

## Discourse of The Presidential Debate of The Republic of Indonesia in The 2024 Elections (Analysis of Presidential Candidates' Discourse in The First, Third, and Fifth Debates)

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### Abstract:

This study analyzes presidential candidate debates using Halliday's discourse analysis approach, focusing on three main aspects: field of discourse, actor of discourse, and mode of discourse. The primary aim of this research is to explore how the discourse presented by candidates in the first, third, and fifth debates reflects the visions and missions they promote. Through qualitative analysis, this research finds that each debate has unique characteristics in message delivery. In the first debate, candidates emphasize the introduction of their visions and missions, while in the third debate, there is a more intense dynamic of interaction focusing on argumentation. The fifth debate showcases a more emotional and persuasive mode of discourse, highlighting the connection between the messages and the aspirations of the audience. The findings indicate that the discourse conveyed by presidential candidates is consistently aligned with the visions and missions they advocate, suggesting that the communication strategies employed play a crucial role in shaping their image and garnering support. This study aims to provide new insights into political communication research and serves as a reference for future studies in the context of political debates in Indonesia.

**Keywords:** Political Communication, Halliday's Discourse Analysis, Presidential Debate, 2024 Election in Indonesia.

### Introduction:

Modern rhetoric explains that all human symbol use is inherently persuasive, so whatever our intentions are, whatever we say and write, intentionally or unintentionally will influence the people around us. Rhetorically sensitive individuals will construct their content and message and deliver it in a way that best influences others so it takes time and effort to determine what to say in a given encounter (Littlejohn, 2009). In this case, it clearly shows how important it is to package the message to be conveyed to the

audience to be able to achieve a certain goal so that the meaning of the message can be conveyed without disinformation.

In the debate, one of the indicators that will be considered by voters or audiences is the discourse (issues) brought by the presidential and vice presidential candidates. Candidates build a discourse that gives an impression of how the candidate's ability to handle the substantive issues promised (Nimmo, 2005). Based on the theoretical concept, discourse is considered as a general

domain of a statement or text that has meaning and effect in the real world (Sobur, 2018). Lanoue and Schrott point out that debates are the most important campaign in terms of persuasion by appealing to the audience for the ultimate prize, their vote (Kaid, 2015).

Halliday's discourse analysis model is a discourse analysis approach that focuses on how text content, messages are packaged and delivered through three main concepts: discourse field, discourse actors, and discourse means (Oktalisa and Handayani, 2023). Halliday's discourse analysis is different from other discourse analysis such as Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model or Teun A. Van Dijk's discourse analysis model. Thus, Halliday's discourse analysis can be used as a broader and more inclusive approach to understanding how text content is packaged and delivered in social and cultural contexts.

Peterson argues that the dissemination of information about presidential candidates by the media is closely related to voters' knowledge about candidates during the campaign period (Cangara, 2016). In KPU (2023) the 2024 election shows how political awareness is a determinant factor in electoral participation or as a matter related to knowledge and awareness of the rights and roles of voters, In addition, millennial voters (aged 17-40 years) and gen Z have an active participation in the democratic party, comparing with previous elections, the organization of the 2024 election in Indonesia faces challenges of macro problems, technical problems, and human resources problems (presidential and vice presidential elections). The potential for conflict and community polarization is getting higher, which is of concern to the public and researchers (KPU, 2023). The 2024 election in Indonesia is a special moment because of several important factors that affect political conditions and community participation.

There are three pairs of presidential candidates in the 2024 election, including Anies Baswedan-Cak Imin, Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka, and Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud Md. Each candidate pair carries certain themes in its

campaign. The Anies Baswedan-Cak Imin pair carried the theme "Unity and Social Justice". This theme was promoted to unite the diverse Indonesian people and create social justice for all Indonesian people (KPU, 2023). There are three pairs of presidential candidates in the 2024 election, including Anies Baswedan-Cak Imin, Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka, and Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud Md. Each candidate pair carries certain themes in its campaign. The Anies Baswedan-Cak Imin pair carried the theme "Unity and Social Justice". This theme was promoted to unite the diverse Indonesian people and create social justice for all Indonesian people (KPU, 2023).

The 2024 elections have experienced several problems that have caused pros and cons in the community. The violation of the Constitutional Court's code of ethics in the 2024 elections is related to the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court Anwar Usman and Solo Mayor Gibran Rakabuming Raka. Anwar Usman has been proven to have committed a serious violation of the code of ethics and was sentenced to dismissal from the position of Chairman of the Constitutional Court by the Honorary Council of the Constitutional Court (MKMK) (CNN Indonesia, 2023).

Gibran Rakabuming Raka, who has not met the minimum age requirement according to the Election Law, can become a presidential candidate as long as he has served as a regional head elected through elections (CNN Indonesia, 2023). Alleged ethical violations related to the decision of case number 90/PUU-XXI/2023, concerning the decision on the judicial review of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning Elections regarding the limit (Putra, 2023). The Honorary Council of the Constitutional Court (MKMK) has finished holding a hearing to examine alleged violations of the code of ethics of the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court Anwar Usman and other constitutional judges (Putra, 2023). These ethical violations could affect the 2024 elections through various aspects, including public trust, institutional independence, and legal proceedings.

The first presidential debate was held on December 24, 2023. The first debate can help measure public trust in candidates and candidates' political communication skills (Parandaru, 2024). Data from social media netizen analysis agency Drone Emprit on the first presidential debate on Sunday, February 4, 2024 showed that netizen sentiment towards Prabowo Subianto, presidential candidate number 2, was negative at 48 percent, positive at 43 percent, and neutral at 9 percent. Drone Emprit collected data analysis from 19.00 WIB to 22.00 WIB. The name of presidential candidate number one Anies Baswedan was the most talked about on social media, with 128,813 conversations representing 45 percent of the data volume. Meanwhile, Prabowo was in 82,761 conversations at 29 percent and presidential candidate number 3 Ganjar Pranowo was in 76,633 conversations at 27 percent (Ibrahim, 2024).

The third presidential debate for the 2024 presidential election was held on January 7, 2024 at Istora Senayan, Central Jakarta. In this debate, three presidential candidates, namely Anies Baswedan, Prabowo Subianto, and Ganjar Pranowo, debated ideas on a number of key issues, including the condition of Palestine, defense and security, international relations and globalization, and geopolitics and foreign policy (Nirmala and Setuningsih, 2024). The results of the electability survey of the three presidential and vice presidential candidates before the third debate showed that Prabowo-Gibran received 39.3% of the votes, Anies-Muhaimin 16.7%, and Ganjar-Mahfud 15.3% (Irmayanti, 2023).

The fifth presidential debate for the 2024 presidential election will be held on Sunday (04/02) and the three presidential candidates will debate ideas on a number of key issues, such as social welfare, culture, information technology, education, health, employment, human resources, and inclusion. the results of Drone Emprit's analysis of the sentiment of the three presidential candidates during the fifth debate of the 2024 presidential election: Anies Baswedan Positive sentiment: 86 percent Negative sentiment: 6

percent Neutral sentiment: 8 percent Total mentions: 160,426 (45 percent) Prabowo Subianto Positive sentiment: 43 percent Negative sentiment: 48 percent Neutral sentiment: 9 percent Total mentions: 100,554 (28 percent) Ganjar Pranowo Positive sentiment: 72 percent Negative sentiment: 14 percent Neutral sentiment: 14 percent Total mentions: 95,276 (27 percent) (Kompas, 2024).

Debat is a form of rhetoric that has the characteristics of two or more parties who carry out communication with the aim of being able to influence the attitudes and opinions or other parties in order to believe and influence the attitudes and opinions of the audience to be able to believe so that finally act, follow, or at least have a tendency to match what is desired. Halliday's discourse analysis model aims to understand how discourse is packaged and delivered in presidential candidate debates, as well as how it influences people's views and builds ideologies. Halliday's discourse analysis focuses on three main concepts: discourse field, discourse actors, and discourse means. Thus, Halliday's discourse analysis can help in understanding how presidential candidate debates influence society and build ideology, as well as how the discourse is delivered and received by the audience.

### **Research Methods:**

In this study using descriptive qualitative research methods, data collection was carried out by transcribing the presidential candidate debate in the 2024 election. The focus of the research centered on the discourse conveyed by the presidential candidate and how the messages conveyed in the debate could be adjusted to the vision and mission of the presidential candidate. The research will assess the consistency of the messages conveyed in the debate with the vision and mission of the presidential candidates. The research data is in the form of transcriptions of the 2024 Presidential Election debates which are downloaded directly from official sources at the following link:

a. First debate:

<https://www.youtube.com/live/yNO0YS846kU?si=qZHpqG9xP0mYrXet>

b. Third Debate:

<https://www.youtube.com/live/KJdt-HBBGIo?si=-cXhkv86tK4unwM>

c. Fifth Debate:

<https://www.youtube.com/live/8J66JxvmEzo?si=mPxSmHqNoikj3n5u>

### Results and Discussion:

The first debate was dominated by Anies Baswedan's arguments about democracy in Indonesia, which is considered to have decreased public trust in the Indonesian government. Anies argued that Indonesian democracy has proven to be no longer trustworthy, which made the audience quite interested in understanding Anies Baswedan's arguments more deeply. In the first debate Prabowo often shows anger and definition, and many are concerned that his calm demeanor could damage his public image and formulate the "gemoy" campaign that he has built. Occasionally, Prabowo dipped his toe into lighter waters, including attempting dance moves, although it felt forced, although his conciliatory demeanor also made frequent appearances.

The third presidential debate was held on January 7, 2024, which began with a vision and mission presentation session. In this earliest session, there was a back and forth between the presidential candidates where Anies Baswedan attacked Prabowo Subianto. This argument is a form of his criticism of Prabowo's performance as Minister of Defense during President Joko Widodo's administration.

Prabowo responded to the criticism given by Anies with an explanation that the Ministry of Defense is determined to have a strong defense, there may be incorrect data and driven by ambition that is too passionate so it is not objective. In addition to discussing national defense, there is also another theme, namely about Palestine. First, Ganjar explained that Indonesia is always loyal to the opportunities that have been taken, the decolonization carried out, encouraging and believing in freeing all nations of intentions with

each other, with the competence to support Palestine. While Anies explained that Indonesia's foreign policy is the most important mandate to eliminate exploration on earth, especially regarding Palestine.

The fifth presidential debate for the 2024 election was held on Sunday, February 4, 2024 and was the last debate before the general election was held. The issues raised in this debate were social welfare issues, cultural issues, information technology, education, health, employment, human resources and inclusion. One of the issues that was quite discussed in the debate was the problem of stunting in Indonesia.

In this final presidential debate, the presidential and vice presidential candidates are considered to play it safe and do not have clear alignments. conveyed his vision and mission, through a big plan with the name "Nation Transformation Strategy" which aims to increase the prosperity of the Indonesian people, especially by improving the quality of life. Meanwhile, Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD have a vision to improve equal accessibility of health to all groups of society, free schools, review of the Job Creation Law. Meanwhile, Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin explained their vision and mission to overcome the problems of inequality, inequality and unawareness.

### Halliday Discourse Analysis Model:

Based on Halliday's ideas that refer to various fields of linguistics, such as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, ethnolinguistics, discourse analysis, language teaching and second language acquisition, in the linguistic school language can be categorized as a social phenomenon (Santoso, 2008). Halliday views that language is a social semiotics that represents the socially constructed world through language codes. From this statement, the results of the analysis of the language used in the debate are Indonesian, which has a politically charged message, which is also considered important by the public (Liaw, 2022).

Some of the most widely used language such as defense, democracy, welfare, poverty defense,

democracy, welfare, poverty, bureaucracy, political parties, law, disability, employment, unemployment, inequality, justice, resilience, technology and budget are words that appear quite a lot in the language used by the candidates in the first, third and fifth presidential debates. The language used is a discussion that naturally leads to each of the chambers in the debate.

The use of language that raises the latest issues, such as the term Single Tuition Fee (UKT) to discuss the issue of higher education in Indonesia, or the term Ethics in discussing indications of fraud over the election of Gibran as vice president number 2, and giving a score of 11 out of 100 for the performance of the Ministry of Agriculture, are satirical languages used in political competition to attract voters to support certain presidential candidates. The power of language in the political realm is considerable.

Situation is a fairly important aspect in Discourse analysis according to Halliday, the situation is the environment in which the text operates. The context of the situation can be explained as the whole environment both verbally and where the text is produced in both spoken and written form. Therefore, understanding the text must be done with three important elements, namely understanding and interviews, discourse participants and discourse modes:

**Discourse field** is a social activity that takes place in a particular social situation, which is reflected through the language units used. Looking at the first debate, where the issues raised tend to criticize the democratic aspects of the performance of the current Jokowi Era government, is a situation that has reflected a direct attack and criticism. The debate opened with Anies' argumentation that directly attacked Prabowo for his track record as a politician and military member seems to be a quite tense situation. In this first debate, Prabowo chose to be on the defensive, and tried to tone down his temper. Even so, Prabowo's response showed a defensive attitude.

In the third debate, the main objective was to criticize the performance of the Ministry of Transportation, which is led by none other than Prabowo Subianto. In this third debate, both Ganjar and Anies criticized the performance of the Ministry of Transportation, starting from Prabowo's large amount of land but many TNI members do not have official houses, purchasing used defense equipment, to giving a score of 1 out of 100. This condition seemed to make Prabowo the only party being attacked. In the fifth debate, the situation that occurred was balanced, each presidential candidate strengthened his vision and mission as the last debate, of course the presidential candidates prepared quite well regarding various materials and data relevant to the issues raised.

**Discourse actors** is the relationship between participants including the understanding of roles and situations in social and linguistic contexts. In the first debate, it can be assessed that Prabowo's role as the speaker in the debate was not very effective, many questions could not be answered properly, including regarding the appointment and appointment of Gibran as his vice president. Rather than answering the various attacks given in the future, Prabowo chose to build his political image as a friendly candidate leader by moving to do dances that actually made it seem forced. Meanwhile, Ganjar quickly made adjustments to the issues discussed in the debate after losing at first.

**Discourse mode** is a form of language selection used in conveying messages. In the first to third presidential debates, the three presidential candidates have their own language styles. First, Anies is consistent with his explanatory and hyperbolic language style in addressing various issues related to government performance, issues of democracy, justice, and public welfare. Prabowo Subianto has a simple and assertive language style, his delivery is strong enough that it cannot degrade his strong and ambitious image. The third is Ganjar who tends to use a descriptive language style in explaining various issues based on the data he has prepared.

The broadcast of the presidential debate was carried out through mass media in the form of television and new media in the form of Youtube. As explained by Rusfian & Nurhajati (2015), new media has convergent properties so that it can make political candidates become news producers as well as consumers of the media. It cannot be denied that debate broadcasts can be accessed by anyone, so that people can monitor the abilities of each presidential candidate. However, of the many potential voters, there are generation Z groups who do have a different perspective on presidential candidates who are considered relevant, with an attractive image (Satriawan, 2023).

The first, third and fifth presidential debates are a constitution that is carried out by voicing political messages in this debate, the order and language emphasis that is quite prominent is carried out by Anies with various reform messages. He uses a structured language arrangement to show the conditions and descriptions that occur regarding democracy. His actions can be expressed as a rhetorician, who has the ability to construct a message and deliver it in a way that best influences the audience while maintaining a balance by paying attention to the time and effort to determine whether a particular sentence will come out and be spoken (Littlejohn, 2009).

Rhetoric is an effort in shaping public opinion as explained by Gross (2004) that rhetoric is the power in shaping the political identity of both individuals, groups of leaders to create the desired image and build emotional connections with voters. This explanation of rhetoric also seems to reflect the situation that occurred in the discourse field when Prabowo was perceived as a gregarious leader by the wider audience.

Ganjar Pranowo is a presidential candidate who has the ability to take the opportunity to provide the right substance to the issues and questions in the presidential debate. According to Nimmo (2005), candidates build discourse by giving the impression of your ability to handle the substantive issues promised. Starting from the first debate, although at first Ganjar did get out of the context of

the discussion, but quickly Ganjar was able to return to the right friends. In the fifth presidential debate, Ganjar tended to strengthen his program, namely free internet to overcome inequality. This problem solving with substantial ideas by Ganjar tends to be oriented towards persuasion (McBath, 1969).

Each presidential candidate has a fairly different background of thought and idealism, in discussing the issues raised in the debate from the first to the fifth debate. Each ideology brought by the presidential candidates is outlined in a vision that will be the basis for developing programs and answering questions related to the issues raised in the debate. As this is quite important in seeing how rooted the vision that has been designed with answers to the issues and questions asked. So the results of the analysis in this study show that each presidential candidate seeks to run programs that are in line with the vision that will be realized. So it is not surprising that each candidate has different arguments and answers to every question asked by both the moderator and other candidates.

### **Implications for Communication Theory**

#### **a. Persuasion and Influence**

The research emphasizes the inherently persuasive nature of human symbol use, as highlighted by modern rhetoric. Candidates' communication strategies are designed to influence public opinion and build support, demonstrating the critical role of persuasion in political communication.

#### **b. Social Semiotics**

Halliday's model underscores the social semiotic nature of language, where language represents the socially constructed world through language codes. The study illustrates how language choices and styles influence the reception and impact of messages, reinforcing the importance of social semiotics in discourse analysis.

#### **c. Interpersonal Dynamics**

The analysis of interpersonal involvement in the debates highlights the role of interaction

and argumentation in shaping public perception. The findings suggest that balanced and persuasive communication can be more effective in building support, emphasizing the importance of interpersonal dynamics in political communication.

This finding underscores the importance of communication strategies in shaping the image and garnering support for presidential candidates. The findings suggest that the discourse conveyed by candidates is consistently aligned with their visions and missions, indicating that communication strategies play a crucial role in influencing public opinion. The study highlights the significance of packaging messages effectively to achieve specific goals and influence the audience.

### **Conclusion:**

This study shows that the use of Halliday's linguistic analysis can reveal the various rhetorical strategies and communication styles used by presidential candidates during debates. By focusing on the metafunctional systems of language, ideational, interpersonal, and textual, this study found that presidential candidates often use expressions that reflect their vision and mission, with an emphasis on crucial issues relevant to society. This shows their ability to build a strong and convincing narrative. There is a notable use of persuasive strategies, including techniques of statement reinforcement and emotional delivery.

The presidential candidates sought to build emotional connections with the audience to increase credibility and support. A clear and organized delivery structure helps candidates to emphasize key points. The use of effective transitions reinforces the flow of thought and eases understanding for listeners. Overall, this analysis provides a deep insight into the dynamics of political communication in debates, and shows how presidential candidates utilize language as a strategic tool to influence public opinion. The findings can be used as a reference for further research on political communication and debate strategies in the future.

### **Limitation:**

The limitations of this study include only analyzing a certain number of debates, which may not represent the entire spectrum of presidential candidate debates. Debates that were not analyzed could have had different communication dynamics. Although Halliday's analysis offers an in-depth approach, the results of this study may not fully cover non-linguistic aspects such as the social, political, and cultural contexts that influenced the debates. Language analysis is interpretive, so there is a possibility of bias in the interpretation of the data by the researcher, which may affect the results and conclusions.

The study was conducted in a specific period and in a specific context, which may limit the generalizability of the results to broader or future political contexts. External factors, such as the immediate reaction of the audience or the media, were not taken into account in this analysis, even though they can influence the way presidential candidates deliver messages. Furthermore, although Halliday's analysis is robust, this approach may not be able to account for all aspects of the rhetoric used in the debates, which may overlook other relevant linguistic theories.

### **Suggestion:**

Analyze more presidential debates, including regional and national debates, to get a more comprehensive picture. It could also combine linguistic analysis with studies of the social and political context, for example through interviews or audience surveys, to understand the influence of external factors. A team of several researchers could be formed to reduce the subjectivity of interpretation and produce a more objective and diverse analysis. Future research could conduct longitudinal research that includes changes in presidential candidates' communication styles over time, as well as the public's response to these changes.

Future research could integrate other theories from the fields of linguistics and communication to provide a broader and deeper perspective on the

debate strategies used. Analysis can be conducted using mixed methods, namely qualitative analysis to understand the context and nuances of language, and quantitative analysis to measure the effectiveness of the strategies used.

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