

Polarization of The Image of Presidential Candidates in Indonesian Online Newspaper Headlines

Arsen Nahum Pasaribu
arsen_nahum@yahoo.com

Fakultas Bahasa dan Seni
Universitas HKBP Nommensen

Abstract

This research is aimed to investigate the strategies of Indonesian online newspaper to describe the image of Indonesian presidential candidates on their headlines. This research is a qualitative descriptive in nature. The data corpus of the study consists of 200 headline news from two national newspapers, *Daily Kompas* (DK), and *Daily Republika* (DR), which were taken during the official presidential election campaign period in 2014. The data analysis is based on Van Dijk's cognitive conceptual framework. The results show that the themes of the DR's headlines dominantly describes PS not responsible for the human rights violation (21%), and "Jokowi's good characters (20%). The themes of the DK's headlines are dominantly framed in JW's being populist and good characters (25%), and Prabowo's bad characters (11%). At the analysis of *Us* versus *Them*: DR dominantly *de-emphasizes* the negative image about PS, and *emphasizes* the positive image about Jokowi. DK dominantly *emphasizes* negative image about PS, and *de-emphasizes* the positive image about JW.

Key words: CDA, headline news, ideology, image, Polarization, presidential candidates

1. Introduction

This research is basically a media discourse analysis investigating the language use by media in shaping the image of the candidates of Indonesian presidents during political campaign rely. The political and social background of the study is the Indonesian presidential election of 2014. The presidential election was followed by two coalitions of political party: the Red and White Coalition (KMP) that supported Prabowo's candidacy, and the Great Indonesian Coalition (KIH) that supported Jokowi's candidacy.

This research discusses the phenomenon of media in language use when reporting the news regarding the national issues, such as political events above. The neutrality of media in reporting the news (political campaign for instance) needs to be questioned. The methods of language use (word choice or semantic preferences, clause or sentence construction, schematic text construction, etc.) are regarded purposively to be chosen to realise the hidden agenda of media (Wodak, 2001; Fowler, 1991).

In accordance with the reality of media practice above, this research is done to unravel such media practice in the context of Indonesian political discourse, specifically of Indonesian presidential election. Two reputedly national newspapers, *Daily Kompas* (DK) and *Daily Republika* (DR), are purposively selected to be investigated to find out the way of these newspapers in reporting the news related to image of Indonesian Presidential Candidates (IPCs) during the official presidential campaign of 2014.

The selection is based on some reasons: (1) both DK and DR have national reputation and become news reference or source of research in Indonesia, (2) DK and DR have a wide range and a big amount of readership, that is to say that DK and DR have a great influence over their readers especially in terms of political choice and interests, (3) both newspapers are contrarily different in ideological bases, DK is known as a national newspaper, the news reference for the nationalists and democratic Islam. On the other hand, DR is well-known as an Islamic newspaper, which is dominated by Islamic readers. By considering the reasons, it is worth to investigate the way of DK and DR to use

language throughout news reports with respect to their reputation, influence, and especially ideological bases.

This research is considered significant to be carried out due to some respects. Firstly, it can provide scientific documents for discourse researchers of how media practice takes part in manipulating the newspaper readers through out the way of reporting the issues against or for one of the Indonesian presidential candidates of 2014. This research can be as affirmation of the theory of media practice stating that media is never neutral in news reports.

Secondly, media discourse is considered greatly important source of data discourse that can portray the social events and change. The power of media is realized not only in recording social realities and transforming them into ideological news, but also in creating the social situations for their own benefits (Taiwo, 2007). Media, for instance, has contributed to President Suharto's fall in 1998 throughout their provocative news against his regime. Contrarily, the media also has taken part in successfully "sending" President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) to be the sixth president of Indonesia. The significant role of media in creating the image of former Indonesian president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, as an "anti-corruption leader" was well-responded by Indonesian people that give him a mandate to rule Indonesia for two terms in a row. Thus, this research can also depict how media's role contributed to the winning of one of the IPCs of 2014.

Based on the explanation of the background of the research above, the problem of study is How are the images of the Indonesian presidential candidates of 2014 semantically described in DK's and DR's headlines with respect to polarization theory by Van Dijk (2006)?

Text, Context and Discourse

The terms of text, context and discourse are closely related in language use. The terms of text, context and discourse are concerned with meaning realization in the written or spoken form. However, text is regarded as an internal process of language for meaning making, while context and discourse are much related to the social, cultural, and political situations of language use to make meaning. The differences of the three terms are briefly supported by the following definitions. Halliday and Hasan (1989) define text as an operational or grammatical unit of language. It is how the meaning is realized in language structure. On the other hand, discourse is a semantic unit of language. Moreover, discourse is defined as language in use, language as a form of social practice and as an extended piece of text (Brown and Yule, 1983; Fairclough, 1989).

Sinar (2008:6), moreover, seeks to explore the differences of the terminologies. She sees text concerned with linguistic matter. In other words, it is a unit of language use in the level of sentence structure or lower units. It is an utterance without its social context. On the other hand, discourse, according to her, is more complex. It is not only wording or sentence construction, but it is also mainly concerned with meaning based on its social context.

The relationship of text, context and discourse is well-described by (Eriyanto, 2001). Text is defined as any forms of language, not only words printed on text, but also all expressions of communication, utterances, pictures, music, image, and so forth. On the other hand, context includes all situation and other things out of the text that influence the language use, such as language participants, situation where the text is produced, function included, and so forth. Then, discourse is the interaction between text and context. Based on the explanation of text, context, and discourse above, it can be concluded that text is related to linguistic features, context is the situational factors where the text is produced, and discourse is the realization of the text with its context.

Language and Ideology

Ideology is a complicated term with different implications depending on the context in which it is used. It is widely used in social science, such as politics, sociology and sociolinguistics. Thus, ideology is defined variously in different or even in the same disciplines. In discourse studies, for instance, the definition of ideology can be different from one approach to other approaches. It entails that there is no single definition of ideology used in all discourse analyses.

Ideology is a conceptual mind of a group or society (Eagleton, 1994). Halliday (1994) puts ideology on the top of his stratified discourse analysis viz. language, situation, culture, and ideology. In Oxford English Dictionary, ideology is defined as “A systematic scheme of ideas, usually relating to politics or society, or to the conduct of a class or group, and regarded as justifying actions, especially one that is held implicitly or adopted as a whole and maintained regardless of the course of events.”

Van Dijk (2000: 94-96), moreover, sees ideology as a complex mental cognition. It is a belief system, which is not personal or individual, but rather social. However, it is not a kind of social shared belief, but rather more fundamental or axiomatic, and can be acquired and changed in certain time. In addition, it is not always majority, positive, dominant, powerful, but sometimes is minority, negative, less dominant and weak.

Language is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power. Insofar as legitimizations of power relations, ..., are not articulated, ..., language is also ideological (Habermas 1967: 259 cited in Wodak 2002: 11). Therefore, Language is a symbolic system of power endowed with the inherent ability to make people see visions of the world that either confirm or transform their perceptions and beliefs of the world, thereby influencing not only their own actions, but also the world itself (Bourdieu 1991: 170 cited in Meadows, 2009: 17)

Thus, language is not merely as a mean of communication in society but most importantly also as a means of power, social force, domination. Language in social practice or media practice, for instance, is never absent from ideologies of the speakers that belong to a certain group, party, culture, or societal group. Thus, ideology analysis is inseparable from societal discourse. That is to say, the ideology can be identified through out text, context of situation and culture or social language use. The following figure shows the relation between language and ideology.

Van Dijk (2006, 1995) emphasizes the significances of the social cognition to determine the ideology in a text. Discourse management of discourse can be identified to whether the information of media discourse is proportional. The strategy of us versus them is meant to uncover the text productions that emphasizes the positive information about us and negative informations about them. This kind of knowledge can determine that the language use in the news is ideological.

Thematic discourse can be used to determine that the language use of news discourse is indicated not neutral. When the themes tend to be positive or negative, it can be categorised that the news (text) is ideological. In other words, by counting the positive and negative information of the text, an analyst can determine that there is a hidden agenda of the writer (van Dijk, 1995; 1993; 1985).

Socio-cognitive Analysis

According to van Dijk (1995) social cognition is related to text production. He defines it as the system of mental representations and process of group members. Part of the system includes sociocultural knowledge shared by the members of specific group, society or culture. The occurrence of events is in control of ideological perspectives shared by the group. The events (for example: text production) can be figured out through schema. The schema is conceptualized as the mental structures including one's perspectives toward social events and roles.

Cognition is divided into social and personal cognitions. Social cognition consists of Sociocultural values, e.g., intelligence, honesty, solidarity, equality; Ideologies, e.g., racist, sexist, anti-racist, feminist; systems of attitudes, eg., about affirmative action, multiculturalism; sociocultural knowledge, e.g., about society, groups, language. Van Dijk explains that management of discourse is one vital social dimension of dominance, however that also has a large cognitive dimension, and that the exercise of usually involves mind management, such as the influence of knowledge, belief, understanding, plans, attitudes, ideologies, norms and values (Van Dijk, 1993:257). Furthermore, he explained that ideologies have socio-cognitive basis in individuals, produced by society, and thus socially constructed and shared, and require discourse in order to be manifested and represented. Ideologies are therefore, shared social beliefs of specific groups within a society that form a base for that group.

Personal cognition includes general cognition (context-free) and specific cognition (context-bound). General cognition covers Models: ad hoc representations of specific current actions, events; context models: ad hoc representation of the speech context; mental plans and representation of (speech) acts, discourse; mental construction of text meaning from models: the 'text base'; mental (strategic) selection of discourse structures (style, etc). Particular cognition comprises of models: ad hoc representations of specific current actions, events; context models: ad hoc representation of the speech; context mental plans and representation of (speech) acts, discourse; mental construction of text meaning from models: the 'text base'; mental (strategic) selection of discourse structures (style, etc)

In order to effectively identify and analyze ideology encoded within media text, Van Dijk (1998) argues that social function of the ideology must be identified. Ideologies have many cognitive and social functions, namely: (1) they organize and ground the social belief shared by the members of (ideological) groups; (2) they are the ultimate basis of discourses and other social practices of the members of social groups as group members; (3) they allow members of group to organize and coordinate their actions and interactions in view of the goals and interests of the groups as a whole; and (4) they functions as the part of the sociocognitive interface between social structures of group on the one hand, and their discourses and other social practices on the other hand (van Dijk, 2006: 17).

Van Dijk (1995) created the main tenets as the model of ideology analysis on newspaper headlines:

- 1) Examining the context of discourse: historical, political, or social background of a conflict and its conflict.
- 2) To analyze groups, power relations, and conflicts.
- 3) Identifying positive and negative opinions about *Us* and *Them*.
- 4) Making explicit the presupposed and the implied.
- 5) Examining all formal structures: lexical choices and syntactic structure, in a way that helps to (de)emphasize polarized group opinions.

The tenet of ideology analysis can be elaborated as follows (Van Dijk, 2006, 1995). The information that is unfavorable to *us* is made less prominent whereas negative information about *them* is emphasized. He, then, formulates an approach to ideology, cognition, and discourse as an ideological square. The two strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation characterize interaction within and between groups in terms of presenting oneself and the others. Van Dijk (1995) also emphasizes this kind of practice can be done by exposing the dominant issues for certain purpose. The pattern can be formulated as following (Van Dijk, 2006)

- 1) Emphasize positive things about *Us*.
- 2) Emphasize negative things about *Them*.
- 3) De-emphasize negative things about *US*.

- 4) De-emphasize positive things about Them.

Thematic analysis and *Us* versus *Them* analysis are designed to investigate the dominant issues reported through out their headlines and the journalistic practice by (de-) emphasizing the positive and negative issues.

Image

Image is a mental representation, idea, and conception. Van Dijk (2011) define it as a mental representation of something that is described into certain degree according to shared knowledge of the members of group. It can be presented in positive or negative ways, but never neutral. The image presentation of a figure in media is much influenced by ideological foundations of the certain parties who have power, access, and control toward the media.

Newspaper Headlines

Headline is an inseparable part of newspaper, which has a strategic position in reporting the social events. It is the realization of theme and topics that lead paragraphs (Sheyholislami, 2001). It is a forerunner of news report which is easily memorized by readers (van Dijk, 1998). Kress (1990) argues that headline also brings certain ideology of media institutions or elites. These ideological perspectives have extensive influence on news reader in their political and socio-cultural perspectives.

According to vanDijk (1988: 14-16) the news schemata (“superstructure schema”) are structured according to a specific narative patterns that consists of the following: summary (headline and the lead paragraph), story (situation consisting of episode and backgrounds), and consequences (final comments and conclusion). These sections of a news story are sequenced in terms of “relevance”, so the general information is contained in the summary, the headline and the lead paragraph. This what the readers, according to van Dijk, can be memorized or recalled.

2. Research Method

This research is based on critical study on media discourse and basically conducted in quantitative descriptive. The research data are newspaper articles, in the forms of words and clauses, of two national newspapers, DK and DR, which contain of the news of two Indonesian president candidates, Prabowo Subiyanto and JW during the presidential campaign of 2014. The data consist of of 200 newspaper headlines, 100 headlines equally taken from DK and DR. The data was taken from DK and DR issued from 25th of May 2014 to 7th of July 2014 (during official presidential campaign). The data was also taken from the offical websides of DK: www.indek.DK.com and www.e-paper.DK.com and DR: www.DR.co.id/indeks. The data that was taken from these websites are the online versions of the printed newspapers. That is to say that the contents of the online newspaper version are the same as the that of the printed ones. The process of data analysis is based on the interactive model of data analysis put forward by Mile and Huberman (1984: 21). This qualitative data analysis is based on four main steps, namely: (1) data collection, (2) data reduction, (3) data display, and (4) drawing and verifying conclusion.

Results and Discussion

This research focuses on the analysis of themes, and polarization of the news headlines by applying *us* versus *them* analysis. The data of the socio-cognitive analysis are the headline news of DR and DK consisting of 200 headlines: 100 headlines of DR and 100 headlines of DK. The news regarding the image of candidates is represented by 50 headlines for each candidate in DR and DK. Thematic analysis is focused on the themes of the headline news of both newspapers: Daily Republika and Daily Kompas.

The analysis is based on the negative and positive news regarding the image of PS and JW. The analysis is based on semantic and (local) meaning of each headline. For example:

1. *Prabowo-Hatta: Kita Harus Jaga Keutuhan dan Kerukunan Bangsa* (positive)
2. *Visi Misi Prabowo Dinilai Miskin Gender* (negative)

Thematic analysis

The results of the analysis shows the images of presidential candidates in different headlines are varied. Daily republika reveals PS' and JW's image in their headlines more positively. The following table shows the positive and negative headline themes of the issues related to PS's and JW's images on DR's headlines.

Table 1
Thematic analysis of DR's headlines

No	Image	Prabowo		Jokowi	
		F	%	F	%
1	Positive	38	38	40	40
2	Negative	12	12	10	10
Total		50	50	50	50

Table 1 shows that Prabowo's and Jokowi's images in DR's headline news are described more positively. The most dominant news in DR's headlines is JW's positive image with 40 headlines (40%), then PS's positive image, which is represented by 38 headlines (38%). PS's negative image is described more highly (12%) than JW's (10%).

The themes of the DR's headlines in relation with the image of PS and JW are framed as follows: the most dominant theme is "Prabowo is not responsible for the human rights violation in 1998, but Wiranto, his commander in Army Force", which is represented by 21% of the DR's headlines, then "Jokowi's good characters: modest, sincere, natural, innocent clean, honest, firm and tender" with 20% of the headlines, and in the third position is "Prabowo's good characters: brave, smart, assertive nationalist, sincere, forgiver, and heroic" with 10%, and then "Jokowi is the victim of the blackcampaign (JW is accused as a 'puppet presidential candidate' and regarding the issue of racism)" with 6% of the DR's headlines, the next themes are "people's supports for PS" with 4% and "Prabowo's competence" with 3% of DR's headlines.

The results also show the Prabowo's and Jokowi's Image on Daily Kompas's thematic analysis.

Table 2
Thematic analysis of DK's headlines

No	Image	Prabowo		Jokowi	
		F	%	F	%
1	Positive	21	21	46	46
2	Negative	29	29	4	4
Total		50	50	50	50

Table 2 shows that Daily Kompas describes the image of PS more negatively, however JW is portrayed more positively. The most dominant description of the presidential candidates is JW's positive image in DR's headline news, represented by 46 headlines (46%), then PS's negative image, which is represented by 29 headlines (29%),

then PS's positive image with 21 headlines (21%), and the last position is JW's negative image, represented by 4 headlines (4%).

The themes of DK's headlines are concerned about Jokowi is a populist (act like and closed to ordinary people) (14%), Prabowo's bad characters: emotional, imitative, insensitive, inconfident, ambitious (11%), Jokowi's good characters: modest, sincere, honest, tolerant, firm, patient (11%), Jokowi's the victim of the black campaign (issued as a 'puppet presidential candidate') (9%), Prabowo is described rich and elite (9%), Prabowo's involvement in Human rights violation (8%), People's supports for Jokowi (8%), Prabowo's good characters: heroic, a humorist, polite, and assertive (7%), Negation to PS's bad image or issue: involved in human rights violation, a psychopath (6%), Being a populist (closed to ordinary people) (5%), Negation to negative issues against JW (weak, irresponsible, coward, etc) (4%), People's supports for Prabowo (4%), and Jokowi is considered a liar, impatient and irresponsible leader (4%). The following is the data analysis based on the results in the table.

The Analysis of the Polarization of *Us* versus *Them*

The result shows *Us versus Them* Analysis on Daily Republika's Headlines

Table 3
Us versus Them Analysis on DR's Headlines

No	<i>Us versus Them</i> Analysis	Republika's Headlines			
		Prabowo		Jokowi	
		F	%	F	%
1	Emphasize the positive image about Prabowo/Jokowi	15	15	25	25
2	De-emphasize the negative image about Prabowo/Jokowi	28	28	15	15
3	Emphasize the negative image about Prabowo/Jokowi	3	3	8	8
4	De-emphasize the positive image about Prabowo/Jokowi	4	4	2	2
	Total	50	50	50	50

Table 3 shows that the most dominant polarization appeared in DR's headlines is reducing or de-emphasizing the negative image about Prabowo, which is represented by 28% of the headlines. The next position is emphasizing the positive image about Jokowi with 25% of DR's headlines, and then 15% of the headlines emphasize the positive image about Prabowo, and also 15% of the headlines de-emphasize the negative image about Jokowi, and then about 8% of the headlines emphasize the negative image about Jokowi, 4% de-emphasize the negative image about Prabowo, about 3% of DR's headlines emphasize the negative image about Prabowo, and finally around 2% of the headlines reduce the positive image about Jokowi.

The results also show the 4.2.2.2 *Us versus Them* Analysis on Daily Kompas's Headlines

Table 4
Us versus Them Analysis on DK's Headlines

No	Us versus Them analysis	Kompas's Headlines			
		Prabowo		Jokowi	
		F	%	F	%
1	Emphasize the positive image about Prabowo/Jokowi	8	8	16	16
2	De-emphasize the negative image about Prabowo/Jokowi	5	5	12	12
3	Emphasize the negative image about Prabowo/Jokowi	27	27	5	5
4	De-emphasize the positive image about Prabowo/Jokowi	10	10	17	17
	Total	50	50	50	50

Table 4 shows that the most dominant polarization appeared in DK's headlines is emphasizing negative image about Prabowo, which is represented by 27% of the headlines. The next position is de-emphasizing the positive image about Jokowi with 17% of DR's headlines, and then less slightly about 16 % of the headlines emphasize the positive image about Jokowi, about 12% of the headlines de-emphasize the negative image about Jokowi, and 10% of the headlines de-emphasize the positive image about Prabowo, and then about 8% of the headlines emphasize the positive image about Prabowo, about 5% de-emphasize the negative image about Prabowo, about also 5% emphasizing the negative image about Jokowi.

4. Conclusion

The study obviously indicates that Daily Republika's headlines dominantly describes JW's positive image with 40 headlines (40%), then PS's positive image, with 38 headlines (38%). PS's negative image is described more highly (12%) than JW's (10%). The themes of the DR's headlines in relation with the image of PS and JW are framed in the following order: "Prabowo is not responsible for the human rights violation with 21%, then "Jokowi's good characters: modest, sincere, natural, innocent clean, honest, firm and tender" with 20%, "Prabowo's good characters: brave, smart, assertive nationalist, sincere, forgiver, and heroic" with 10%, "Jokowi is the victim of the black campaign (JW is accused as a 'puppet presidential candidate' and regarding the issue of racism)" with 6%, "people's supports for PS" with 4%, and "Prabowo's competence" with 3%.

Daily Kompas' headlines describes JW's positive with 46 headlines (46%), then PS's negative image with 29 headlines (29%), then PS's positive image with 21 headlines (21%), and JW's negative image with 4%. The themes of the DK's headlines in relation with the image of PS and JW are framed in the following order: JW's being populist (act like and closed to ordinary people) (14%), Prabowo's bad characters: emotional, imitative, insensitive, inconfident, ambitious (11%), Jokowi's good characters: modest, sincere, honest, tolerant, firm, patient (11%), Jokowi's the victim of the black campaign (issued as a 'puppet presidential candidate') (9%), Prabowo is described rich and elite (9%), Prabowo's involvement in Human rights violation (8%), People's supports for Jokowi (8%), Prabowo's good characters: heroic, a humorist, polite, and assertive (7%), Negation to PS's bad image or issue: involved in human rights violation, a psychopath (6%), Being a populist (closed to ordinary people) (5%), Negation to negative

issues against JW (weak, irresponsible, coward, etc) (4%), People's supports for Prabowo (4%), and Jokowi is considered a liar, impatient and irresponsible leader (4%).

The polarization appeared in DR's headlines is shown in the following order: *de-emphasizing* the negative image about PS (28%), *empasizing the positive image* about Jokowi (25%), *emphasize the positive image* about PS (15%), *de-emphasize the negative image* about JW(15%), *emphasize the negative image* about JW (8%), *de-emphasize the negative image* about PS (4%), *emphasize the negative image* about PS (3%), and *de-emphasize the positive image* about JW (2%).

Daily Kompas describes JW's and PS' image in the following order: *emphasizing negative image* about PS (27%), *de-emphasizing the positive image* about JW (17%), *emphasize the positive image* about Jokowi (16%), *de-emphasize the negative image* about JW(12%), *de-emphasize the positive image* about PS (10%), *emphasize the positive image* about PS (8%), *de-emphasize the negative image* about PS(5%), and *emphasizing the negative image* about JW (5%).

REFERENCE

- Eagleton, T. (1994). *Ideology*. London: Longman
- Eriyanto (2001) *Analisis Wacana: Pengantar Analisis Teks Media*, Yogyakarta: Lkis
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1994). *Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K., and Hasan, R. (1989). *Language, context, and text: aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford Pres
- Kress, G. (1990). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. In *Annual Review of Antropology*, vol. 11, 84-97
- Sheyholislami, J. (2001). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. (Accessed on Januari 1, 2019 from: <http://http-server.carleton.ca/~jshehol/CDA.htm>.)
- Sinar, T. Silvana. (2008). *Teori Analisis Wacana. Pendekatan Sistemik Fungsional*. Medan: Pustaka Bangsa Press
- Taiwo, R. (2007). *Language, Ideology and Power Relation in Negerian Newspapers*. *Nebula*, Vol. 4, 1, 218-245
- Van Dijk, T.A. (2011). *Discourse, knowledge, power and and politics: Toward critical epistemic discourse analysis*. In C. Hard (ed.), *Critical Discourse Studies in Context and Cognition*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 27-64.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (2006). *Discourse and manipulation*. In *Discourse and Society*, 17 (2), pp. 359-383.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2000). *Ideologies, Racism, Discourse: Debates on Immigration and Ethnic Issues*. In Jessica ter Wal & Maykel Verkuyten (Eds.) *Comparative Perspectives on Racism*. Aldersholt: Asghate. (91-116)
- Van Dijk, T.A. (1998). *Towards a Theory of Context and Experience Models in Discourse Processing*. In: H. Van Oostendorp and S. Goldman (eds.), *The Construction of Mental Models during Reading*, Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Van Dijk, T. (1993). *Principles of discourse analysis*. In *Discourse and Society*. 4 (2) pp. 249-283.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (1985). *Prejudice in Discourse*. Amsterdam: Benjamins
- Wodak, R. (2002). *Aspects of Critical Discourse Analysis*. In *ZfAL* Vol. 36, 5-31.
- Wodak, R. (2001). *What CDA is about?* London: Sage: pp. 1-13.