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A Corpus-Based Critical Discourse Analysis of Indonesian Presidential Candidates' Political Ideologies in the Mata Najwa Talk Show

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Abstract: This research analyzes the classification of words related to social and political issues used by three Indonesian presidential candidates in the “3 Capres Adu Gagasan” talk show on Najwa Shihab’s YouTube channel. The study involves transcribing the candidates’ speeches, tokenizing the text, assigning Part-of-Speech (POS) tags using the CQPWeb corpus, and generating frequency lists. The findings reveal significant differences in prioritizing social and political issues among the candidates. AB emphasizes justice and equality, PS focuses on economic development and national defense through human resource empowerment, while GS highlights social harmony and unity. Further analysis using Teun A. van Dijk’s Critical Discourse analysis model uncovers each candidate’s underlying ideology: social justice (AS), economic independence and defense (PS), and social harmony (GP). The candidates’ speeches reflect their perceptions of societal realities and the values they consider important to the Indonesian public.

Keyword: Elections, Presidential Candidates, Corpus, Critical Discourse Analysis, Politics.

INTRODUCTION

Social and political issues such as democracy, development and progress of the country, law, economy, and environmental policies are among Indonesia’s most highlighted and crucial topics in selecting presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The presentation of ideas by Indonesian presidential candidates on these issues serves as a reference for the public in determining the most suitable candidate to become an ideal leader in the future. To gain public sympathy, the candidates convey their ideas and policies by linking their speeches to societal realities, directly or indirectly. The ideas examined in this study are discourse data in the form of spoken language, specifically the speeches delivered by each presidential candidate within a 10-minute timeframe in the “3 Capres Adu Gagasan” broadcast on the Mata Najwa program (<https://bit.ly/3capresadugagasan>).

Mata Najwa program was chosen due to its background as one of Indonesia’s most popular talk shows. The program is broadcasted on television and YouTube, which attracts a vast audience. The episode “3 Capres Adu Gagasan” on the Mata Najwa YouTube channel

reached seven million viewers within one month after its exclusive premiere on 19 September 2023. Given this context, the study's two primary goals are:

1. To identify the highest-frequency word classes related to social and political issues in Indonesia as expressed by the presidential candidates.
2. To reveal the differences in ideology and the explicit objectives behind the three candidates' presentations of their ideas.

The primary focus of this study is to identify the most frequently occurring words in the speeches of the 2024 presidential candidates, particularly in social and political contexts, using a corpus-based critical discourse analysis approach. As a fundamental reference, this study draws on 14 previous studies relevant to the current research, such as those conducted by Arum and Winarti (2020), Widyawari and Zuleha (2016), Yanti et al. (2019), Tamrin (2020), Megawati (2021), Hermawan (2021), Abidin (2020), and Surya R (2023). The study by Arum and Winarti is related to the first research question in this study, as both identify the highest-frequency word classes. However, the focus and object differ, as their study centers on English language teaching in radiology.

Furthermore, critical discourse analysis using van Dijk's model, which relates to the second research question in this study, is also found in Yanti et al. (2019), who analyzed Prabowo's and Jokowi's victory speeches in the 2019 elections using van Dijk's model. Similarly, Tamrin (2019) examined Anies Baswedan's speech using the same approach, while Vidhiasi (2020) analyzed political discourse surrounding Anies as published in *The Sydney Morning Herald* using van Dijk's model. Megawati (2021) studied Prabowo's speeches in the 2014 and 2019 elections through critical discourse analysis. Hermawan (2021) investigated the representation of Anies and GP in the 2024 presidential candidacy discourse using a corpus linguistics approach.

Additionally, Abidin (2019) analyzed Anies Baswedan's speech at Jakarta Expo 2017 using van Dijk's model, while Surya R (2023) focused on van Dijk's analysis of 2024 presidential candidates in online news. Previous studies by Yanti et al. (2019), Tamrin (2019), Megawati (2021), and Abidin (2019) adopted a critical discourse analysis approach using van Dijk's model to explore political speeches. Although there are similarities in focusing on speeches, this study demonstrates significant differences in its research objects and methods. Meanwhile, Hermawan (2021) also applied a corpus linguistics approach with a different research focus. Similarly, Surya R (2023) studied presidential candidates, aligning with this research regarding object selection, yet differing in its analytical model and theoretical framework.

Unlike previous studies, this research focuses on the speeches of the 2024 presidential candidates as the primary object of analysis. By combining two approaches—Teun A. van Dijk's critical discourse analysis model and the corpus linguistics approach—this study provides a more holistic understanding of word usage in social and political contexts while detailing the macro and micro elements of the candidates' speeches. Specifically, this study will identify the most frequently used words in the speeches based on open word classes: nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. This approach is based on the functional understanding that open word classes carry more complex meanings than others.

Theoretical Framework

The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory was introduced by several scholars, including van Dijk, Fairclough, and Wodak. This study adopts van Dijk's approach, which focuses on transmitting an ideological structure influenced by an individual's dominance. This dominance affects how individuals think and present their ideas to the intended audience.

In his book *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (2015), van Dijk explains that issues within the Critical Discourse Analysis approach involve several factors, including power, dominance, ideology, class, gender, race, discrimination, and others. Based on these factors, van Dijk divides the approach into three analytical frameworks: Discourse, Cognition, and Society. His clear and systematic analytical framework allows a better understanding of how discourse shapes opinions and how power manifests in social interactions. Therefore, van Dijk's theory is well-suited for research on social and political issues related to ideas and discourse.

According to van Dijk (2015), Critical Discourse Analysis focuses on how language is used to maintain, challenge, or resist power exploitation and social injustice in contemporary society. This critical review study will investigate the objectives and significance of Critical Discourse Analysis, evaluate its theoretical foundations and real-world applications, and assess its strengths and weaknesses. The reason for choosing van Dijk's model for Critical Discourse Analysis in this study is that it is more relevant to the research object than the Critical Discourse Analysis models proposed by Fairclough and Wodak. Fairclough's analysis focuses primarily on how language creates and reproduces social structures, while Wodak's approach is somewhat similar to van Dijk's, as his theoretical model influenced it.

Van Dijk emphasizes the importance of understanding the ideology and power embedded in language. His Critical Discourse Analysis helps reveal how texts influence and reflect social, political, or cultural inequalities. Thus, it is highly relevant to the research object and objective, which is to uncover the ideological structures. Van Dijk introduces the idea that in Critical Discourse Analysis, micro and macro elements indicate a gap. This gap can be identified through language use, particularly in practices originating from a social group with shared understanding, which is then transmitted to others through speeches or global media. The dissemination of ideology is facilitated by specific actions that create a positive impression (legitimization) of the message conveyed by an individual or a social group. These social groups exhibit a shared understanding aligned with society's social cognitive conditions. This alignment allows a social group to spread its ideas by harmonizing its discourse with the prevailing societal narratives. However, abuse may occur in such cases, leading to power imbalances and dominance in discourse and communication.

Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis is an intriguing approach to integrate into research object analysis due to its strengths in examining word meaning and usage phenomena. Corpus linguistics takes a more empirical approach by utilizing statistical data to identify trends, differing from discourse analysis, which predominantly employs qualitative methods, particularly van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis model. This combination enables a more empirical and descriptive linguistic analysis using a corpus as the primary data source. Corpus linguistics also facilitates quantitative analysis of lexical patterns and collocations, which can reinforce the qualitative insights derived from Critical Discourse Analysis. Thus, integrating corpus linguistics with Critical Discourse Analysis provides a more comprehensive understanding of discourse and the linguistic structures involved in social processes (2012).

METHOD

The research data was taken from a talk show titled "3 Capres Adu Gagasan," which was broadcast on the Mata Najwa YouTube channel on 20 September 2023. The research data consists of speeches from the three presidential candidates: Anies Baswedan (abbreviated as AB), Prabowo Subianto (PS), and Ganjar Pranowo (GP). The speeches were transcribed using the online transcription tool available at <https://anthiago.com/transkrip/>. The transcription data consists of spoken ideas delivered over a duration of 10 minutes by each candidate. The transcribed data was copied and saved in a text file (.txt format). The text file was later uploaded to the corpus processing platform CQPweb at <https://cqpweb.lancs.ac.uk/> for tokenization.

The next step after tokenization is assigning Part-of-Speech Tags (POS Tags) to each token, which are then categorized based on the tags that appear. The researcher groups the data through this process according to its word class. Therefore, the data to be further analyzed consists of tokens from open word classes, including Nouns (NN), Verbs (VB), Adjectives (JJ), and Adverbs (RB). The researcher selects the top ten most frequent word classes for further analysis. The results of the token tagging process can be seen in the data below:

Table 1.
Data Classification Methodology

The Most Frequent Word Classes in Anies Baswedan’s Speech												
No	NN			VB			JJ			RB		
	Token	NOC	Percentage	Token	NOC	Percentage	Token	NOC	Percentage	Token	NOC	Percentage
1	keadilan	13	3.80%	ada	11	7.91%	baik	6	12.24%	lebih	7	20.59%
2	pendidikan	9	2.63%	menjadi	11	7.91%	tinggi	4	8.16%	ingin	3	8.82%
3	biaya	5	1.46%	adalah	9	6.47%	mahal	3	6.12%	makin	3	8.82%
4	kampus	5	1.46%	terkait	7	5.04%	penting	3	6.12%	sekali	3	8.82%
5	kebijakan	5	1.46%	menginginkan	6	4.32%	utama	3	6.12%	cukup	2	5.88%
6	kebutuhan	5	1.46%	mendapatkan	5	3.60%	besar	2	4.08%	hanya	2	5.88%
7	pekerjaan	5	1.46%	menghadirkan	4	2.88%	minimal	2	4.08%	semuanya	2	5.88%
8	setara	5	1.46%	kembali	3	2.16%	sejahtera	2	4.08%	akhirnya	1	2.94%
9	artinya	4	1.17%	memiliki	3	2.16%	adil	1	2.04%	begitu	1	2.94%
10	hukum	4	1.17%	terjadi	3	2.16%	aktif	1	2.04%	betul-betul	1	2.94%

Abbreviations:

NOC: Number of occurrences

The frequency of word usage in the presidential candidates’ speeches can be seen in the NOC column. The frequency table is used to identify the relative frequency of words in the corpus data. The relative frequency, as shown in Table 3.1, provides an overview of each

candidate’s most frequently used words. Relative frequency compares the candidates’ usage of each word class. Once the frequency data is obtained, the research data will be classified according to social and political domains to address the first research question. Additionally, the researcher employs a cross-reference method, assisted by the Fifth Edition of the Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI V), to review and verify word classifications.

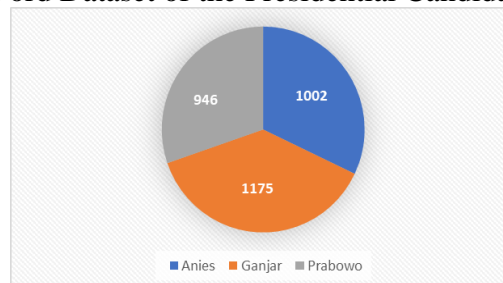
After the research data is classified and sorted based on frequency, it is analyzed using van Dijk’s Critical Discourse Analysis approach. This analysis will explain the reasons behind the use of these words by examining how the three presidential candidates convey their ideas and represent their ideologies. In addition to word frequency, this study also analyzes the lexicon that frequently appears before and after the most frequent words. Through this approach, the researcher can identify how the three candidates present their ideas to the public using other lexical choices to capture public attention. This method also helps assess which aspects are emphasized in each candidate’s discourse when delivering their ideas. These aspects are considered to enhance their legitimacy in the eyes of the public amid the challenges faced by Indonesia while also reflecting the solutions proposed by the candidates.

Furthermore, in conducting this analysis, the researcher also considers external factors that may influence the understanding of the speeches, such as background and life experiences, political advisors, speech history and previous policies, the political climate, and the characteristics of the target audience.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the initial discussion section, the researcher presents data from the tokenization results of each presidential candidate’s word dataset. The number of datasets that appear is presented in the following diagram:

Diagram 1.
Word Dataset of the Presidential Candidates



The number of datasets was generated through the Part-of-Speech (POS) tagging process, obtained from the transcription of each presidential candidate’s speech, with a speech duration of ten minutes. By utilizing the POS tagging process and compiling a frequency list, the analysis of this data leads to results that can serve as a basis for shaping the profiles of presidential candidates. The subsequent analysis is presented in the following subsections:

The Highest Word Class Frequency of the Three Presidential Candidates (Capres) 2024-2029

In this subsection, the researcher will conduct a comparative analysis of word frequency for each presidential candidate among the three candidates. This analysis aims to identify the ideas and understanding the candidates intend to convey by examining the explicit meaning behind the use of these words. In discussing the analysis results, the data will be presented sequentially based on the word classes that fall within the top 10 highest frequencies.

Table 2,
The Highest Word Frequency of the Three Presidential Candidates 2024

No	Token	NOC	Percentage
1	ada	31	7.49%
2	menjadi	29	7.00%
3	adalah	24	5.80%
4	negara	20	2.08%
5	sekarang	17	1.77%
6	saudara-saudara	15	1.56%
7	keadilan	14	1.45%
8	pendidikan	14	1.45%
9	sekalian	14	9.52%
10	baik	13	8.39%

Based on the frequency collected by the researcher, there are 10 words with the highest frequency. In delivering their ideas, the three presidential candidates primarily focused on noun classes, such as “pendidikan” (education) and “keadilan” (justice) which are considered ongoing issues in Indonesia and remain public concerns. For example, “...they can receive a good education” highlights a key development focus emphasized by all three candidates. The adjective “baik” (good, well, proper) is intended to reassure the public, especially since “baik” has the highest frequency among adjectives and is the only one appearing in the frequency table. This significantly contributes to conveying a positive stance through the use of adjectives.

Additionally, the candidates employed terms of address to establish a sense of closeness, such as “saudara-saudara” (brothers and sisters), which engages the general public. The use of the adverb “sekalian” (all) following the noun “friends” in the sentence “Bapak Ibu sekalian teman-teman yang ada di Jogja” (All the ladies and gentlemen, friends in Jogja) reflects an inclusive call to action. This phrase is strategically used to convince the public of the ideas presented by the candidates. The word “ada” appears after noun classes, as seen in the example “kita berharap nanti ada persatuan ada kebersamaan” (we hope there will be unity and togetherness in the future). This indicates that “ada” is a lexicon representing the aspiration for the best possible outcome from the ideas conveyed.

Similarly, the phrase “*pemberantasan korupsi menjadi prioritas*” (eradicating corruption becomes a priority) illustrates the word *menjadi* as a marker of an intended goal expressed by the three candidates in addressing issues in Indonesia. In addition to being followed by the lexicon “prioritas” (priority), this word is also accompanied by other nouns such as “institusi” (institution) and “mesin” (machine), which indicate a broader focus beyond education, extending to other areas such as industry.

Highest Word Frequency of Anies Baswedan

The researcher presents data on AB’s most frequently used words in this subsection. The data table is divided into two types: one table presents the highest frequencies based on each word class (NN, VB, JJ, RB), and another table shows the highest word frequencies. Please refer to the table below:

Table 3.
Highest Word Frequency of Anies Baswedan

No	NN			VB			JJ			RB		
	Token	NO C	Perc ent	Token	NO C	Perc ent	Token	NO C	Perc ent	Token	NO C	Perc ent
1	keadilan	13	3.80 %	ada	11	7.91 %	baik	6	12.24 %	lebih	7	20.59 %
2	pendidikan	9	2.63 %	menjadi	11	7.91 %	tinggi	4	8.16 %	ingin	3	8.82 %
3	biaya	5	1.46 %	adalah	9	6.47 %	mahal	3	6.12 %	makin	3	8.82 %
4	kampus	5	1.46 %	terkait	7	5.04 %	penting	3	6.12 %	sekalian	3	8.82 %
5	kebijakan	5	1.46 %	menginginkan	6	4.32 %	utama	3	6.12 %	cukup	2	5.88 %
6	kebutuhan	5	1.46 %	mendapatkan	5	3.60 %	besar	2	4.08 %	hanya	2	5.88 %
7	pekerjaan	5	1.46 %	menghadirkan	4	2.88 %	minimal	2	4.08 %	semuanya	2	5.88 %
8	setara	5	1.46 %	kembali	3	2.16 %	sejahtera	2	4.08 %	akhirnya	1	2.94 %
9	artinya	4	1.17 %	memiliki	3	2.16 %	adil	1	2.04 %	begitu	1	2.94 %
10	hukum	4	1.17 %	terjadi	3	2.16 %	aktif	1	2.04 %	betul-betul	1	2.94 %

AB emphasizes the use of nouns that focus on crucial issues in Indonesia. “keadilan” (justice) stands out as a frequently mentioned word in his speeches, reflecting AB’s belief that justice should be the foundation of every policy in Indonesia. This view is reflected in his extensive background in governance and education. AB also highlights the education issue, with the word “pendidikan” (education) occupying the second-highest position after “keadilan.” Furthermore, “biaya” (cost) also draws AB’s attention, reflecting his awareness of the economic issues in society, especially concerning essential goods, healthcare, and education. In his speeches, AB plans to open hundreds of job opportunities to provide equal chances for the public. He also underscores the importance of law in Indonesia from the justice perspective,

noting the recent existing justice gaps in the country’s legal system. AB expresses an interest in action and hope through verbs such as “menjadi” (become), which indicate his desire to bring about positive change or progress in various fields. Additionally, using the word “menginginkan” (desiring to) shows AB’s passion for bringing about changes that society wants. These action words help convey AB’s vision for the changes needed to improve welfare and justice in Indonesia. The word “menghadirkan” (to provide) is closely related to the noun “pekerjaan” (occupation), as one of his speeches focuses on the urgency of creating job opportunities in various sectors in Indonesia. AB emphasizes using adjectives like “baik” (good) and “tinggi” (high) to reflect his desire to manage basic needs properly. He also uses the word “baik” in his statement, “...tata kelola pemerintahan tidak berjalan dengan baik, praktik korupsi masif di mana-mana” (government management is not going well, corruption practices are rampant everywhere), showing his intention to bring about changes in the legal system in Indonesia. Words like “mahal” (expensive), “penting” (important), “utama” (main) reflect AB’s awareness of the most pressing issues in his vision, particularly economic and policy issues. This happens even though these words do not dominate his speech. AB frequently uses adverbs like “lebih” (more) and “ingin” (want) to express his desire for further change and progress. His progressive and inclusive approach is demonstrated through terms like “makin” (the more) and “sekalian” (all) emphasizing gradual improvement and overall growth. In contrast, other presidential candidates focus more on “sekarang” (now) and “sekalian” (all), which may emphasize shared aspirations and current situations.

Table 4.
Highest Word Frequency of Anies Baswedan

N o	Token	NO C	Perc ent
1	keadilan	13	3.80 %
2	ada	11	7.91 %
3	menjadi	11	7.91 %
4	pendidika n	9	2.63 %
5	adalah	9	6.47 %
6	terkait	7	5.04 %
7	lebih	7	20.59 %
8	mengingi nkan	6	4.32 %
9	baik	6	12.24 %

10	biaya	5	1.46 %
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The study conducted by Anggini (2022) mentioned that AB is considered rhetorically sensitive. This means that when speaking in public, his language style is structured, and his diction is very well-chosen, which allows him to persuade people and leave a strong impression on what he conveys. Based on the highest word frequency data, AB uses words like “keadilan” (justice), “pendidikan” (education), and “biaya” (cost). One of AB’s statements reflects his concern about education, “...pendidikan tinggi harus menjadi institusi yang bisa diakses oleh anak siapa saja” (Higher education must be an institution accessible to children from all backgrounds). In his speech, AB believes that justice should be the foundation of every policy in Indonesia so that all layers of society can feel its benefits. This is further supported by earlier research conducted by Simanjuntak (2018), which discussed one of AB’s speeches using the word “pribumi” (indigenous people), which was considered an “emergency word” to represent the injustice felt by Jakarta residents during forced evictions and the reclamation of Jakarta Bay. Therefore, in this debate of ideas between the three presidential candidates, AB again emphasizes justice, as indicated by the frequent appearance of the word justice, which has the highest frequency.

Candidate AB also sees an opportunity to convince the public that education in Indonesia, which has been an ongoing issue for years, still leaves problems, especially with the education system and the lack of welfare for educators. AB sees cost as a significant issue in Indonesia, ranging from essential goods to healthcare and educational costs. In the quote, “Higher education must be an institution that any child can access,” the lexicon supports the notion of justice, emphasizing that no particular group should receive better treatment than others. This statement is further supported by the lexicon that indicates equal justice, as shown in the phrase “...kita berharap nanti ada persatuan ada kebersamaan” (we hope that there will be unity and togetherness), represented by the word “togetherness.”

Furthermore, the most frequently used word by AB is baik (good, well, proper), as seen in the quote: “The governance system is not functioning well; corruption is rampant everywhere.” This demonstrates that the word baik refers to something still considered a problem, primarily when AB provides factual evidence for his ideas. In another quote, AB mentions, “...proper education so that later they can get good jobs when sent to major cities in Indonesia.” The word “baik” in this quote indicates inequality, where education and employment in Indonesia are still unevenly distributed. As stated, the word “baik” implies that education and jobs in Indonesia are concentrated only in a few large cities. This aligns with what AB emphasizes, referring to the most important aspect: justice, which has the highest frequency in his statements, and he also bases his argument on factual data he presents.

Word Frequency List of Prabowo Subianto

The table below presents the highest frequency data divided by their respective word classes.

Table 5.
Highest Word Class Frequency of Prabowo Subiyanto

No	NN			VB			JJ			RB		
	Token	NO C	Per cen tag e	Token	NO C	Per cen tag e	Tok en	N O C	Per cen tag e	Token	N O C	Per cen tag e

1	negara	15	4.84%	adalah	10	9.52%	besar	3	6.82%	sekalian	10	25.00%
2	saudara-saudara	15	4.84%	menjadi	8	7.62%	mapu	3	6.82%	ingin	4	10.00%
3	sekarang	11	3.55%	ada	5	4.76%	nasional	3	6.82%	langsung	4	10.00%
4	air	9	2.90%	mencapai	5	4.76%	berani	2	4.55%	mau	4	10.00%
5	perusahaan	5	1.61%	jadi	4	3.81%	lemah	2	4.55%	saja	4	10.00%
6	ekonomi	4	1.29%	tingkatkan	3	2.86%	minus	2	4.55%	lebih	3	7.50%
7	Kartu	4	1.29%	bayangan	2	1.90%	murah	2	4.55%	hanya	2	5.00%
8	produksi	4	1.29%	beri	2	1.90%	solid	2	4.55%	kurang lebih	2	5.00%
9	program	4	1.29%	bicara	2	1.90%	adil	1	2.27%	agak	1	2.50%
10	Swasembada	4	1.29%	dibawah	2	1.90%	asin	1	2.27%	dimanamana	1	2.50%

PS uses dominant noun and verb word classes in his speech to convey his ideas. Using the token “negara” (country) explicitly conveys that this country is composed not just of PS and the government but also includes the people within it. Additionally, the use of foreign terms, such as in the quote “...*kita mau jadi negara high income*” (we want to be a high-income country), introduces a foreign term with a paradoxical style, as supported by the study of Hartinah & Kindi (2020). This is further complemented by using the token “saudara-saudara” (brothers and sisters), which is intentionally chosen to create a sense of familial closeness. The verb “adalah” (is) in the phrase “...*saudara-saudara ini adalah keberhasilan yang patut kita syukuri*” (brothers and sisters, this is an achievement that we should be grateful for) provides a clear image of the message PS is trying to convey.

In addition to nouns and verbs, PS frequently uses the word “sekalian” (all) in conjunction with “saudara-saudara” (brothers and sisters), which serves as a form of address to enhance familiarity. Moreover, the use of the large noun token “besar” (big) in the phrase “*negara seperti Indonesia*” (a big country like Indonesia) draws attention to PS’s vision of Indonesia’s potential to become a great nation. PS attempts to present a direct reality to the public through

these two tokens, projecting an image of an open and transparent leader. The table below shows the top ten word classes based on their frequency calculations.

Table 7.
Most Frequent Words of Prabowo Subiyanto

N O	Token	NO C	Perce ntage
1	negara	15	4.84%
2	saudara- saudara	15	4.84%
3	sekarang	11	3.55%
4	adalah	10	9.52%
5	sekalian	10	25.00 %
6	air	9	2.90%
7	menjadi	8	7.62%
8	perusahaan	5	1.61%
9	ada	5	4.76%
10	mencapai	5	4.76%

Unlike AB, PS frequently uses the top three nouns with the token (NN), which are “negara” (country), “saudara-saudara” (brothers/sisters), and “sekarang” (now). Based on these tokens and quoting from his speech, “...kita mau jadi negara high income” (we want to be a high-income country) PS implements the idea that the country is ‘us,’ which shows an initiative to foster a sense of nationalism among the public. Additionally, the word “saudara-saudara” (fellow, brother and sisters) is often encountered in his speech, as seen in the quote: “...tapi, tapi saya berusaha untuk patuh disiplin saudara-saudara karena saudara-saudara akademisi saya akan langsung saja ya bicara” (But, but I try to be disciplined, my fellow academics, so I will get straight to the point). This demonstrates that cooperation is necessary in building a nation. Compared to using ‘hadirin’ (audience), PS prefers “saudara-saudara” to create a positive (closer) feeling between himself and his audience.

The top ten most frequent words include four verb token (VB) classes. For example, in his speech, PS says, “...kita sudah mencapai 1,4 triliun target kita tahun 2045 adalah 9,8 triliun.” (We have reached 1.4 trillion, our target for 2045 is 9.8 trillion). The use of “mencapai” (achieve) gives the public an image that Indonesia is capable of competing with the human resources it has, and the choice of the pronoun “kita” (we) is a way for Prabowo to show that Indonesia’s progress is inseparable from all of its people. “Sekalian,” which is an adverb (RB), is always preceded by the noun “saudara” (brothers/sisters). Prabowo does this to gain sympathy from the wider public.

Additionally, using “sekalian” is PS’s way of capturing attention when delivering ideas in his speech. This attention is obtained so that the public listens to and understands the ideas he is presenting. The tokens used by PS show an understanding that a strong country comes

from a united society working together to build the nation. From the tokens identified, there is alignment with previous research, which shows that Prabowo presents his speeches explicitly, as was found in Megawati’s (2019) research, which revealed that Prabowo’s presidential election victory speech was delivered explicitly compared to his competitors, who communicated more implicitly.

Frequency List of Words Used by Ganjar Pranowo

The data below represents GP’s ideas divided into four open-word classes: nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs.

Table 7.
Highest Word Class Frequency of Ganjar Pranowo

No	NN		VB			JJ			RB		
	NO C	Perc enta ge	Token	NO C	Perc enta ge	Token	NO C	Perc enta ge	Token	NO C	Perc enta ge
1	7	2.25 %	ada	15	8.82 %	bagus	7	11.2 9%	cukup	10	13.7 0%
2	5	1.61 %	menja di	10	5.88 %	baik	7	11.2 9%	sangat	9	12.3 3%
3	5	1.61 %	kemb ali	6	3.53 %	korup	4	6.45 %	lagi	6	8.22 %
4	5	1.61 %	lakuk an	6	3.53 %	luar biasa	4	6.45 %	betul- betul	4	5.48 %
5	4	1.29 %	adalah	5	2.94 %	digital	3	4.84 %	kemudi an	4	5.48 %
6	4	1.29 %	kira	4	2.35 %	serius	3	4.84 %	mau	4	5.48 %
7	4	1.29 %	lanjut	4	2.35 %	jauh	2	3.23 %	rasanya	4	5.48 %
8	4	1.29 %	berad a	3	1.76 %	sehat	2	3.23 %	kira- kira	3	4.11 %
9	4	1.29 %	berjal an	3	1.76 %	unggu l	2	3.23 %	lebih	3	4.11 %
10	3	0.96 %	diban gun	3	1.76 %	utama	2	3.23 %	pasti	3	4.11 %

The highest frequency word within the noun class is the token teman-teman (friends). GP uses the token “teman-teman” to create a more familiar and intimate atmosphere with the audience, as seen in the following quote: “...*Saya kira yang hadir di sini teman-teman yang duduk di depan ini*” (I assumed that those attending here were the colleagues seated in the front). The youth are the audience at this event and GP intends to connect more closely with the

younger generation. As we know, GP is recognized for his closeness with the people. According to a study by Maria (2023), GP’s actions of engaging in communication and active interaction are part of his branding formation. So, compared to the other two presidential candidates, GP makes more of an effort to connect using the token “teman-teman” rather than “saudara-saudara” (brothers/sisters). Additionally, nouns like “pendidikan” (education), SDM (human resources), and “ekonomi” (economy) appear, indicating that GP focuses on issues related to these areas.

In the adjective class, GP uses persuasive politics, as seen in the quote: “...*dan mari kita kembalikan alam Indonesia jauh lebih baik*” (and let us return Indonesia’s nature to be much better) which is an invitation to the general public using positive persuasion (better). This example supports the use of a persuasive sentence by GP: “...*mengurangi gas emisi ekonomi hijau ekonomi biru yang menjadi potensi untuk bisa kita kembangkan itu yang mesti kita lakukan kembali lagi maka teman-teman*” (Reducing emissions, green economy, blue economy, which are potential areas we can develop, that is what we must do again, so my friends) which demonstrates an effort by GP to convince the public through his persuasive politics. The word ‘kembali’ (return) is often found with the token ‘lagi’ (again), which is believed to provide a joyous invitation to convey his ideas through persuasion. Then, the combined list of words from all the classes with the highest frequency spoken by GP is presented in the table below:

Table 10.
Highest Frequency Words of Ganjar Pranowo

No	Token	NOC	Percent age
1	ada	15	8.82%
2	menjadi	10	5.88%
3	cukup	10	13.70%
4	sangat	9	12.33%
5	teman-teman	7	2.25%
6	bagus	7	11.29%
7	baik	7	11.29%
8	kembali	6	3.53%
9	lakukan	6	3.53%
10	lagi	6	8.22%

Teun A. van Dijk's Discourse Analysis Model

In this section, the researcher will explain how Teun A. van Dijk’s analysis model can provide a deeper understanding of the presidential candidates' speeches in the 2024 presidential election. This analysis model will explain how the words used in the speeches play an important role in determining the ideologies and underlying goals of a presidential candidate’s ideas.

Anies Baswedan

Macro-Structure

In his speech, AB raised the theme of justice by referring to access to healthcare, education, employment opportunities, law enforcement, and how justice can play a role in building Indonesia. Starting with the history of colonialism in Indonesia, AB expressed his desire for the country to develop free from the painful history that greatly influenced the development of facilities and infrastructure in Indonesia. This is in line with research conducted by Tamrin (2019), which supports AB's background ideas when running for president in 2024-2029, namely to bring a new spirit to the people of Jakarta to build the city and remind them of Indonesia's colonial history. AB expressed his desire to provide the public with basic healthcare facilities. Reflecting on the significant impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on Indonesian society, AB highlighted the need for equitable health protection across Indonesia, especially for pregnant women. In addition to healthcare, education is another issue that AB emphasized. He highlighted the inequality in educational opportunities in Indonesia, particularly the imbalance in the number of school desks at the secondary and university levels. Besides equal access to healthcare, education, and employment, AB also focused on the justice system in Indonesia. He emphasized that justice in law enforcement is the foundation for a country's progress. Reflecting on the current reality of legal justice, AB prioritizes eradicating corruption to create justice for society.

Micro Structure

Based on the context and the high frequency of the word 'justice' in his speech, the social justice ideology forms the foundation of AB's thinking and ideas. Economic inequality, access to education, and justice issues in other sectors are real issues that are relevant to AB's speech. On the other hand, AB also uses the word "hijrah" to describe a movement of change in the nation's order toward a better future. The term "hijrah" represents an exclusive reference related to Islamic identity, which is often associated with Anies' character as someone who presents himself as a leader with an identity politics background.

*"...mereka tidak kembali kampung halamannya **hijrah** ke Jogja hijrah ke Jakarta hijrah ke Bandung ke Malang Surabaya tidak kembali..."*

In the context of his speech, the term "hijrah" not only makes a bold statement on social and political issues but also carries connotations of Islamic religious values. The use of "hijrah" suggests that people seeking better education and employment opportunities in other regions are positive actions, even though education and job opportunities in Indonesia are not evenly distributed. This use of the term aligns with previous research by Payuyasa (2017), which found data showing that:

*"...mengenai penggusuran. Kita ingin memastikan bahwa jakarta besok yang dilakukan adalah **penataan**. Memberikan ruang dan kesempatan untuk warga jakarta baik kaya maupun miskin untuk mendapatkan kesempatan hidup yang nyaman."*

In the study, AB employs a euphemism by replacing the word "gusur" (demolition) with "penataan" (arrangement) to avoid discomfort caused by the harshness of the original term. This demonstrates AB's intellectual background, as the choice of words reflects a nuanced understanding of communication. This euphemism aims to reassure the public, ensuring that his proposal does not harm various parties and, more importantly, to avoid any misunderstandings that might arise from media broadcasts of his ideas. By opting for a softer, more diplomatic term, AB seeks to present his vision in a way that minimizes controversy and promotes a more positive reception.

Prabowo Subianto

Macro-Structure

The core idea conveyed by PS focuses on the development of Indonesia, particularly in the economic sector, by emphasizing the empowerment of existing human resources (HR) within the country. By leveraging these human resources, PS envisions Indonesia being able to compete with other nations. The empowerment of Indonesia's HR is aimed at boosting domestic competition and reducing the unemployment rate. This is based on the observation that many foreign investors and workers come to Indonesia, reducing opportunities for Indonesia's human resources to thrive within their own country. The benefits of empowering domestic HR include more balanced competition, leading to gains, particularly in export and import.

In the quote taken from PS's speech "*...kita wajibkan mereka untuk melakukan pengolahan di Republik Indonesia saudara-saudara sekalian dan ini membuat banyak negara asing tidak suka kita mau diboikot tapi kita tidak gentar*" PS conveys a strong belief in his ideas and invites the public to participate in empowering and advancing Indonesia. This is evident in the phrase "*kita tidak gentar*" (we are not afraid) which implies a stance of not overly relying on foreign countries to advance Indonesia's economy. To enhance human resources in Indonesia, PS proposes increasing the salaries of teachers, civil servants, military personnel, police officers, village heads, and village officials, as he stated: "*...saudara-saudara sekalian menaikkan gaji guru aparatur sipil negara TNI Polri dan kepala desa dan perangkat desa.*" PS emphasizes that raising wages in several sectors is important in providing trust to the people, although wages are often considered inadequate. This also serves as motivation and highlights those key sectors in national development, apart from the economy, including education and national defense. Additionally, PS frequently uses the word "kita" (Us), which is identified as PS and the Indonesian people. This aligns with the research conducted by Megawati (2019) in her critical discourse analysis of Prabowo's speech during the 2019 presidential election.

Micro-Structure

When viewed through the lens of the most frequently used words in PS's speech, the ideas presented indicate that PS conveys his ideas explicitly. This aligns with previous research on the Victory Speeches of Jokowi and PS in the 2019 Presidential Election. Yanti et al. (2019) explained that Prabowo delivered his victory speech explicitly, declaring the win based on the votes secured by his winning team. Delivering ideas explicitly demonstrates a firm stance, which provides the public with a clear picture of the ideology being conveyed—an ideology of togetherness. This can be seen in the following excerpt:

"...kita tidak mau komunitas kita sumber alam kita diekspor dijual murah ke bangsa lain kita tidak mau kita hentikan ekspor murah kita wajibkan mereka untuk melakukan pengolahan di Republik Indonesia saudara-saudara sekalian dan ini membuat banyak negara asing tidak suka kita mau diboikot tapi kita tidak gentar kalau tanpa hilirisasi tidak mungkin kita menjadi negara makmur."

This speech delivery model explicitly reflects the courageous stance that PS positions as a leader. It can be understood that, according to him, Indonesia has the potential to become a strong and independent nation. With Prabowo's background as a military officer and former Minister of Defense, he conveys this ideology without hesitation, reassuring the public that he is a strong figure who is fit to lead the country. His firm and direct delivery reinforces his image as a resolute leader, capable of making tough decisions and focused on national strength and self-sufficiency.

Ganjar Pranowo

Macro-Structure

In the Macro-Structure analysis of GP's speech, he focuses on addressing Indonesia's problems, emphasizing these issues explicitly in his speech. This gives the impression to the public that GP is a leader who is serious about tackling societal problems, particularly with his experience as the Governor of Central Java. Additionally, GP is portrayed as a friendly figure in his speech, using terms like "teman-teman" (fellow/friends) to address his audience. This approach aligns with his well-regarded reputation as a leader in Central Java. This suggests that GP promotes and conveys an ideology centered on the people, reflected in how he delivers his ideas and the choice of language perceived as approachable and "down to earth." In previous research by Widyawari and Zuleha (2016), it was found that GP often opts for words with a more familiar, local tone, like "ngenes" (a colloquial term for misery), rather than using more formal or distant terms like "sengsara" (suffering). This choice of language reinforces the image of GP as someone relatable and warm towards people.

Micro-Structure

In conveying his ideology, GP tends to use words perceived as fostering closeness, as indicated by the term "teman-teman" (friends). This word is employed to build a sense of camaraderie while delivering his ideas, ensuring that the public does not feel threatened by the presented ideas. Additionally, GP is depicted as a serious leader who uses the word "sangat" (very) to emphasize the significance of specific issues, signalling that they should not be taken lightly and must be addressed. This also highlights how GP provides a positive response to societal concerns. In a quote from his speech, GP states:

*"...teman-teman kita punya **PR** yang tidak gampang. apa itu climate change yang kemudian kita mesti betul-betul berpikir sangat sangat serius sangat serius pada persoalan ini SDM kita tidak unggul enggak akan bisa kita tangani anggaran kita cukup tidak bisa kita tangani kepedulian tidak ada no way tidak akan bisa tertangani pada sisi itu Saya kira yang hadir di sini teman-teman yang duduk di depan ini yang di atas di balkon semuanya pasti akan menjadi bagian apa yang disebut sebagai bonus demografi."*

GP shows an effort to convey a people-centered ideology by using the abbreviation **PR** for "Pekerjaan Rumah" (homework) instead of "tugas" (task) or "kewajiban" (obligation). This choice of diction reflects a more approachable and relatable figure to the public. "PR" implies a more familiar and less formal sense of responsibility, making it easier for the public to engage with the message. This aligns with previous research, indicating that GP uses a people-oriented ideology emphasizing his connection to the masses. As stated in the following quote:

*"...Ya ketika kemudian kita pertumbuhan ekonominya tidak terlalu tinggi. Ketika banyak orang protes Jawa Tengah itu selalu kalah dengan Jawa Timur dan Jawa Barat. Ketika infrastruktur selalu dibandingkan dengan Jogja dengan Jawa Barat dengan Jawa Timur **ngenes** itu di Jawa Tengah itu."*

Research by Widyawari and Zuleha (2016) shows that GP's choice of diction reflects his people-centered persona, as he chooses to use regional language terms (Javanese) like "ngenes" to indicate closeness and influence within the community. The use of such words emphasizes empathy and evokes sympathy from the public. This choice of words allows GP to present himself as relatable and approachable, ultimately conveying his ideology of being a leader deeply connected with the people. Through this strategy, he successfully presents himself as a populist figure.

CONCLUSION

The research addresses the following questions: (i) How are the words classified concerning social and political issues in Indonesia as expressed by Indonesian presidential candidates in the Mata Najwa program? and (ii) are there significant ideological differences among the candidates? It can be concluded that the choice of words in the candidates' speeches reflects the focus and urgency of the issues they seek to highlight. The verb category has the highest frequency, indicating their stance on the country's condition and the changes they aspire to achieve.

Regarding the ideology of each presidential candidate, there are significant differences in the ideas they present. Anies Baswedan (AB) focuses on justice as the central pillar of Indonesia's development. Prabowo Subianto (PS) emphasizes the realities of exports and imports in Indonesia, while Ganjar Pranowo (GP) highlights education, health, law enforcement, digitalization, social empowerment, and infrastructure. The way these three candidates convey their ideologies remains consistent with previous research and reflects their characteristics, as seen in their speeches on the Mata Najwa program.

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