

Discourse Strategies of Social Relation's Construction by Indonesian Presidential Candidates in Their First Campaign 2024

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Abstract. This study aims to explore the discourse strategies employed by three Indonesian presidential candidates to construct the social relations between the candidates and their audience and Indonesian society in general during their first campaign. Social relation is essential element in political campaigns to interest audience, to get sympathetic. Social relation is important in political campaigns because it can be used to attract the attention of the audience and the goal is to influence the potential voters to vote the candidate. Constructing certain social relation can also be used as a tool construct self-image of closeness with audiences and to get public support. The social praxis is usually achieved through manipulating language. Constructing the social relation can be done directly or indirectly through hegemony. Using Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis, this study purpose to uncover discourse that is potentially used by each candidate to construct social relation; the factors that shape the social relation construction; and the potential impacts of the social construction. The findings reveal that the candidates manipulated various linguistic devices, such as the use of inclusive *kita* (we), exclusive *kami* (our) for building close relation; and personal narratives. The such strategies are expected to build close relation between the candidate and audience, to enhance solidarity, and to stress the urgency of a nation's collective identity.

Keywords: discourse strategies, social relations, presidential candidates, political campaign, critical discourse analysis

1 Introduction

Political discourse is one of the objects of most interest to political and linguistic researchers. This is because political discourse not only reflects power, but also becomes a tool to maintain and oppose power [1]. The study of political discourse, one of which is the analysis of inclusive language such as *we* and *our* which can be used intensively to form closeness with the people [2]. Social relations in political discourse can also form social relations with the community using personal pronouns [3]. Both studies show that political discourse cannot be separated from its social and ideological context. Political discourse is a form of social praxis that shapes and is shaped by power structures and relations of domination in society [4]. Through language selection, political actors not only express ideas, but also reproduce ideologies and frame reality according to the political interests they represent.

In linguistic studies, political discourse is analyzed through the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach. Discourse is understood as a social practice that not only reflects but also shapes social structures and power [1]. Therefore, political discourse from a CDA perspective can reveal power relations, because discourse can describe how power can be constructed through language and interpersonal relationships [5]. The existence of political discourse in CDA studies can also reveal that power is exercised not only through actions, but also through language which can be a tool of resistance against abuse of power and the struggle for democratic space [6]. In the same perspective, social relations in political discourse can also be studied as a form of representation of power relations, social identity, and roles between actors in social structures through the use of language [7].

Recently, one of the political discourse issues that has attracted a lot of interest from CDA researchers is the discourse on the presidential election campaign. Political campaigns are not only about conveying explicit messages, but also an ideological game that shapes and reflects power relations through language [8]. This is what encourages researchers to focus on this study, because it is to reveal how linguistic strategies in campaigns can be used to reproduce, maintain, or even reject certain values, views, and social constructions.

In the inaugural campaign for the 2024 presidential election, candidates not only delivered political promises, but also designed and formed certain social relations to build their self-image and closeness to the community. What kind of social relations are constructed? How do they shape them through language? And why do they choose to form these social relations? These questions are important to answer because the social relations built in the inaugural campaign greatly influence public perceptions of candidate figures and are key strategies in building political closeness. However, so far there has been no research that specifically discusses how these social relations can be constructed by candidates in the first presidential campaign. Therefore, this study aims to analyze the discourse strategies used by Indonesian presidential candidates in constructing social relations between candidates and the public in their first campaign. This research also aims to identify the factors that shape the construction of these social relations, as well as explain their potential impact on the candidates' self-image and their efforts to build closeness and gain public support.

2 Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach with the Critical Discourse Analysis method of Norman Fairclough model based on Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) developed by M.A.K. Halliday. The data in this research is in the form of oral discourse from the first campaign speeches of three Indonesian presidential candidates in the 2024

presidential election contestation. The author performed orthographic transcription on the first campaign videos of Anies Baswedan (<https://youtu.be/HyZXZm1fC-E?feature=shared>), Prabowo Subianto (<https://youtu.be/550nRSPeEVg?feature=shared>), and Ganjar Pranowo (https://youtu.be/eqHH_hzckJ0?feature=shared). Then, the author used listening and note-taking techniques to calculate the frequency of pronouns usage, modal verbs, and classification of mood structures through speech functions in declarative, imperative, and interrogative sentences. Furthermore, the data is interpreted qualitatively to reveal the discursive strategies used by each candidate in building social relations through language.

The analysis was conducted with a focus on analyzing interpersonal functions in SFL, which aims to reveal how social relations are constructed through linguistic elements in speech texts [9]. Interpersonal functions within the SFL framework include the analysis of pronouns that represent the position and closeness between the speaker and the audience. In addition, the analysis of modality that shows the level of confidence, necessity, and commitment of candidates to their statements through modal verbs. Then the mood analysis (declarative, interrogative, imperative) to see the form of attitude and power position that is raised [9].

3 Result and Discussion

3.1 Interpersonal Function of Pronouns

There are three categories of pronouns in Indonesian, including personal pronouns (*saya* 'I', *anda* 'you', *dia* 'he/she', *mereka* 'they', *kami* 'we', *kita* 'our'). The personal pronouns in Indonesian can act as subject or object. Another category of pronouns is the demonstrative pronouns (*ini* 'this', *itu* 'that'). As well as possessive pronouns that shows ownership of the first person (characterized by the form of *nomina-ku*), shows second-person possession (characterized by the form of *nomina-mu*), as well as third person possession (characterized by the form of *nomina-nya*) [10].

In the interpersonal function studies, especially in the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) framework, pronouns analysis can represent the position and closeness between speakers and audiences. Therefore, in political discourse, the use of pronouns is often done to build social relations. In the first campaign of the 2024 Indonesian presidential election, the use of pronouns became one of the discourse strategies in building social relations. It is intended to attract proximity and reflect social distance, solidarity, authority, or inclusion-exclusion [10]. The following table shows the frequency of personal pronouns used by the Indonesian presidential candidates, Anies Baswedan, Prabowo Subianto, Ganjar Pranowo, in the first campaign of the 2024 presidential election.

Table 1. Frequency of Personal Pronouns

As Subject Pronoun	ANIES BASWEDAN		PRABOWO SUBIANTO		GANJAR PRANOWO	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
<i>Saya</i> 'I' (Singular)	11	100	23	63,89	11	100
<i>You</i>	0	0	1	2,78	0	0
<i>Dia</i> 'he' (Singular)	0	0	12	33,33	0	0
TOTAL	11	100	36	100.00	11	100
<i>Kami</i> 'we' (Plural)	9	36	0	0	13	48.15
<i>Kita</i> 'our' (Plural)	15	60	36	100	11	40.74
<i>Mereka</i> 'they' (Plural)	1	4	0	0	3	11.11
TOTAL	25	100	36	100	27	100.00
As Object Pronoun	ANIES BASWEDAN		PRABOWO SUBIANTO		GANJAR PRANOWO	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
<i>Saya</i> 'I' (Singular)	1	100	11	84.62	1	100
<i>Dia</i> 'he' (Singular)	0	0	2	15.38	0	0
TOTAL	1	100	13	100.00	1	100
<i>Kami</i> 'we' (Plural)	1	14.29	0	0	5	35.71
<i>Kita</i> 'our' (Plural)	6	85.71	13	100	8	57.14
<i>Mereka</i> 'they' (Plural)	0	0	0	0	1	7.14
TOTAL	7	100.00	13	100	14	100.00
As Possessive Pronoun	ANIES BASWEDAN		PRABOWO SUBUANTO		GANJAR PRANOWO	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
<i>Saudaramu</i> 'your family'	0	0	1	100	0	0
TOTAL	0	0	1	100	0	0
As Demonstrative Pronoun	ANIES BASWEDAN		PRABOWO SUBIANTO		GANJAR PRANOWO	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
<i>Ini</i> 'this'	4	100	0	0	5	38.46
<i>Itu</i> 'that'	0	0	2	100	8	61.54
TOTAL	4	100	2	100	13	100

Based on the table, the use of personal pronouns *saya* 'i' dan *kita* 'we' dominated in the candidates' first campaign. The pronouns distribution of *saya* is used to show leadership position, credibility, and personal experience. While *kita* serves to build a narrative of togetherness and collective responsibility.

In the first campaign, Anies Baswedan brought the narrative of the previous government to show inequality and the narrative of change. The use of the pronouns *saya* as subject was emphasized by Anies by being spoken 11 times. This strategy is

intended to strengthen the image as an active subject and central figure in political struggle. In addition, the pronouns form *kita* is also emphasized in the form of subject which is mentioned 15 times. The personal form *kita* as subject pronouns in political discourse is aimed at conveying a collective invitation, and together. This strategy is very strong in building horizontal solidarity, by showing that candidates do not position themselves above the people, but rather as part of the people [1].

Then, Prabowo Subianto's political discourse does not only use formal pronouns such as *saya* and *anda* 'you', but also uses non-formal forms such as *gua* and *lu*. The word *gua* is a form of first-person singular pronoun that comes from the Betawi language, so it has the same function syntactically as the pronouns *saya*. The pronouns form *lu* is a second-person singular pronoun that is functionally the same as the pronouns *anda*. The use of these pronouns variations brings a dimension of familiarity in social relations. In addition, the use of *dia* 'he' in Prabowo's political discourse explicitly mentions the name of President Joko Widodo and previous presidents such as SBY, as a form of recognition of the contribution of the previous government. The use of the inclusive pronouns *kita* as subject dominates. Prabowo mentioned the pronouns form *kita* as subject 36 times. The strategy of emphasizing the pronouns form *kita* in Prabowo's first campaign narrative is intended to build closeness and collective responsibility in building loyalty to the previous government's national development.

In addition, the political discourse in Ganjar Pranowo's inaugural campaign is dominated by the form of pronouns as subject in the form of *saya* which has a frequency of eleven, pronouns 'kami' with a total of 13 times, and pronouns *kita* which is spoken 11 times. The emphasis on *saya* as the subject pronouns is used to create an image of an active, experienced, and responsible leader. While the pronouns *kita* and *kami* have the function of reducing the distance of power and creating emotional closeness, and can be a strategy for people's involvement in politics. This strategy is a form of synthetic personalization [1].

3.2 Modality

Modality is a linguistic expression that represents uncertainty, which lies between the forms *iya* 'yes' (affirmation) and *tidak* 'no' (negation) [9]. Modality is used to convey the speaker's attitude or judgment towards information or actions. Modality in Indonesian is expressed in the categories of ability, desire, obligation, permission, and prohibition [10].

Based on the SFL perspective, modality in political discourse is not just a grammatical element, but reflects the speaker's attitude, judgment, and interpersonal position. The following is a data table of the frequency of modality of Indonesian presidential candidates in the 2024 inaugural campaign marked by modal verbs.

Table 2. Modals of Auxiliary Verbs

Modality		ANIES BASWEDAN		PRABOWO SUBIANTO		GANJAR PRANOWO	
		F	%	F	%	F	%
Ability	<i>Bisa</i> 'can'	6	37.5	3	10.34	5.00	38.46
	<i>dapat</i> 'can'	2	12.5	3	10.34	3.00	23.08
	<i>mampu</i> 'can'	0	0	1	3.45	1.00	7.69
Desire	<i>ingin</i> 'want'	3	18.75	13	44.83	1.00	7.69
	<i>mau</i> 'want'	2	12.5	1	3.45	0.00	0.00
Obligation	<i>harus</i> 'must'	0	0	4	13.79	2.00	15.38
Permission	<i>boleh</i> 'may'	1	6.25	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Prohibition	<i>jangan</i> 'must not'	2	12.5	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>tidak boleh</i> 'must not'	0	0	4	13.79	0.00	0.00
Possibility	<i>mungkin</i> 'maybe'	0	0	0	0.00	1.00	7.69
TOTAL		16	100	29	100.00	13.00	100.00

Based on the table, it can be seen that Anies Baswedan used the modality of ability *bisa*, *dapat* and desire *ingin*, *mau* dominantly in his inaugural campaign. The modal verb *bisa* has a frequency of 6 times, and *ingin* appears 3 times. This strategy is used to build a narrative of optimism, potential change and hope for the future. This is in line with Anies political identity which places him as the opposition team of the previous government. Anies also used prohibition modality such as *jangan* twice. This is intended to implicitly express rejection of social inequality or certain policies. The choice of this modality emphasizes the horizontal solidarity discourse strategy, and presents himself as a representative of the people's aspirations who invites to act together [1].

Prabowo used the modality of desire dominantly, with the highest frequency of the verb *ingin* 13 times. This strategy represents the attitude of continuing and protecting the achievements of the previous government. Meanwhile, the use of the words *harus* and *tidak boleh* each appeared 4 times, so that the pattern reflects the obligation modality that signifies moral and nationalistic demands. The strategy in using this modality emphasizes the discourse strategy on vertical solidarity, where Prabowo positions himself as a firm and responsible leader [1].

The modalities in Ganjar's speech tend to be more balanced and neutral. He uses the modality of ability (*bisa*, *dapat*, *mampu*) with a total frequency of 9 times. The

emphasis on this modality is accompanied by a statement of potential affirmation towards the region. This discourse strategy represents optimism and an image of an experienced leader. Ganjar also uses a few modalities of necessity in the modal verb *harus* which has a frequency of two, as well as the modality of possibility in the modal verb *mungkin* which appears 1 time). Both modalities reflect a participatory and reflective approach to politics [10].

3.3 Mood

Mood is part of the grammatical structure of clauses that serves to realize the interpersonal exchange of meaning between speakers and listeners. The mood system is directly related to speech functions such as giving statements (declarative), giving questions (interrogative), giving orders (imperative). Mood has a function to reveal power relations, social position, interpersonal attitudes, and communication strategies used by speakers in text or speech [9]. The inaugural campaign of the 2024 Indonesian presidential election.

Table 3. Frequency of Mood

MOOD	ANIES BASWEDAN		PRABOWO SUBIANTO		GANJAR PRANOWO	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Declarative	67	55.37	105	84.00	82	94.25
Imperative	19	15.70	15	12.00	0	0.00
Interrogative	35	28.93	5	4.0	5	5.75
TOTAL	121	100.00	125	100	87	100.00

Based on the table, Anies shows a relatively balanced mood distribution, although dominated by declarative sentences as many as 67 times 55.37%, these clauses are used to convey his vision and assessment of current conditions, strengthening his image as a figure who understands social problems and offers solutions. Anies also uses interrogative sentences 35 times, 28.93%, which significantly shows that Anies invites listeners to think critically and reflectively by opening space for dialog in the campaign. Imperative sentences 19 times, 15.70% which emphasizes the rhetorical style of collective invitation. This pattern shows that Anies uses a dialogic strategy and participatory invitation. Thus, the mood in Anies' speech supports his image as a leader of change who invites people to think and move together, forming horizontal solidarity through discourse that is inviting, testing, and sensitizing [1].

Prabowo predominantly uses declarative sentences that are used to convey definite statements, full of authority, and emphasize the continuity of national development 105 times (84%). The use of imperative sentences (15 times, 12%) is directed at strengthening collective commitment. This strategy shows vertical solidarity, where Prabowo positions himself as a leader who gives moral direction to the people.

As well as interrogative sentences (5 times, 4%). This shows that Prabowo did not use much questioning strategy in his first campaign. The dominant emphasis on declarative sentences conveyed Prabowo's ideas in a one-way manner as a form of leadership assertiveness.

Ganjar shows almost absolute dominance in declarative clauses 82 times, 94.25%, which shows an informative and persuasive communication approach. Ganjar conveys ideas and programs in a coherent manner, oriented to logic and personal experience. 94,25%). Interrogative sentences 5 times, 5.75% did not dominate. And imperative sentences are not used at all (0%) which indicates that Ganjar does not rely on direct invitations or orders, but rather relies more on narratives of experience and rational arguments. This discourse strategy in mood choice supports Ganjar's image as a rational, experienced, and communicative leader.

4 Conclusion

Analysis of the first campaign speeches of three 2024 presidential candidates shows that the linguistic strategies used reflect the way each candidate builds social relations, conveys ideological attitudes, and forms a political self-image.

The use of personal pronouns such as *saya* 'I', *kita* 'we', and *kami* 'our' are used to manage distance and closeness to the audience. Anies balances between personal authority and collective invitation, Prabowo tends to emphasize collectivity through *kita*, while Ganjar uses all three contextually. In the aspect of modality, Anies uses various forms of modality as a reflective invitation, Prabowo emphasizes imperatives and prohibitions to assert authority, and Ganjar emphasizes optimism and ability. In addition, in mood analysis, all candidates dominantly use declarative clauses, but Anies is more varied with interrogatives and imperatives to build participation. Prabowo appeared instructive and assertive, while Ganjar appeared informative and rational. Thus, language is used as a tool to build social relations and ideological positions, not just to convey information. The candidates' linguistic choices reflect their political identities and communication strategies in building closeness and influencing voters.

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