four components:

#### (a) Agenda Setting

Agenda setting is understood as a choice of issues to become the focus which are then prioritized so that they become more prominent than other issues that are published.

#### (b) Framing

Framing is the selection of certain aspects of reality to be conveyed as something that stands out (Shaw, n.d.). Framing is a mental structure that gathers together and organizes all the information we have as a concept or way we see the world (Degani, 2015, 42-45).

#### (c) Character Construction

Character construction is related to the candidate's self-representation as a highly empowered leader capable of solving the problems he has identified (Barrett, 2016; Basten, 2016; Culotta, 2016).

#### (d) Emotional Resonance.

Emotional resonance is related to Retor's efforts to arouse the emotions of his audience, for example: a sense of urgency (Culotta, 2016), feelings of insecurity, feelings of joy (Barrett, 2016), feelings of anger at injustice, and hope for a better economy (Basten, 2016) .

The theoretical framework of the four elements of the presidential election political communication rhetoric proposed by Medhurst above will be used to analyze and compare the expertise in packaging political communicant content and the strengths of the political ideas and platforms of the two competing presidential candidates.

## **Methods**

The data source used is the 2nd round of the 2019 Presidential Election debate video entitled "FULL! The second presidential debate 2019" which was downloaded from [https://youtu.be/Q\\_Rd2bDHzlc](https://youtu.be/Q_Rd2bDHzlc) and the 4th round of the presidential election debate entitled "FULL LIVE DEBAT", which was downloaded from <https://youtu.be/kLKE5vObpf8>.

The outline of information regarding the time, place and topics debated in the 2nd and 4th rounds of the debate is as follows:

- 2<sup>nd</sup> round of debate; Time: February 17, 2019; Location: Fairmont Hotel, Senayan; Themes: Energy, food, infrastructure, natural resources, environment; Participants: Presidential candidates.
- 4<sup>th</sup> round of debate; Time: March 30, 2019; Location: Sudirman Hall, Tebet; Themes: Ideology, security governance and international relations; Participants: Presidential candidates.

This research is a research that applies a qualitative method targeting the depth of meaning and the process of generating meaning by the actors studied (Leavey, 2017, 124-129) in the form of discourses / rhetorical texts of political communication in the 2019 Presidential Election Debate. The paradigm chosen is interpretive or constructivist paradigms. Therefore, the research in the process will examine how the actors construct and reconstruct the meaning in the Presidential Election Debate they were undergoing.

In this study, researchers used both inductive and deductive analysis (Cf. Creswell, 2014). With inductive analysis, researchers built patterns, categories, and themes moving from the concrete to increasingly abstract units. In the process, analysis went back and forth between the theme and the database to a stage where the researcher made a decision whether a comprehensive theme had been achieved. Meanwhile, through deductive analysis, on each thematic unit according to the chosen theoretical framework, the researcher examined whether there was sufficient evidence to support it,

or whether more data were still needed to be collected. Once the inductive process run, at a certain stage the deductive process could also move forward.

## Findings and discussion

### The lines of reasoning for argumentative-persuasive messages built by both the incumbent presidential candidate and his challenger

#### Presidential Debate: Round 2

The reasoning flow of the two presidential candidates is built based on Hart's modified framework to Toulmin's line of reasoning which includes three main features, namely Main Claims, Main Data, and Warrants. The two presidential candidates in the second round of the first segment to the third segment have been determined to talk about their vision and mission related to several main issues, namely those concerning the fields of energy, infrastructure, food, natural resources and the environment. The reasoning flow of the two presidential candidates regarding the issues that have been determined by the presidential debate committee in the second round will be presented sequentially starting from the presidential candidate Jokowi and then the presidential candidate Prabowo which can be seen in the following table:

No	Main Claims	Main Data	Warrants		
			Substantive Warrants	Motivasional Warrants	Otoritative Warrants
1	In the energy sector: Advance in energy (2.1.1)	As much as possible reduce the use of fossil energy	We will work on the use of biodiesel and green fuel, we have already started by producing B20	We will continue to B100 so that our dependence on fossil energy will be reduced from year to year.	
2	In infrastructure: Advance in infrastructure (2.1.2)	We know that in the past three years we have disbursed one hundred and eighty-seven trillion village funds to villages.	One hundred and ninety-one thousand kilometers of roads in the village have been built.		
3	In the food sector: Advance in the food sector (2.1.3)	This is a very useful production path for farmers	Fifty-eight thousand irrigation units that we have built from the third village fund	We want the availability of food stocks and price stability to be maintained	We remember that at two thousand fourteen we still imported three point five million tons of corn; in two thousand

					and eighteen we only imported one hundred and eighty thousand tons of corn.
4	In the field of environment: Advance in the field of natural resources and the environment (2.1.4)	A big leap in the environmental field	We have been able to overcome it in the past three years there have been no land, forest, peat fires and that is all of our hard work	We want forest fires to prevent peatland fires from happening again.  We also want to reduce plastic waste in rivers and in the sea.	

From the data above, it can be seen that the incumbent presidential candidate Jokowi in conveying his vision and mission uses the rhetoric of the main claim of "developing Indonesia". Indonesia's advanced claims appear in the Main Claims which are supported by the Main Data as rationale for the Main Claims. In the energy sector, (2.1.1) Jokowi's presidential candidate stated that the main data submitted is that Indonesia will reduce the use of fossil energy in the future. This Main Data is then supported by facts as evidence in the form of a Substantive Warrants (SW) in which the use of bio-diesel has started with the production of B20. As for the Motivational Warrants (MW), the presidential candidate Jokowi promised to continue production up to B100 so that the Main Data could be realized. As for the Authoritative Warrants (AW), in general, Jokowi's presidential candidate does not provide much data except for the food sector.

For the infrastructure sector (2.1.2), Jokowi's presidential candidate conveys concrete data that has been carried out to realize the Main Claim, namely in the previous government as an incumbent, Jokowi's presidential candidate has disbursed village funds of one hundred and eighty-seven trillion for the development of village infrastructure. As for SW, Jokowi's presidential candidate also once again presented the fact that his previous administration had built one hundred and ninety-one thousand kilometers of village roads. This is to show that the Main Claims conveyed are not just rhetoric but have been implemented in the field. As for this second field, Jokowi's presidential candidate did not provide data on MW or AW.

For the third field (2.1.3), namely the food sector, the presidential candidate Jokowi provides rationale for the Main Claim that progress in the food sector is very important and beneficial for farmers because this field is a production sector. To support the Main Claim in this area, Jokowi's presidential candidate submitted a Substantive Warrant in the form of the fact that his previous administration had built so much irrigation needed by farmers, namely as many as fifty eight thousand

units. As for the Motivational Warrant, which is a hope for the future, the presidential candidate Jokowi delivered a promise that the availability of food stocks and price stability would be maintained. Then for the Authoritative Warrant, Jokowi's presidential candidate uses field data that his government has succeeded in reducing the volume of corn imports in 2014 by 3.5 million tons to only 180 thousand tons in 2018.

Finally, in the field of natural resources and the environment (2.1.4), the presidential candidate Jokowi submitted Main Data in the form of claims to have made a big leap in this field. To support this Main Data, Jokowi's presidential candidate submitted a Substantive Warrant in the form of evidence that his government has succeeded in eliminating land, forest and peat fires in the last three years. For motivational assurance, Jokowi's presidential candidate promised or hoped that in the future forest and peatland fires would not occur again and would reduce plastic waste in rivers and seas. For this fourth field, it is interesting that Jokowi's presidential candidate did not submit Main Data or Warrants related to natural resources but only focused on the environment.

As for the presidential candidate Prabowo, the flow of reasoning in the presentation of his vision and mission in the four areas mentioned can be seen in the following table:

No	Main Claims	Main Data	Warrants		
			Substantive Warrants	Motivational Warrants	Authoritative Warrants
1	In the energy sector: independence in the energy sector (2.2.	A country is said to be successful if it can provide energy for its people without imports.	Energy self-sufficiency	We will also reduce electricity prices soon.	The UN now says that these are the three main issues (food, energy, water) against which a country's success can be measured.
2	In the field of infrastructure: independence in the field of infrastructure (2.2.2)				
3	In the food sector: self-reliance in the	A country is said to be successful if it can provide food for its	Food self-sufficiency	We will ensure that food is available at affordable	The UN now says that these are the three main issues



	food sector (2.2.3)	people without imports.		prices for all Indonesian people and we will ensure that producer farmers, ranchers, fish farmers must receive adequate income that is our commitment.  We will also immediately reduce the price of basic foods and we will prepare fertilizer in the amount needed and we will prepare it to the farmers	(food, energy, water) against which a country's success can be measure
4	In the field of natural resources: independence in the field of natural resources (2.2.4	The main problem of our nation is that our wealth does not stay in our republic.	Securing all sources of the Indonesian nation's economy.	We will keep the coffers of the Indonesian nation so that our wealth does not flow abroad.	The UN now says that these are the three main issues (food, energy, water) against which a country's success can be measured.

From the data table above, the presidential candidate Prabowo packs a line of reasoning on his vision and mission with the framework of independence as his main claim. The term used by presidential candidate Prabowo to describe this line of reasoning is "self-sufficiency". In the energy sector, presidential candidate Prabowo proposed a rational Main Data (2.2.1) with the statement that a country is said to be successful if it does not import energy at all to meet the needs of its people. For Substantive Warrants, presidential candidate Prabowo only mentions that energy must be self-sufficient which is a form of repetition of the Main Data. As for the Motivational Warrants, the presidential candidate Prabowo promised that the price of electricity would be lowered if he was elected president. For the Authoritative Warrants.

For the second field, namely the infrastructure sector (2.2.2), interestingly, Prabowo did not mention at all the presentation of his vision and mission. In this case, it can be said that the presidential candidate Prabowo did not comprehensively answer all the issues that should be a concept and thought plan to deal with in the infrastructure sector. Thus, Prabowo's line of reasoning regarding infrastructure cannot be analyzed.

For the third field, the food sector (2.2.3), presidential candidate Prabowo reiterates the rhetoric of the Main Data such as in the energy sector, namely the benchmark for a country's success is if it does not import, including in the food sector. For Substantive Warrants, there is no data or facts that can be conveyed by the presidential candidate Prabowo because indeed the presidential candidate Prabowo is the challenger candidate so that it has not been proven to have made a real performance that can be used as data. As for the Motivational Warrant, which is a promise or hope, this second presidential candidate made many statements, namely the availability of affordable food and guaranteeing adequate compensation for breeders, farmers, farmers, and fishermen. Other promises put forward are lowering the price of staple foods and providing farmers with sufficient fertilizer. As for the Authoritative Warrant, the presidential candidate Prabowo only mentions the criteria for developed countries provided by the United Nations including food.

The last field, namely the field of natural resources and the environment, presidential candidate Prabowo took the opposite approach to Jokowi's presidential candidate, which only focused on old resources and did not mention environmental issues while Jokowi's presidential candidate only focused on the environment and did not mention natural resource issues. . The main data (2.2.4) that is used to be rational for the main claim by presidential candidate Prabowo is the claim of the fact that a lot of Indonesia's natural resources are released from the Indonesian state. With this Main Data, the Substantive Warrant delivered by the presidential candidate Prabowo is securing all the economic resources of the Indonesian nation. For the Motivational Warrant, Prabowo's presidential candidate is more or less the same as the Substantive Warrant, which is to keep the coffers of Indonesia's natural wealth from flowing abroad. As for the Authoritative Warrant, more or less the second presidential candidate also submitted the same data, namely the UN criteria for a developed country.

From the analysis of the reasoning flow of the two presidential candidates above, it can be concluded that Jokowi's presidential candidate relies more on field data or facts from the performance he has done when he was president in the previous period. This is an advantage for the incumbent presidential candidate because his line of reasoning does not only rely on promises or hopes in the future. Field data is a powerful way to convince the listeners of the presidential debate that the Claims and Main Data and Main Promises have evidence that has been put forward. As for the presidential

candidate, Prabowo, his strength lies in his argument which is also based on some of the facts that the Indonesian state is still importing both energy and food and the natural resources are still not optimally managed by the Indonesian people themselves. However, for the Substantive warrant, the presidential candidate Prabowo has made very little progress on field data or facts to support both the Main Claim and the Main Data. Listeners of the presidential debate in the second round can only rely on the promises or hopes offered by the presidential candidate Prabowo.

#### **Presidential Debate: Round 4**

The findings and discussion of the reasoning flow of the fourth round of the presidential debate is based on the reasoning flow of argumentative-persuasive messages built by presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto as the challenger and presidential candidate Joko Widodo as the incumbent. The reasoning flow of the two presidential candidates is presented based on Hart's modified framework to Toulmin's line of reasoning which includes three types of reasoning statements, namely Main Claims, Main Data, and Warrants. The types of guarantee statements are divided into three classifications, namely Substantive Warrants, Motivational Warrants, and Authoritative Warrants. The statements of reasoning from the two presidential candidates in the fourth round of debates included all utterances that responded to questions in 4 (four) areas presented by the fourth round of debate committees, namely Ideology, Government, Defense and Security, and International Relations. The flow of reasoning in this fourth round of debates was delivered sequentially according to the order of opportunities given by the committee, starting with the presidential candidate Prabowo and then the presidential candidate Jokowi. All utterances in the fourth round of the presidential debates can be seen in Appendix 4 of the data of the fourth round of the presidential debates in the fields of IDEOLOGY, GOVERNMENT, SECURITY DEFENSE, and INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

#### **Prabowo Subianto's Flow of Reasoning**

No	Main Claims	Main Data	Warrants		
			Substantive Warrants	Motivational Warrants	Authoritative Warrants
1	IDEOLOGY: Pancasila is the final ideology	Pancasila succeeded in uniting and producing the Republic of Indonesia.	-	determined to defend Pancasila.  The next generation must understand where the Republic of Indonesia came from.	incorporating Pancasila into education

				instilling Pancasila by setting an example	
2	In the GOVERNMENT sector, government institutions must be strong,  We must overcome this corruption	systems, tools, efficiency, reducing red tape, bureaucracy, etc., government institutions must be clean. the current condition there is a distrust – loss of trust in the elite and the government	Information technology is vital for government.	cleaning up government agencies,  use of information technology to achieve transparency.	The government's job is the welfare of the people
3	In the field of SECURITY <sup>1</sup> DEFENSE, we are too weak	<b>Budget is too small.</b>  the government allows too many foreign companies  lack of territorial integrity	Defense and security is very important for a country.  Ports and airports are not purely economic problems, not trade problems.  National security issues	-	increase the defense budget, create a system: stop leakage, reduce corruption, change the system so that Indonesia's wealth does not flow abroad.  let's examine our defense
4	<sup>1</sup> in the field of INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, we have 1000 friends too few, 1 opponent too many.	concerned about what happened to the pro-India community.  need to be sure to immediately stop the unfair treatment of Rohingya  not very respected outside Indonesia because Indonesia has a	diplomacy is to advance the national interest of a country through negotiations and diplomatic exchanges	will be good with all countries	seeking mutually beneficial relationships, but defending and defending the people

		lot of debt, the currency is weak			
--	--	--------------------------------------	--	--	--

Presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto in the field of ideology in the fourth round of the presidential debate, conveyed his line of reasoning with the Main Claim that "Pancasila is the final ideology" supported by the main data that "Pancasila succeeded in uniting and producing the Republic of Indonesia." On the basis of this reasoning, the presidential candidate Peabowo provides a motivational guarantee that he will be the defender of the front guard in defending Pancasila and tries to provide opportunities for future generations to understand Pancasila by guaranteeing examples or examples in everyday life. Furthermore, as an effort to support the sustainability and understanding of Pancasila, the presidential candidate Prabowo conveyed that Pancasila should be included in the world of formal education up to the highest level of education, namely the S-3 level. This statement is a warrant of authority from Prabowo if he becomes president

In the field of government, presidential candidate Prabowo implicitly conveys less positive remarks about the current government. It is stated in its Main Claim that government institutions must be strong and we must overcome this corruption. This indicates that in reality the current Government is not yet strong, which is characterized by utterances classified as Main Data, namely, (1) there is still distrust in the elite and government and (2) there is still a lot of corruption and convoluted bureaucracy. In relation to the statements in the main claim and the main data, the presidential candidate Prabowo further conveyed the speech as classified in the Substantive Guarantee, namely that "information technology is vital for the government." The application of information technology in government practice is expected to be able to clean government institutions from corrupt practices and complicated bureaucracy, provide transparency, and can be used to detect leakage (Motivational Guarantees). The presidential candidate Prabowo's warrant was conveyed by convincing his supporters that the implementation of government efficiency and effectiveness with information technology provides an opportunity to make budget savings that can be used for public welfare.

In the field of Defense Security, presidential candidate Prabowo claims that Indonesia's Defense is too weak (Main Claim). This can happen because the budget for this sector is too small, and because the government does not pay attention to the integrity of territorial sovereignty as seen from too many permits for foreign companies to manage airports and ports in Indonesia (Main Data). Against this fact, presidential candidate Prabowo conveyed two remarks that were classified in the Substantive Warrant, namely firstly that defense and security is very important for a country, and secondly that the problem of ports and airports is not only an economic problem, not just a trade

issue, but also a trade issue. as well as national security issues which are part of national security and defense. Therefore, this presidential candidate has guaranteed his authority if he becomes president with words that promise to (1) increase the defense budget, (2) create a system that can stop leakage, reduce corruption, (3) change the system that keeps Indonesia's wealth from flowing. abroad, and (4) reviewing our defense which is currently considered weak.

In the field of international relations, presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto claims that Indonesia's International Hunungan adheres to "1000 friends too few, 1 opponent too many" which can be interpreted as a lack of profitable diplomatic strategies. The main data presented indicate (1) the Indonesian government's lack of attention to cases of unfair treatment for the Rohingya, (2) the large amount of debt that Indonesia has, and (3) the weakness of the Indonesian currency. These three things happened because of the lack of good diplomacy strategy in the field of International Relations between Indonesia and other countries. In this regard, the presidential candidate Prabowo conveyed a statement that was a substantive guarantee, namely that diplomacy is a state effort to advance national interests through negotiations and diplomatic exchanges. This substantive guarantee statement will be followed up with a diplomatic strategy that will diplomacy in all countries (Motivational Warrants) by seeking mutually beneficial relationships, but defending and defending the people (Authoritative Warrants).

**Flow of Reasoning for for argumentative-persuasive messages of the Presidential Candidate Joko Widodo**

No	Main Claims	Main Data	Warrants		
			Substantive Warrants	Motivasional Warrants	Authoritative Warrants
1	1. IDEOLOGY: Pancasila is the agreement of the founders of the nation,	has formed the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency.	1 It is our collective obligation to maintain, care for, and implement Pancasila in everyday life as a nation and state.	together to ground Pancasila in everyday life, providing good examples.	Pancasila in education provides this Pancasila education in the life of our nation and state The Pancasila Ideology Development Agency must be up to date, can be done visually, so that it is relevant to young people

2	In the field of GOVERNMENT	<p>is in 13 cities "OSS" – online single submission. permit can be out in 3 hours. in this way, corruption will be reduced and will disappear</p> <p>1 our corruption in '98, our country was the most corrupt in Asia. The corruption perception index at that time was 20. 2014 our number became 34. And now our perception index is 38</p>	Serving with that speed is indispensable. It is the system that will improve this country. such an electronic-based system.	In the future, Dilan's government is needed, Digital Serving, the use of electronic-based services that are fast serving	<p>1. reforms in public services through electronic means: e-government, e-procurement, e-budgeting, e-planning</p> <p>2. institutional sharpening and simplification: Leaner institutions</p> <p>3. improving the quality of our human resources.</p> <p>4. Governance reform: truly connected from the center to the province to districts and cities</p> <p>Taxation is now online.</p>
3	<p>in the field of DEFENSE</p> <p>integrated troop title.</p> <p>will not give sovereignty to other countries</p>	<p>not Java-centric. Therefore, I have ordered the Minister of Defense and the Commander in Chief to build Division 3, which has already started work. Kostrad 3rd Division in Goa. Then the Air Force Command in Biak. Then the 3rd Navy Fleet in Sorong.</p> <p>commanded t1 title of troops at four important points. The deployment of integrated troops, namely in Natuna in the west, then in Morotai in the east, then in Saumlaki near Nasela in the</p>	<p>1 Improving the quality of TNI human resources is absolutely necessary, especially in terms of mastering weapons and cyber technology because in the future, the war will be a technology war</p>	give a better budget to the TNI	<p>defense equipment development. If we can't afford it, we can join production with other countries.</p> <p>investing in defense equipment, not spending, having good defense equipment, mastering technology and being able to transfer knowledge</p> <p>In the next 5 years, we will make another priority scale in human resource development. all for the interest of the people, for the benefit of</p>

		<p>south, and then in Biak.</p> <p>The budget in our Ministry of Defense is now 107 trillion, second only to the Ministry of Public Works.</p> <p>mastery of air radar, radar</p> <p>maritime is 100% already working on infrastructure priority scale development of defense equipment, air radar, maritime radar must be more careful</p> <p>airport and seaport, no problem. management that we are in, we control.</p> <p>Partnering is no problem. In fact, I gave an example of Freeport Berg. We only get 9% also no problem. After we take it to 51%, we can participate in managing the existing mines. (4.8.2)</p> <p>ports for our navy are given to foreigners; that's not right.</p> <p>commercial ports are managed by Pelindo. The majority are still managed by Pelindo. Most of our airports are still managed by Angkasa Pura.</p>			<p>society, for the interest of the nation and for the interest of the state.</p>
--	--	--	--	--	---



		Cooperation for the transfer of knowledge, transfer of technology, transfer of management, transfer of system,			
4	In the field of FOREIGN <sup>1</sup> POLITICS, the current world situation is full of uncertainty.	Multilateralism is weakened, protectionism is on the rise. the power <sup>1</sup> diplomacy in international forums. that Indonesia is a country with the largest Muslim population in the world now given the trust to resolve many matters relating to conflicts with wars that exist in other countries.  diplomacy abroad for: (1) national interests, (2) protection of Indonesian citizens who are abroad, (3) establishing trade and investment with other countries.		<sup>1</sup> Indonesia must stand tall, have dignity, and continue to carry out a free and active foreign policy. <sup>1</sup> We can use the country with the largest Muslim population in the world as a big capital for diplomacy with other countries, offering products in trade with foreign countries.	

In line with the remarks conveyed by the presidential candidate Prabowo in the Ideology Field, the incumbent presidential candidate, Jokowi acknowledged that "Pancasila is the agreement of the founding fathers of the nation" through speech categorized in the Main Claim. This statement is supported by the fact that the Government has established the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency. This is evidence of the government's efforts to realize its claim to the Pancasila ideology. existing agreements must be followed up by the government institutionally. Furthermore, the presidential candidate Jokowi also said that maintaining, caring for, and implementing <sup>1</sup> Pancasila in daily life in the nation and state is our collective obligation (Substantive Warrant). In an effort to realize the substantive guarantee, an invitation was conveyed to jointly ground Pancasila in everyday life, set

good examples, not give negative stigma to others in any way (motivational warrant). The next step if he is trusted to become president, the presidential candidate Jokowi conveys two things that will be done, namely, (1) Pancasila must also be understood and implemented through formal education from the lowest to the highest level, by providing Pancasila education in the life of the nation and state; (2) maximizing the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency in ways that must be contemporary, carried out visually, so that it is more relevant, especially to the younger generation as the nation's successor (Authoritative Warrants).

In the field of government, Jokowi's presidential candidate conveys a lot of data that supports the current performance of his government. There has been no submission of acknowledgment of its performance so far. This offer of performance data that has been and is being implemented has become the mainstay of the Jokowi presidential candidate in responding to the claims, opinions, and statements of the presidential candidate Prabowo who tend to see the negative side of the Jokowi government's performance. The data submitted included, among other things, 13 cities that implemented "OSS" – online single submission which allows people to get business permits within 3 (three) hours. This method has an impact on reducing corrupt practices in business licensing. Government data states that in 1998, Indonesia <sup>1</sup> was the most corrupt country in Asia. The corruption perception index at that time was 20. In 2014 the corruption perception index was 34. And now our perception index is 38. (Main Data). The key to this success is the understanding and implementation of a thought that speedy Government services are indispensable; and that can only be done with one of them an electronic-based system that will improve this country. (Substantive Warrant). Therefore, enthusiasm is needed to realize the Dilan government, Digital Serving, namely, the use of fast-serving electronic-based services. This invitation is a motivational assurance utterance. Although Jokowi's presidential candidate has shown his performance data, this presidential candidate also conveys things that will be implemented (Authoritative Warrants) if he is elected as president for the second time, namely: (1) implementing reforms in public services through e-government, e-procurement, e-commerce. -budgeting, e-planning; (2) sharpening and simplifying institutions so that institutions are leaner with the aim of service efficiency and effectiveness; (3) improve the quality of human resources of government officials; (4) implementing governance reforms so that they are truly connected from the center to the regions.

There are 2 (two) acknowledgments of Jokowi's presidential candidate in the defense sector, namely, first, that his government has carried out the title of an integrated army and second, that his government will not give sovereignty to other countries. The utterances categorized in the Main Claims are supported by a lot of data on the performance of the Jokowi Government. The performance data classified in the Main Data column also provides explanations and answers to the opinions and

questions of the presidential candidate Prabowo. In relation to the fact that the Government has deployed troops, the presidential candidate said that in the field of defense, Jokowi's presidential candidate implemented a non-Java-centric defense, namely the 3rd Division of Kostrad in Goa, the Air Force Command in Biak, the Navy's 3rd Fleet in Goa. push. The government has also deployed integrated troops at four key points, namely <sup>1</sup> in Natuna in the west, in Morotai in the east, in Saumlaki near Nasela, and in Biak. Responding to Prabowo's accusation that the budget for defense is very small, Jokowi's presidential candidate said that currently, the budget in our Ministry of Defense is now 107 trillion, which means that the budget is second only to the Ministry of Public Works. Furthermore, Jokowi's presidential candidate also said that it was difficult for the Government to have 100% control of air radar and maritime radar. This statement conveys the meaning that Prabowo's accusations of the weakness of Indonesia's defense are not true. Other rebuttals from Jokowi's presidential candidate for Prabowo's accusations include: the Government has: worked on the infrastructure priority scale; carry out the construction of defense equipment, air radar, maritime radar more carefully; manage airports and ports, and there are no problems, Management cooperation with foreign partners. intended to transfer knowledge, transfer of technology, transfer of management, transfer of system so that in the future the government can manage it independently.

In an effort to further improve performance in the defense sector, the presidential candidate Jokowi gave the idea (Substantive Warrants) that the program to improve <sup>1</sup> the quality of the TNI's human resources is very necessary, especially in terms of mastery of weapons and cyber technology considering that in the future, the war will be a technology war. As a consequence of the idea in the speech, Jokowi's presidential candidate provided motivation by proposing to "provide a better budget for the TNI" (Motivational Warrants). The presidential candidate, Jokowi, said that if he was elected president, the budget increase in the defense sector would be used for: first, for development and investment in the defense equipment sector so that the government has good defense equipment, masters technology and can transfer knowledge; second, for the development of human resources. for the benefit of society, nation, and state (Authoritative Warrants).

Regarding the field of Foreign Policy, the incumbent presidential candidate acknowledged that "the current world situation is full of uncertainty." (Main Claims). The opinion in this statement is supported by data held by the government (Main Data) that currently multilateralism is weakened, protectionism is increasing. Furthermore, it was also conveyed the fact that the Indonesian government has the power of diplomacy <sup>1</sup> in international forums. that Indonesia is a country with the largest Muslim population in the world today, given the trust to resolve many matters relating to conflicts with wars in other countries. This statement at the same time negates the opinion of presidential candidate Prabowo that Indonesia is not respected by other countries. Furthermore, the presidential candidate

Jokowi also explained that Indonesia's diplomacy abroad is carried out for: (1) national interests, (2) protection of Indonesian citizens abroad, (3) establishing trade and investment with other countries. From this recognition and data, the presidential candidate Jokowi also delivered a statement in the category of Motivational Warrants, namely, "Indonesia must stand tall, have dignity, and continue to carry out a free and active foreign policy. The country with the largest Muslim population in the world, we can use as a big capital for diplomacy with other countries, offering products in trade with foreign countries."

As a conclusion to the analysis of the reasoning flow of the fourth round of the presidential debate, it can be stated that the presidential candidate Prabowo in the fields of Government, Defense, and International Relations provides opinions, responses, and assessments that tend to be less positive on the performance of the Jokowi Government so far. The statements conveyed by the presidential candidate Prabowo prioritize views and statements that are not supported by facts that can be used as supporting data for his utterances. Even the accusations against the performance of the Jokowi government were not presented with supporting data. Only utterances in the field of ideology, Prabowo's presidential candidate gave recognition, data, guarantees that were neutral, positive, and optimistic about Pancasila. It also prioritizes how his role will be in defending and defending Pancasila, and how he will instill Pancasila in the next generation of the nation. The fact that the utterances are classified in the Main Claims, Main Data, Warrants indicates that the line of reasoning for the argumentative-persuasive message built by the presidential candidate Prabowo as the challenger candidate is the presentation of the promises of a presidential candidate if he is later elected president.

On the other hand, it can be summarized that the incumbent presidential candidate, Jokowi, delivered remarks that were full of performance data that was quite varied in the four fields asked by the committee for the fourth round of debate. Jokowi's presidential candidate is very well versed in relevant data in his field so that whatever it is statements, opinions or responses and answers to the statements and questions of the committee and Prabowo's presidential candidates, Jokowi's presidential candidates are able to provide clarification using accurate and relatively varied field data. Of course, as an incumbent, Jokowi's presidential candidate is very easy to get data from his performance which has been recognized as having far more results than the government before Jokowi. Thus, it becomes very clear that the line of reasoning developed by the presidential candidate Jokowi in the fourth round of the presidential debate, which is very beneficial for him and his supporters, is a very clear and realistic presentation of performance and work plans, not just the presentation of statements, opinions, and promises from incumbent presidential candidate.

## The Packaging of The Candidates' Lines of Thoughts and Political Agenda

This analysis follows the order of 1. Agenda-setting, 2. Framing, 3. Character construction, and 4. Emotional resonance.

### 1. Agenda-setting

Agenda-setting is the determination of a political agenda or a plan of action that is considered important and needs to be prioritized at a certain time. So basically a presidential candidate sets the agenda if he determines a number of work plans that are considered important and need to be prioritized during his term of office if he wins the election. Agenda-setting refers to the future are work plans that will receive priority to be done.

#### 1) Agenda-setting in the Vision-Mission statements

If we look and compare the overall content of Jokowi and Prabowo's vision and mission statements, Jokowi's statements contain much clear political agendas and policies than Prabowo's. Jokowi's vision and mission statements had both past and future dimensions (2.1.2), while Prabowo's vision and mission statements were rhetoric of future dimensions (see 2.1.1) This is shown in the following:

No	Jokowi	No	Prabowo
1	Vision and Mission (2.1.2) 1) Indonesia is developed. 2) Energy sector: Green fuel: reduce fossil energy consumption, increase biodiesel use. 3) Infrastructure: continue infrastructure development: production roads, irrigation. 4) Food: securing food availability, food stock and price stability. 5) Continue to prevent forest and peatland fires. 6) Reducing plastic waste.	1	Mission Vision (2.1.1) 1) Building self-reliance: self-sufficiency in food, self-sufficiency in energy, self-sufficiency in water. 2) Ensure the availability of food. 3) Ensure a decent income for producers (farmers, ranchers, farmers, fishermen. 4) Lowering electricity tariffs, prices of basic foods. 5) Provide fertilizer for farmers. 6) Securing all people's economic resources. 7) Keeping our wealth from flowing abroad. 8) A faster s

#### 2) Agenda-setting in the infrastructure sector

Although the infrastructure agenda was prominent in Jokowi's first term, this achievement has often been the target of criticism from his political opponents. It must be admitted that the development agenda in the infrastructure sector is one of the achievements needed in order to allow the mobility of people and goods. Good infrastructure is a driver for economic growth (Indonesian infrastructure, 2017). This agenda remains one of the leading agendas that he will be continued if Jokowi gets a mandate as president.

No	Jokowi	No	Prabowo
2	<b>Infrastructure (2.2.1)</b> "I will be consistent to build infrastructure ... so that connectivity ... is met" (We have increased infrastructure development to improve connectivity, mobility of people and goods between islands, provinces, districts and cities. This is very important to increase our competitiveness.)	2	<b>Infrastructure (2.2.2; 2.2.4 )</b> 1) "infrastructure must be for the people; not people for infrastructure" 2) Infrastructure is very important, but infrastructure must be oriented to the greatest interests to increase our production and be competitive so that we can generate added value from our economic point of view, not a burden to society.

### 3) Agenda-setting in the energy and food sector

Jokowi showcased his more preparedness in terms of setting an agenda for infrastructure development in anticipation of the industrial era 4.0, such as the continuing development of the digitalization system (2.3.1). Conversely, Prabowo showcased his reluctance to discuss the same thing and preferred on basic commodities (2.3.2). When Prabowo conveyed his ideas about the development of the energy sector, specifically the development of palm oil for the biodiesel industry (2.3.5).

No	Jokowi	No	Prabowo
3	<b>Networks between producers and consumers in the energy and food sector:</b> "... with the development of human resources, we will prepare our nation for the Industrial Revolution 4.0. For example, like farmers, farmers need to be introduced to what is called a market place so that they can sell online, so that the relationship between farmers and consumers is getting closer.  <b>2) Energy independence. Project B100 (2.3.5) in response to Prabowo (2.3.4)</b> "I think it's a very large number. And Pak Prabowo also should know, we have started B20 and have produced 98% of what we had expected. This means that B20 has been completed, we are now moving to the name B100 so we expect 30% of palm oil production to go into biofuels.	3	<b>Self-support in the food sector (2.3.2)</b> 1) We are talking about industry 4.0, but we cannot: a) defend our own farmers; b) ensure that food prices are affordable for our people. 2) I prefer Indonesia to be able to provide its own food without imports from any other country.  <b>3 Palm oil for biodiesel industry – biofuel (2.3.4)</b> Strive to maximize the use of palm oil as biodiesel.

### 4) Agenda-setting in the sectors of natural resources and the environments

Jokowi's agenda began during his first presidential term and he affirmed as a success that would be continued if he were re-elected. Such things were clearly claimed: "...in the past 3 years we have been able to overcome forest fires,... (2.4.2); "... for the past 2 years we have distributed concessions

through social forestry, ... (2.4.4). Meanwhile, Prabowo's statements were marked by plans that were future-oriented and not supported by real-field experience, among others, as follows: "If I were mandated to lead the Indonesian government, I would certainly enforce the law...", taking firm action against companies that do not implement the provisions; "I will establish a clean government..." (2.4.1)

No	Ujaran Jokowi	No	Ujaran Prabowo
4	<p>(2.4.2) <b>Management of forest and peatland fires</b></p> <p>a) ... in these 3 years we have been able to overcome forest fires, peatland fires, one of which is strict law enforcement against anyone.</p> <p>b) <b>Management of river pollution</b></p> <p>we have started to clean up the rivers that have been polluted by pollution.</p> <p>c) (2.4.4) <b>Social forestry</b></p> <p>... for the past 2 years we have distributed concessions through social forestry, be it for indigenous peoples, for customary rights, for farmers, for fishermen.</p> <p>d) The purpose of redistribution of agrarian reform assets is to ensure that certificate holders have legal certainty of asset ownership and access to capital.</p>	4	<p>(2.4.1) <b>Protecting the environment</b></p> <p>a) The environment concerning the future of our children and grandchildren is in critical condition. "If I were given the mandate to lead the government of the Republic of Indonesia, I would certainly enforce the law...", taking firm action against companies that do not comply with the provisions.</p> <p>b) Prevention of environmental pollution</p> <p>I will establish a clean government, which will not collaborate with people who violate, who cause pollution.</p> <p>c) (I) We will tighten the permits. must be implemented. There are no shortcuts for environmental impact analysis.</p> <p>(2.5.1) Taking action against environmental destroyers.</p>

#### 1.5) Agenda-setting in state ideology

There was no significant difference between Jokowi and Prabowo in relation to state ideology. Both were determined to implement and safeguard Pancasila as the state ideology (4.1.2; 4.2.1).

No	Jokowi	No	Prabowo
5	<p><b>4.1.2) Ideology</b></p> <p>Pancasila is the agreement of the founding fathers of the nation. . It is our collective obligation to maintain, care for, and implement Pancasila in everyday life in the nation and state</p>	5	<p>(4.2.1) <b>Ideology</b></p> <p>... we must incorporate Pancasila into the education of our nation. .</p>

#### 6) Agenda-setting in the sectors of governance and service reform

Both Jokowi and Prabowo had an agenda for public service and bureaucratic reform. What distinguished the two presidential candidates, Jokowi emphasized that the government reforms he launched were aimed at improving electronic-based public services, streamlining the bureaucracy, improving the quality of the public service human resources, and reforming bureaucratic governance



(4.1.2; 4.3.1; 4.3.3). Prabowo put more emphasis on the agenda of strengthening government bureaucratic institutions, strengthening the state defense posture through increasing the defense budget, and increasing the transparency and effectiveness of the bureaucracy with information technology (4.1.1; 4.3.2).

No	Jokowi	No	Prabowo
6	<p>(4.1.2) <b>"dilan" government</b></p> <p>a) In the field of government, the government of <b>Dilan (=digital)</b> melayani) – "Digital service" will be needed in the future.</p> <p>b) Second, institutional refocusing and simplification will be needed.</p> <p>c) Third, it is necessary to increase the <b>human resources of our</b> public services</p> <p>d) <b>Fourth, governance reform is needed</b></p>	6	<p>(4.1.1) <b>Governance</b></p> <p>a) In the field of government ... government institutions must be strong, then the state will be strong.</p> <p>b) In the field of <b>defense and security, we are too weak. Our budget is too small. We will fix this.</b></p>
7	<p>(4.3.1) <b>Service reform</b></p> <p>a)... reforms in the public service sector through electronic-based services: e-government, e-procurement, e-budgeting, are very, very necessary to face the digital era ahead</p> <p>b)...simplification and institutional refocusing.... . Institutions must be leaner, more agile, easy to decide and less complicated.</p> <p>c) improving the quality of our civil servants so that all of them can serve quickly.</p> <p>d)... governance reform. The management of everything should be... simplified, not complicated.</p>	7	<p>(4.3.2) <b>IT-based governance</b></p> <p>a)... prioritizing the use of information technology. This is mainly to achieve transparency</p> <p>b)....what we want to achieve is a government that is effective and free from corruption.</p> <p>c)...increasing our tax ratio back... . In this way, we can save a lot of money, and then we can improve the welfare of the government, especially the salaries and quality of life of our civil servants... .</p> <p>d)... single identity card – don't need too many cards – one card is enough to perform big functions</p>

## 2) Framing

Framing is essentially an effort to frame certain issues or aspects of a reality so that it can be conveyed as something that stands out. Framing is a mental structure that collects and organizes all the information we have as a concept or way of seeing the world. In essence, framing theory suggests that how something is presented to an audience (called a "frame") affects the choices people make about how to process that information. The frame is an abstraction that functions to organize or compose the meaning of the message (Mass communication theory, (n.d.).

### 1) Experience-based framing

In his statements (2.3.5; 2.4.4), Jokowi framed that he had acted before Prabowo thought. Whereas the dream that Prabowo wanted to was in fact the Jokowi government had already started it, namely the effort towards BIO 100 to reduce dependence on fossil fuel. Meanwhile, Prabowo's



framing showcased that he merely departed as a presidential candidate who was supported by real experience in the field as stated in the statement (2.3.2, 2.3.6; 2.5.6).

No	Jokowi	No	Prabowo
1	(2.3.5) <b>Jokowi had done before Prabowo thought:</b> “... so that Pak Prabowo also knows, we have started B20 and have produced 98% of what we had expected. This means that B20 is complete, we are now heading to the so-called B100.	1	(2.3.2) <b>Framing on the level of discourse:</b> “I prefer Indonesia to be able to provide its own food...”, (2.3.6) “Our strategy will be to boost oil palm, cassava ...”
2	(2.4.4) <b>Natural resources and the environment</b> ...we have distributed concessions through social forestry and assisted those who receive them to make their land productive.  (2.4.4) Against (2.5.6): <b>Prabowo's program that wants to create a state-owned marine sector that he has carried out:</b> “We already have the Perindo. We already have Indus, which helps buy the fish that are in the community.	2	(2.5.6) State-owned enterprises in the marine sector Prabowo will create SOEs specifically in the marine sector and in the field of fisheries and organize fishermen, trained with the right technology, given access to tools, ships, capital, then given infrastructure, cold storage, and canning is built and then marketing is assisted by the government. .

## 2) Framing the futilization of natural resources and food availability

Natural wealth, especially marine wealth, with efforts to eradicate illegal fishing had been highlighted as an effort to benefit natural resources for the welfare and prosperity of the people, were highlighted by Jokowi. With regard to food, although Jokowi stated that in general there was a surplus (2.6.1; 2.6.3), but in order to ensure its constant availability and maintain stability and affordability of prices for the people, it was still possible to open the valve for import flows situationally. Prabowo was attacking this last thing, namely, if there was a surplus, why still bothered importing (2.6.2). So basically the Jokowi government's management of food availability was still laggy.

No	Jokowi	No	Prabowo
3	<b>Utilization of marine resources</b> (2.5.5) Eradication of illegal fishing opens up greater opportunities for the utilization of marine resources for the prosperity and welfare of the community.	3	-
4	<b>Import of food commodities</b> (2.6.1) We have a surplus but we still import it to maintain stock, maintain availability, to stabilize prices.	4	<b>Import of food commodities</b> (2.6.2) “We have different economic strategy and philosophy”: We want to

			empower our own producers. So if we have surplus stock – why do we have to import?
5	<b>The role of the government: maintaining the availability and stability of food commodity prices</b> (2.6.3) It is for the sake of the balance that we continue to maintain. What does it mean? Farmers can also make a profit, but the community can also reach the prices in the market. Actually the difficulty here. This is the function of government. We maintain price stability, maintain stock stability, so that both of them benefit.	5	-

### 3) Framing the sectors of defense, security and international relations

In terms of framing Prabowo's thought, he showcased his background in the field of defense and security. Prabowo argued about the importance of the defense sector for the survival of a nation: "...defense and security is very important for a country" (4.4.1). He emphasized that the field of defense and security were his specialty: "I am, indeed my profession, my field is defense and security" (4.5.4). Prabowo further criticized Indonesia's defense and security position: "I think our defense forces are very fragile and weak (4.5.4). Jokowi explained the deployment of troops in order to maintain national defense at the prioritized defense points (4.4.2). Responding to the small budget for the defense sector, Jokowi emphasized that although the priority was in the form of infrastructure development, he promised that there would be a time when the defense budget could be increased (4.6.1). Jokowi also emphasized the need for investment in the defense equipment industry with the existing budget at the Ministry of Defense (4.4.4) as an independent measure in the field of defense equipment procurement.

No	Jokowi	No	Prabowo
6	<b>(4.4.2) Troop deployment for security defense enhancement</b> -Integrated troops deployment, namely in Natuna in the west, then in Morotai in the east, then in Saumlaki near Nasela in the south, and then in Biak. What do we expect in this troop title? This means that all the edge points in this country are maintained.	6	<b>(4.4.1) Security defense</b> -...defense security is very important for a country. The wealth of a nation if it is not safeguarded by a strong defense is impossible.  <b>(4.5.4) Indonesia's defense is still weak</b> The problem is, Mr. Jokowi, I am, indeed my profession, my field is defense and security. .... So I beg you, sir; This is not blaming, but I think our defensive power is very fragile and weak. .

7	<p><b>(4.4.4) Building defense equipment industry</b>          -...In the context of our lack of defense budget, yes, we build it by investing in the defense equipment sector.</p> <p><b>(4.6.1) Budget priority scale</b>          -... maybe we are currently only giving priority to infrastructure development. At some point, if our economic growth gets better because the world economy is also in a normal position, we can provide a better budget for our TNI in order to build a better defense system in the future.</p>	7	-
8	-	8	<p><b>(4.5.2) International diplomacy</b>          But diplomacy can't just be a mediator.          -...with diplomacy it must be part of efforts to defend the core national interest of a country and for that diplomacy can only and must be backed up by force. If our country is not strong, he smiles at us (= we are going to be ignored)</p>
9	<p><b>(4.7.2) Ease of public service to reduce corruption</b>          We hope that the so-called public service mall, the speed of service, can be given to entrepreneurs, to the community, to the people, who want to get fast service. And this already exists in 13 cities which we will continue to multiply in other cities.          -In today's government there is something called "OSS" – online single submission. Previously, if we requested any permit, it could take 6 months, it could be a year. Now 9 permits can be issued in 3 hours. In fact, it is precisely in this way that corruption will decrease and will disappear: because there is transparency, there is speed.</p>	9	<p><b>(4.7.1) The fight against corruption</b>          But the point for me in governance is, again, that government institutions must be clean.          ..... If you have all kinds of systems: online systems, one-stop public services, etc., but the political will to eliminate corruption is not enforced, in my opinion, these institutions are weak.</p> <p><b>(4.7.3) Not only words and deeds</b>          There is a distrust – loss of trust in the elite and the government because sometimes the intentions spoken are not in accordance with the implementation ...</p>
10	<p><b>(4.8.4) Partnering with foreign private companies</b>          We partner with companies that have better management capabilities. But what we provide, again, are not strategic airports used by our Air Force, used by our Navy, or used by our Army.</p>	10	<p><b>(4.8.1) Management of vital objects by foreigners</b>          -In terms of strategic defense and security, few countries allow ports and airports – airports to be operated by foreigners, sir. We are not anti-foreign. This concerns national security - national sovereignty.          -...your government allows too many foreign companies.</p>

### 3) Character Construction

The character construction of a rhetor, in this case a presidential candidate, focuses on his representation as a leader who is very powerful and able to solve the problems he has identified. In terms of his position as an incumbent official, Jokowi tried to highlight the character that had brought

progress in his previous term as president as bargaining power - his position of bargaining power and superiority.

1) Character construction as an insightful and decisive leader.

No	Jokowi	No	Prabowo
1	<b>Experienced character</b> (2.7.1) Managing a country as big as Indonesia is not easy, not easy. I am very fortunate that I have experience managing a city as a mayor. Then manage the province as a governor in special district of Jakarta.	1	<b>(2.7.2) Character of words , not actions</b> So we are of the view that the government must be present in detail, conscientiously, decisively, actively, to correct inequality in wealth.
2	<b>As bold and courageous character</b> It takes firmness and courage in making policies to manage the country well. "We have disbanded the Petral Mafia. We have managed the Rokan oil block. We have taken 51% of Freeport."	2	<b>Clean and firm character</b> (4.1.1) we will do our best to eliminate corruption in this republic. I am of the view that corruption in Indonesia is already at a very serious level.

2) The character of defenders and enforcers of Pancasila as the state ideology

Both Jokowi and Prabowo emphasized their characters as defenders and enforcers of Pancasila as the state ideology. Both parties agreed to continue promoting Pancasila not by means of indoctrination.

No	Jokowi	No	Prabowo
1	<b>(4.2.2) Inculcating Pancasila</b> This Pancasila must be taught in the education of our children from, not from kindergarten, but since PAUD. PAUD, TK, SD, SMP, SMA/SMK, universities, S2, S3. - -...the most important thing is how to provide Pancasila education in the life of our nation and state.	1	<b>(4.1.1) Ideology</b> ...for us Pancasila is the final ideology ..... Therefore, we are determined to defend Pancasila to the last drop of blood. <b>(4.2.1) Inculcating Pancasila not by means of indoctrination</b> ... Leaders must set a unifying, soothing, exemplary example in this educational issue. In choosing people, you should not look at ethnicity, religion, race. In carrying out politics, there must be a politics of unity, not a politics of division.

4) Emotional resonance

Emotional resonance focuses on the efforts of the presidential candidates to arouse the emotions of their prospective supporters. Examples of such emotional resonance include a sense of urgency, feelings of insecurity, feelings of joy, feelings of anger at injustice, and hope for a better economy, etc.

Political campaigns recognize the importance of emotions in shaping voters' perceptions and strategically exploit voters' emotional vulnerabilities to meet election goals.

#### 1) Emotional resonance: Development for the people

Jokowi echoed the emotional resonance that the development he had carried out was for the benefit of the people (2.2.5) countering Prabowo's argument that development such as infrastructure only burdens society (2.2.4). Jokowi pointed out what people in general have felt about development, particularly infrastructure, namely the "construction of 191,000 KM of roads in villages" which is "really for the common people" (2.2.5). Furthermore, countering Prabowo's arguments that the development carried out by the Jokowi government was not well-planned and without any feasibility study, Jokowi underscored that "all infrastructure developments use a feasibility study because they have been planned for a long time" (2.2.5).

No	Jokowi	No	Prabowo
1	<p>Jokowi (2.2.5) responds (2.2.4) confirming that:  <b>Infrastructure development is planned and for the people</b>            a) compensation for 4 years running almost no conflict. In fact there is not "compensation", but "compensation of profit".            b) Infrastructure development – the construction of 191,000 KM of roads in these villages is really for the people below.            c) To Prabowo's criticism that the Jokowi administration's infrastructure development is too rushed, not using a feasibility study, Jokowi replied that "All infrastructure development uses a feasibility study because it has been planned for a long time".</p>	1	<p>(2.2.4) Infrastructure is to increase production and add value; not a burden on the people            Prabowo emphasized what he meant by "infrastructure for the people" and "people's approach," namely "infrastructure must be oriented to great interests to increase our production and be competitive so that we can generate added value from our economic point of view, not a burden to society".</p>

#### 2) Emotional resonance: Palapa ring infrastructure for online connectivity throughout Indonesia

Prabowo expressed concern that the construction of the Palapa Ring communication infrastructure launched by Jokowi would trigger an outbound "rush" of Indonesian wealth (2.6.6). However, Jokowi's previous opinion had have a stronger resonance that it would open up greater opportunities for online business development (2.6.5).

No	Jokowi	No	Prabowo
1	<p><b>Infrastructure supports online connectivity for online business development</b></p>	1	<p><b>Beware of the "rush" of Indonesia's wealth abroad</b></p>

	(2.6.5) we are also building the infrastructure that I mentioned earlier – the Palapa Ring. In western Indonesia it has been 100% completed. Central Indonesia is 100% complete. Eastern Indonesia 95 and later in June, God willing, 100% will also be completed. It connects, - connects the backbone with broadband at very high speeds.		(2.6.6) Well, if we're not careful with the enthusiasm for the internet, e-commerce, e-...this, e-...that, I'm afraid. This can speed up the flow of money abroad.
--	---	--	--

#### 4.3 Emotional resonance: Enhancement of national defense

Prabowo's emotional resonance that Indonesia's defense was problematic because it is too weak (4.4.1) and the lack of defense budget allocation (4.4.3), Jokowi refuted that the government had allocated no less than 107 trillion for the defense budget - second only after public works (4.4.2). Regarding the defense posture which was still relatively weak, Jokowi emphasized that the government had made efforts to increase investment and defense equipment technology (4.4.4).

No	Jokowi	No	Prabowo
1	<p><b>(4.4.2) Efforts to continue to increase the defense budget</b>  -...The budget in our Ministry of Defense is now 107 trillion, second only after the Ministry of Public Works.</p> <p><b>(4.4.4) Improving the defense equipment industry</b>  If we continue to make investments in the defense sector, I am sure we will have a good defense equipment system, but we also have technology, master technology and can transfer knowledge from those who already have it.</p>	1	<p><b>(4.4.1) Indonesia's defense is weak</b>  -...I think Indonesia's defense is too weak. Far from expected. Why? Because we have no money. That's why we have to take care of our finances. Where are our finances going? Our finances – our wealth – our treasures do not stay in Indonesia. Therefore, we are weak.</p> <p><b>(4.4.3) The budget posture still does not reflect the real needs of defense</b>  -So this security defense issue, I think, sorry Pak Jokowi, maybe Pak Jokowi does not get the right information.  -Therefore, evaluating our defense is very important.</p>

#### Conclusion

From the above findings and discussion, this paper finally can draw the following conclusion of the the second and fourth round of the Indonesian Presidential Debate:

1. The flow of reasoning for argumentative-persuasive messages in the second round of the Presidential Debate

From the analysis of the flow of reasoning in the second round of the Presidential Debate, it can be concluded that the statements made by the presidential candidate are more supported by field

data or facts from the performance he has worked on during his presidential term. Thus, the incumbent presidential candidate's line of reasoning does not only state promises or hopes in the future, but is also supported by empirical evidence of program performance and success. Rationally, field data is a powerful way to convince listeners of the presidential debate that the Main Claims and Main Data and Main Guarantees have been proven. As for the presidential candidate, Prabowo, his strength lies solely in his argument which is based in part on the fact that the Indonesian state is still dependent on imports, both energy and food, and Indonesia is still not optimal in managing natural resources. However, for Substantive Guarantees, presidential candidate Prabowo has made very little progress on field data or facts to support both Main Claims and Main Data. Listeners of the presidential debate in the second round can only rely on the promises or hopes offered by the presidential candidate Prabowo.

## 2. The flow of reasoning for argumentative-persuasive messages in the fourth round of the Presidential Debate

In the fourth round of the presidential debate, Prabowo's presidential candidate delivered argumentative statements in the fields of Government, Defense, and International Relations, in the form of opinions, responses, and assessments that tended to be less positive about the performance of the Jokowi Government that had been running. The remarks conveyed by the presidential candidate Prabowo are more views and statements that are not supported by the facts on the ground. Even the accusations leveled against the performance of the Jokowi government were not presented with supporting data. Only utterances in the field of ideology, Prabowo's presidential candidate gave recognition, data, guarantees that were neutral, positive, and optimistic about Pancasila. It also prioritizes how his role will be in defending and defending Pancasila, and how he will instill Pancasila in the next generation of the nation. The fact that the utterances are classified in the Main Claims, Main Data, Main Guarantees indicates that the line of reasoning for the argumentative-persuasive message built by the presidential candidate Prabowo as the challenger candidate is the presentation of the promises of a presidential candidate if he is later elected president.

## 3. The packaging of lines of thoughts and political platforms in the second and fourth rounds of the Presidential Debate

### 1) Agenda-setting in the vision and mission statements

In general, Jokowi's vision and mission statements have past and future dimensions; while Prabowo's vision-mission statement mostly have only future dimensions. Jokowi was in a more advantageous position since his agendas include a number of issues having been successfully worked out before as president, of which he chose to continue them. Prabowo as the challenger did not have agenda that was supported by direct experience.

## 2) Agenda-setting in the infrastructure sector

The infrastructure development agenda was prominent in Jokowi's first term of presidential office. The infrastructure development agenda is a drive for economic growth and one of the leading agendas that he will continue when re-elected as president. According to Jokowi, infrastructure includes many things, including: infrastructure that can improve connectivity in the form of road and sea transportation construction, digital communication infrastructure, agricultural infrastructure, etc. Meanwhile, when Prabowo talks about infrastructure, what he conveys is not supported by direct experience and real facts in the field.

## 3) Agenda-setting in the energy and food sectors

Jokowi convincingly displayed his agenda of infrastructure development to enter the industrial era 4.0, namely by continuing the development of the digitalization system. Conversely, Prabowo showed his reluctance to discuss the same thing, but preferred to focus more on basic commodities. When Prabowo conveyed his ideas about the development of the energy sector, specifically the development of palm oil for the biodiesel industry, Jokowi responded that his government had earlier done a lot in that direction.

## 4) Agend-setting in the sectors of natural resources and the environments

Regarding agendas related to natural resources and the environments, both Jokowi and Prabowo have many ideas. What distinguishes the two, however, was that Jokowi's agendas began during his first presidential term and he reiterated as a success that would be continue if he were given the mandate again as a president. Meanwhile, Prabowo's agendas were only rhetoric of future dimensions.

## 5) Agenda-setting in the ideology

There was almost no significant difference between Jokowi and Prabowo, both of them were determined to implement and secure Pancasila as the state ideology.

## 6) Agenda-setting in governmental and public service reform

Jokowi has a governmental and public service reform agenda, including: improving electronic-based public services, streamlining the bureaucracy, improving the quality of public service human resources, and reforming bureaucratic governance. Prabowo's agenda had a different focus: strengthening government bureaucratic institutions, strengthening state defense posture through increasing defense budgets, and increasing bureaucratic transparency and effectiveness with information technology. Jokowi's agendas were slightly more convincing and realistic than Prabowo's

## 2. Framing

### 1) Experience-based framing



Jokowi framed that he had acted before Prabowo was thinking. The dream that Prabowo wanted to work on, in fact the Jokowi government had earlier done it, for example in the case of the biodiesel project to reduce dependence on fossil fuels.

## 2) Framing in the utilization of natural and food resources

Jokowi highlighted the eradication of illegal fishing as an effort to secure the good use of natural resources, especially marine resources, for the welfare and prosperity of the country. As for food, Jokowi stated that in general there was a surplus, but to be able to guarantee its constant availability and maintain stability and affordability of prices by the people, it was still possible to open the import flow valve on a situational basis. It was this last thing that Prabowo attacked as the weakness of Jokowi's management, namely, if there was really a surplus, then there should not have been necessary for import.

## 3) Framing the sector of defense, security and international relations

Prabowo argued about the importance of the defense and security sectors for the survival of a nation and stated that Indonesia's defense and security was a matter of fact still fragile due to the low defense budget. Responding to Prabowo's arguments about the low budget for the defense sector, Jokowi emphasized that there was a budget scale of priority in the sector of infrastructure development; however, but he convinced that there would be a time when the defense budget could be given a priority to be increased. Jokowi also emphasized the importance of investing in the defense equipment industry by using the existing budget in the Ministry of Defense as an independent measure in the field of defense equipment procurement.

## 3. Character construction

### 1) Character construction as an insightful and decisive leader

Through his Vision and Mission, Jokowi affirmed the success of his government in his first presidential term, among others: it had produced B20 biodiesel and would be continued to B100; having built infrastructures intended for production roads through the Village Fund and irrigation units; having maintained food stock and price stability; having successfully tackled forest and peatland fires. On the other hand, Prabowo simply showed a character of no experience in governmental issues. But on the positive side, Prabowo displayed his clean and firm character.

### 2) Character construction as the defender and enforcers of Pancasila as the state ideology

Both Jokowi and Prabowo emphasized their characters as defenders and enforcers of Pancasila as the state ideology. Both candidates agreed to continue promoting Pancasila not by means of indoctrination.

#### 4. Emotional resonance

##### 1) Emotional resonance: Development for the people

Jokowi echoed the emotional resonance that the development he pioneered had been enjoyed by the people in general, such as the construction of 191,000 KM of roads in villages and refuted Prabowo's argument that infrastructure development only burdened the people. Furthermore, Jokowi refuted Prabowo's argument that the development carried out by the Jokowi's government was "grudgingly" done and without any feasibility study. Jokowi underscored that all infrastructure constructions used a feasibility study that had long been undertaken.

##### 2) Emotional resonance: Palapa ring infrastructure for online connectivity throughout Indonesia

Prabowo expressed concern that the construction of the Palapa Ring communication infrastructure launched by Jokowi would only trigger an outbound "rush" of the Indonesian wealth. However, Jokowi's previous argument had a much stronger emotional resonance since it would even open up greater opportunities for online business development.

##### 3) Emotional resonance: Improved national defense

Against Prabowo's emotional resonance that Indonesia's defense was too weak and the budget allocation was too small, Jokowi argued that the government had allocated no less than 107 trillion for the defense sector budget - second only after the Public Works sector. Regarding the defense posture which was still relatively weak, Jokowi emphasized that the government had made efforts to increase defense investment and equipment technology.

#### References

- Barrett, M. A. (2016). Jeb Bush candidate announcement speech analysis. In Rhetorical analyses of the announcement speeches of presidential hopefuls. Retrieved from <http://digitalcommons.augustana.edu/rapres/8>. Basten, A. R. (2016).
- Basten, A. R. (2016). Clinton frames her campaign. Rhetorical analyses of the announcement speeches of presidential hopefuls. Retrieved from <http://digitalcommons.augustana.edu/rapres/10>.
- Bergstrom, G. (2018). Types of Debates and Tips for Holding Them. Diunduh dari <https://www.thebalancesmb.com/how-to-organize-a-debate-2295935>
- Culotta, C. (2016). Descriptive analysis of Bernie Sanders announcement speech. Rhetorical analyses of the announcement speeches of presidential hopefuls. Retrieved from <http://digitalcommons.augustana.edu/rapres/4>
- Creswell, J.W. (2014). *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*.4<sup>th</sup>

- Ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.
- Degani, M. (2015). *Framing the rhetoric of a leader: An Analysis of Obama's election campaign speeches*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Febriansyah. (2019). Debat Pilpres 2019 dan Manfaatnya untuk Calon Pemilih. <https://tirto.id/dez7-Debat-Pilpres-2019-dan-Manfaatnya-untuk-Calon-Pemilih>
- FULL! Debat kedua Capres 2019" diunduh dari [https://youtu.be/Q\\_Rd2bDHZlc](https://youtu.be/Q_Rd2bDHZlc)
- FULL LIVE DEBAT diunduh dari <https://youtu.be/kLKE5vObpf8>.
- Gracia, A. (2014). *Getting started with Nvivo*. Diunduh 20 September 2020 dari [youtube.com/watch?v=XeONpJPLQ6k](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XeONpJPLQ6k)
- Hart, R.P., Daughton, S., dan LaVally, R. (2018). *Modern rhetorical criticism*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Routledge.
- Heryanto, G.G. (2019). Makna Strategis Debat Capres. Media Indonesia.
- Kristimanta, A. P. (2019). Bedah Debat Pilpres 2019 seri ke-4. Diunduh dari <http://www.politik.lipi.go.id/kegiatan/1273-bedah-debat-pilpres-2019-seri-ke-5>.
- Leavy, P. (2017). *Research design*. New York: Guilford Press.
- McNair, B. (2018). *An Introduction to Political Communication*. 6<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Routledge.
- Nuraflah, C.A. & Husniati, A.M. (2018). Aktivitas komunikasi politik kandidat presiden melalui personal branding. Dalam Media dan komunikasi politik: Potret demokrasi di Indonesia dalam perspektif komunikasi, Santosa, D.H. (Ed). Yogyakarta: Mbridge Press.

# paper check

## ORIGINALITY REPORT

4%

SIMILARITY INDEX

4%

INTERNET SOURCES

1%

PUBLICATIONS

0%

STUDENT PAPERS

## PRIMARY SOURCES

1

media.neliti.com

Internet Source

2%

2

icsh.petra.ac.id

Internet Source

1%

Exclude quotes On

Exclude bibliography On

Exclude matches < 1%