

Critical Discourse Analysis of Anies Baswedan's 2024 Indonesian Presidential Campaign Strategies

Eky Erlanda Edel¹, Wawan Gunawan², Mahardika Zifana³, Adam Muhammad Nur⁴

¹ Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, ²Politeknik Negeri Jakarta

Email: Wagoen@upi.edu

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Abstract- How can campaign strategies impact a political election? This qualitative descriptive research focuses on Anies Baswedan's political campaign strategies for the 2024 Presidential Election in Indonesia from six selected topics of Baswedan in Q & A session. The data was taken from his “Desak Anies” campaign program conducted in Semarang and uploaded by Metro TV to its official YouTube channel a week before election day. From those topics, the researcher chose nineteen highlighted quotations to be analyzed by using Van Dijk's Framework (1991, 1995, 2006) and Yule (2010) focus on the macro-levels (the general meaning), superstructure (introduction, body, and closing), and micro-levels of political discourse strategies, which are implication, presupposition, hyperbole, compassion move, negative comparison, blaming the victim, contrast and division, actor description, number game, metaphor, repetition, and pronouns. The result shows that Baswedan's most used strategy is the Actor Description, which is taken from six different topics. Using systematic answers like introduction, body, and closing was typical of Baswedan answers. It can be said that using those complex sentences is the way to ensure that his audience completely understands his ideology, qualities, and achievements as a politician, leader, and human being. Furthermore, the data shows that Baswedan political campaign strategies focus on understanding the political landscape, competitor analysis, and strategy development, developing a clear and relatable campaign message, effective use of digital tools and social media, field organizing and voter contact, building community support and visibility, handling misinformation and negative campaigning, and get out of the vote (GOTV) strategies.

Keywords: Discourse Analysis, Political Campaign, Presidential Election of Indonesia 2024.

I. INTRODUCTION

What move does a political actor make to win a presidential election in a country? As Indonesia is one of the biggest democratic countries, political actors must use particular, unique methods to convince voters and their supporters, who can observe the candidates' characters through social media. Soekarwo (2021) shows that around 53.81% of the targeted voters for the presidential elections 2024 in Indonesia consisted of Millennial and Z generations, known as the digital generation,

where the digital approach will be more relevant to them. Anies Baswedan, one of the presidential candidates, has emerged as a prominent figure, leveraging innovative campaign strategies to raise support across the archipelago called “Desak Anies,” representing a dynamic approach to political communication and voter engagement (Rahro et al. 2024). A similar campaign strategy was demonstrated by Abraham Lincoln in 1860 when he and his supporters created new forms of personal communication directly with the voters, which elevated his position to win the

presidential election after his loss in 1858 (O'Connell, 2013). By using the strategy of communicative dialog with the voters who didn't know Lincoln before, around 4.000.000 voters would get more information about him. It can be said that the "Desak Anies" program is not a new strategy in politics, but most candidates used to rely on debates and speech programs with situated structures.

The primary objective of the research is to analyze Anies Baswedan's political perspectives and strategies in the "Desak Anies" program conducted in Semarang and uploaded by Metro TV to its official YouTube channel a week before election day. Through the lens of Critical Discourse Analysis, qualitative research has been conducted using Van Dijk's framework on macro and micro levels. This approach explores the interplay between language and the power of how Baswedan's campaign navigates the socio-political landscape to build a persuasive and impactful narrative.

Paltridge (2012) states that CDA's purpose is to show connections and the construction between language use and the social and political context in which it occurs. This includes detailed textual analysis and interpretation, underlying ideologies, and linguistic features from the texts. The study of CDA may consist of these topics: social and political issues, power relations, social relations, and ideologies. Moreover, CDA illustrates and analyzes speech and texts, including the language's power, dominance, control, and ideology concerning social problems and globally sensitive issues that ordinary people cannot notice (Kadim, 2022). CDA examines the linguistic-textual features at the descriptive level and, at the interpretative level, relates to the sociolinguistic analysis.

Furthermore, Alfian and Freeden in Sutjipto (2023) state that political ideology plays a crucial role in shaping political strategies that distinguish one party from others in the dimensions of reality, idealism, and flexibility. Ideology represents political communication in the framework, which includes strategic communication, message and communication strategies, and campaign tactics for targeted voters. Van Dijk (1997) interprets political discourse as the reproduction and conflict of political powers where some actors, such as politicians, citizens, institutions, and organizations, participate in the political processes, events, and structures. In addition, Joseph (2006) figures out that sometimes, there is

some propaganda, deception, and manipulation used by politicians and media owners to shape their political vision, goals, and interests, which is natural for them to lead people by articulating a clear and inspiring message.

In sharing those ideologies of the politicians, Rogert and Storey in Meifilina (2019) state that political campaigns are aimed to communicate politically to a large number of audiences to create effects of acceptance and persuasion at certain times implemented by some rules and codes of ethics, and the nature of interests considering interest both sides. Furthermore, modern political campaign strategies focus on understanding the political landscape, competitor analysis, and strategy development, developing a clear and relatable campaign message, effective use of digital tools and social media, field organizing and voter contact, building community support and visibility, handling misinformation and negative campaigning, and get out of the vote (GOTV) strategies (O'Connell (2013), Daley (2024) and Holse 2024).

However, due to their limited knowledge, some politicians might have difficulty defining their ideology about global problems in particular communities. On the other hand, knowing how to solve problems by sharing their ideology would be a strategic campaign tool for them. Shelby (2003) categorizes the ideology into six parts: 1) the set of beliefs to change certain false assumptions about crucial matters and to influence a group of people for persuasive purposes, 2) the meaning of power to achieve power, domination, and control over others, 3) the interest legitimation in certain societies, 4) the set of beliefs and rules to manipulate and persuade people for the need of the dominated groups, 5) the distorted assumptions to conceal social contradictions for the need of the dominated groups, and the last 6) the distortive and reflects powers of domination. The right shared ideology can be based on the interests of dominated societies, and politicians need to investigate and study those interests before finally using those ideologies as strategic political campaign tools. Thus, the "Desak Anies" is a communicative and inspired program run by Anies Baswedan as one of the presidential candidates in 2024 to promote his vision, mission, and work plans to the public, which includes dialogs and discussions attended by up to 500 people of various levels where they can ask questions, complain about current conditions and issues, and obtain political education from

the program, especially to the youth; Millennials and Generation Z (Basyari-2023, Prasetyo-2024). The “Desak Anies” program started on November 28, 2023, and continued until February 10, 2024, in several cities in Indonesia. During his political campaign, it is believed that the “Desak Anies” program demonstrated his ideology and political strategies to gain more voters.

II. METHODS

The research focuses on the Anies Baswedan political campaign strategies for the 2024 Presidential Election in Indonesia. The data was taken from his campaign program called “Desak Anies,” including six from fifteen selected topics of Baswedan in his Q & A session on several topics such as 1) Breaking the Democratic Principles committed by Jokowi's Dynasty, 2) Planning program on BUMN (The State-Owned Enterprise), 3) Using Social Assistance Funds during Political Campaigns, 4) Planning Program for UMKM (The Small and Medium Enterprises), 5) violence against women and children, and 6) Planning Programs on Diffabled Communities. From those topics, the researcher chose nineteen highlighted quotations. The tools used for the analysis taken from Van Dijk's Framework (2006, 2012) focus on the micro-levels of political discourse strategies: 1) Implication: a strategy media owners, journalists, and politicians use to communicate an idea or feeling without saying it directly. People imply something by what they say, but the listener or receiver infers something from what somebody else says; 2) Presupposition: an assumption by a speaker/writer about what is true or already known by the listener/reader; 3) Hyperbole: to emphasize something, add humor, gain attention or interest, or achieve political aims, 4) Compassion: a strategy that shows sympathy for (the weak) or innocent civilians by the wrong policies or actions of others to achieve political interests, 5) Negative Comparison is a strategy for emphasizing the bad actions and qualities of others to achieve critical gains and interests, 6) Blaming the Victim: blaming by attributing it to the opponent, 7) Contrast and Division: a strategy politicians use against their opponents to present themselves as "good" while their opponents are "bad", 8) Actor Description: The description is how people theoretically describe certain actors or participants. The in-group members are always good and positive, while the out-group members are always described as bad and harmful; 9)

Number game: use numbers and statistics to achieve credibility and objectivity persuasively; 10) Metaphor is a powerful ideological tool that can be used to represent certain groups and negatively represent others, 11) Repetition: This serves as a powerful ideological strategy to represent the in-group members positively and negatively, as well as the out-group members, 12) Pronouns: Politicians can ideologically invest in the power of pronouns such as "I," "We," and "They." The political campaign strategies and other representations of Anies Baswedan were discussed at the macro level focusing on the macro-levels (the general meaning), superstructure (introduction, body, and closing).

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The findings from the analysis of Baswedan's answers during the Desak Anies event indicate Anies's overall political strategy. This can be observed from the results of the macro analysis, microanalysis, and structural analysis that have been conducted. For a more precise understanding, please refer to the explanation below.

Macro Level Analysis

After conducting a macro analysis of the Desak Anies event, six topics were identified as the main subjects of discussion. Each topic represents issues that have emerged and need to be addressed by the elected president. The topics discussed in general are (1) the breaking of democratic Principles committed by Jokowi's Dynasty, which led to the worst situation, where many people, including academicians from universities in Indonesia, came out with “Darurat Demokrasi.” (2) the planning program on BUMN (The State-Owned Enterprise) because there was an issue saying that Baswedan would abolish the BUMN soon after his election win, (3) the government's misuse of social assistance programs during the political campaign for the presidential election of 2024, 4) the Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises facing the digital technology movement and how the government handles the situation, 5) the violence against women, the vulnerability of the victim in the weak implementation of policy or regulation by the government, and how Baswedan saw the situation, 6) his unfriendly campaign building facilities for people with disabilities and the planning programs on Diffabled Communities and wandered that the issue was only for campaign/ political purposes.

Baswedan gave primary responses to each participant's questions at the "Desak Anies" program. Topic about the breaking of democratic Principles committed by Jokowi's Dynasty, which led to the worst situation, where many people, including academicians from universities in Indonesia, came out with "Darurat Demokrasi," Baswedan highlighted the role of academicians as the articulators of citizen aspiration if democracy doesn't work as it is supposed to. From Baswedan's statement, it can be inferred that Baswedan believes that the role of academics is more powerful than the role of political parties and the Indonesia House of Representatives (DPR). He believes that the democratic system in Indonesia needs to go back to the principal rules where everyone stands on an equal footing, opportunity, and right without any interference from the power holder, as is happening currently.

On the topic of the planning program on BUMN (The State-Owned Enterprise), because there was an issue saying that Baswedan would abolish the BUMN soon after his election win, he refused the accusation that he would abolish the BUMN, Baswedan gave more solutions on how BUMN should be working. Baswedan believes that BUMN, as a state-owned enterprise, should not trade with its citizens. In asking this question, Baswedan tends to be more offensive by saying, "How could state-owned enterprises be abolished? If the Minister himself says this, then is he not thinking critically? Where is the critical thinking?" He tried to attack the ministry of a state-owned company that spread the issue of abolishing BUMN by Baswedan.

On the topic of the government's misuse of social assistance programs during the political campaign for the presidential election 2024. His answer indicated that the power holder was misusing their power to gain more voters and supporters. At the same time, social assistance itself was a government program funded by tax revenue, not a candidate's campaign fund. Baswedan inferred that the power holder, Jokowi, as the president, was taking some advantages to elevate one of the presidential candidates over other opponents. He believed that this issue could be evaluated critically by the citizens of Indonesia who care about their voting rights.

The next topic was the Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises facing the digital technology movement and how the government handles the situation. From his answer, Baswedan showed

that both traditional and electronic commerce are essential for the county's economic growth, and both should have their own track, which must be legalized by systematic regulation from the government. Also, Baswedan inferred that the government needs to be fair in facilitating traditional and electronic commerce.

The topic of violence against women and the vulnerability of the victim in the weak implementation of policy or regulation by the government, Baswedan stated that the government must be aware of the victim's physical and psychological effects of the violence and take some steps to overcome the problems immediately. He showed his concern for women, the elderly, people with disabilities, and children through his track-record during his tenure in Jakarta as governor. He believed this issue should be taken as a national highest priority and ensured that implementing the regulation was a concern at every level of government.

The last topic was about his unfriendly campaign building facilities for people with disabilities, the planning programs on Diffabled Communities, and the indication of misuse of this issue only for campaign/ political purposes. In this part, Baswedan inferred that he never used the issue of women, the elderly, people with disabilities, and children for his campaign's political purposes, but it is a humanitarian commitment. During his tenure, some new buildings in Jakarta proved to be disabled-friendly, and he got control over the situation. He implied that the campaign building facilities for this "Desak Anies" in Semarang were out of his territory to control the situation.

Superstructure Level Analysis

Based on the collected data from selected topics of Baswedan's answers in the "Desak Anies" program, the superstructure analysis can be generated into three main parts: introduction, body, and closing. To see how the structure of Baswedan's Answer on some selected topics can be seen in the description below. The data shows that Baswedan tends to deliver his answers through systematic structures. He never directly answered the questions without opening by explaining theoretically about the subject/ participants in the questions. In the body, he elaborated his answers to the ideal situations where, theoretically, they can be implemented, or some steps can be taken to overcome the problems. Examples and his track records also

added most of the body parts. In the closing, Baswedan always shared some hopes and persuasive calling to ignite the voters' critical evaluation.

Table 1
Structure of Baswedan's Answer in Topic 1

The Structures	The Answers
Topic	The breaking of democratic Principles committed by Jokowi's Dynasty, led to the worst situation, where many people, including academicians from universities in Indonesia, came out with "Darurat Demokrasi,"
Introduction	In a democratic system, there are channels used to voice the people's aspirations, such as the House of Representatives (DPR) and political parties. When these channels function properly, campuses can focus on education and research. However, a blockage occurs when the DPR and political parties no longer serve as channels for diverse public aspirations and instead promote uniformity. These aspirations seek new pathways, and campuses often become the articulators of opinions not voiced by existing political channels. Why campuses? Because they are places for intellectuals who engage in state affairs rather than partisan politics.
Body	Each campus has its own views, but when it comes to the state, their views align: do not undermine the democratic process, do not undermine ethics, as these principles must be upheld regardless of political party affiliation. Democracy requires at least three things: 1) an opposition, 2) freedom of speech, and 3) free elections. We are experiencing a significant decline in freedom of speech, evidenced by many shirts bearing the slogan "Wakanda No More, Indonesia Forever." The opposition should also have equal opportunities without interference from others and should not be seen as adversarial—this is independent thinking and should be allowed.
Closing	Then, free elections. We will see if, on February 14th, Indonesia finally emerges as a country with a mature democracy. We are constitutionally responsible for safeguarding democracy during the upcoming February 14th elections. Do not let the elections be taken over by those who seek to perpetuate inequality in this Republic.

From the table above, we can see that Baswedan responds to questions through a structured approach. At the beginning of his response, Baswedan starts with an introduction to emphasize the question, ensuring that the questioner and other listeners share the same understanding of the issue being addressed by explaining the general concept of democracy. In

the main body of his response, Baswedan provides a concrete answer to the question, articulating his stance on the issue of democracy, which serves as the central focus of the question. In his conclusion, Baswedan offers a summary and a call to action for voters to uphold the integrity of democracy, ensuring it stays within the framework established by the law.

Table 2
Structure of Baswedan's Answer in Topic 2

The Structures	The Answers
Topic	The planning program on BUMN (The State-Owned Enterprise) due to an issue saying that Baswedan would abolish the BUMN soon after his election win.
Introduction	There is a type of information that, when we hear it, we already know whether it makes sense or not. And if nonsensical information is quoted by those in authority, then those in authority must use common sense. How could state-owned enterprises (BUMN) be abolished, and if the Minister himself says it, then is the Minister not thinking critically? Where is the critical thinking?
Body	So, what happens? Instead, BUMN needs to be reorganized because it seems that many of our BUMNs are facing significant problems. We don't need to discuss the problems here, as it would only add to our worries. But that is not true; it is slander and irrational slander at that. Furthermore, we emphasize that in the future, BUMN will be BUMN that fulfills the functions of the state. The state has two functions: 1) Bureaucracy, such as

ministries, departments, and agencies, and 2) Corporations, such as BUMN and regional-owned enterprises (BUMD), which carry out development. BUMN should not be seen as entities seeking profit for the state. It's good if they make a profit, but that is not the priority. The state does not trade with its people. Why are there Bureaucracy and Corporations? Because there are types of activities that, if done through bureaucracy, are difficult and would be easier to do through corporations. For example, Jakarta can manage vehicles through the Transportation Department, but there are complex regulatory requirements: procurement, asset recording, asset disposal, recruiting, and replacing people. However, many regulatory requirements become more manageable when changed to a state-owned enterprise (PT BUMN).

Closing

None

From the table above, It can be observed that the structure of Baswedan's response is somewhat different. Baswedan does not provide a closing statement in this case, unlike the previously discussed response. What is interesting about this table is that, in the introduction, Baswedan begins by explaining the basic concept of state-owned enterprises (BUMN) and then addresses the source of the issue, countering the claim that he intends to eliminate BUMN. In the main body of his response, Baswedan explains what he plans to do with BUMN if elected as president. Generally, it can be concluded that Baswedan tends to be highly structured in answering each question posed to him during the "Desak Anies" program. Every response he delivered follows an introduction, main body, and conclusion pattern. This approach ensures he provides comprehensive answers to every question the

audience poses.

Micro Level Analysis

From the twelve Van Dijk framework analyses, Baswedan's most used strategy is the Actor Description, which is taken from six different topics. Baswedan frequently uses this strategy to define his true ideology toward some issues as a politician with proven positive track records, particularly during his duty as governor in Jakarta. The use of actor description also shows how the out-group members act negatively, harming the people. He also used the Pronouns strategy such as "I," "We," and "You." He used the pronoun strategy most of the time to highlight his achievements, qualities, and commitment as a politician, leader, and human. In general, all of the collected data and analysis can be seen in the diagram below:

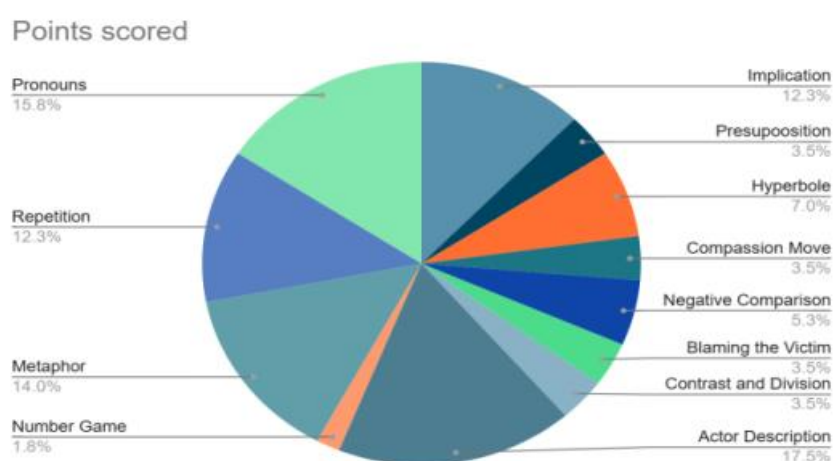


Figure 1. The Use of Van Dijk Framework by Anies Baswedan

Topic 1

The following data showed a situation when the host asked Baswedan a question about the breaking of democratic Principles committed by Jokowi's Dynasty, which led to the worst

situation, where many people, including academicians from universities in Indonesia, came out with "Darurat Demokrasi." From the highlighted quotations, Baswedan described the democratic system workflow with the metaphor

“channels” played by the House of Representatives and political party (metaphor). It shows how “channels” should be media for any level of communities in Indonesia that have similar access to the “channels.” Besides, in a democratic country like Indonesia, the House of Representatives and political party members are taken from communities, “from the people, for the people.” Baswedan continued in the second sentence that “universities,” on the other hand, will focus on teaching and researching when the “channels” work properly (actor description and repetition). However, in the last sentence, Baswedan believed that there is an “enforce uniformity” policy or solution for all communities' varied aspirations (Metaphor) that proves the imbalance working flow of the “channels” that gradually ignite the university movement toward government by using phrases “blockage occurs” and “those aspirations seek new pathways” as the effect of the blockage of the aspiration which was repeated statement (Blaming the victim, Repetition, Negative Comparison).

Baswedan also addressed his concern and sympathy about the degradation of people's freedom of speech in Indonesia, which rising phrases from the society can prove: “Wakanda No More, Indonesia forever.” The word “Wakanda” (hyperbole) is a fictional African country in the Marvel Cinematic Universe known for being the world's most technologically advanced nation, which contrasts with the situation in Indonesia today. The people stand for “Indonesia forever” instead of choosing the imaginative universe like “Wakanda” even though the situation shows the contrast. He also used the word “We” to show unity and solidarity about how he and the people are in the same line to fight for a better Indonesia. (Hyperbole, Compassion Move, Metaphor, Pronouns)

Baswedan uses the word “us” to show unity and solidarity and, at the same time, persuade the voters and supporters to join that “unity” (Pronouns). He continued by wondering about Indonesia finally becoming a “mature” democracy, which means that for now, Indonesia is not at the “mature” level democratically (Hyperbole). In the second sentence, Baswedan uses the pronoun “We” again to show unity and solidarity toward the voters and supporters and uses hyperbole with the word “safeguarding democracy” as if democracy is something that can be seen literally (Pronouns and Hyperbole). At this point, Baswedan shows his positive vision

about what “We” could change in the future (Contrast and Division).

In the last sentence, Baswedan persuaded the audience not to let tomorrow's election “be taken over” by people who “perpetuate the inequality” in the republic. The word “be taken over” shows the destructive action of the previous system of Jokowi's era, where inequality persistently happened, and the word “perpetuates the inequality” (Negative Comparison, Actor Description, and Metaphor).

The data shows that Baswedan uses nine types of strategies to answer the question, and the Metaphor strategy is frequently (20%) used to answer questions about breaking the principles of democracy committed by the Jokowi dynasty. The Metaphor strategy can enhance meaning, clarify concepts, and create an aesthetic appeal that can be interesting to Baswedan's targeted voters and supporters.

Topic 2

The following data showed a situation when the host asked Anies Baswedan a question about the planning program on BUMN (The State-Owned Enterprise) because there was an issue saying that Baswedan would abolish the BUMN soon after his election win. In it, Baswedan was surprised that the ministry of authority spread irrelevant issues about him and wondered about their “common sense.” The use of “wandered” and “common sense” showed an actor who was unbelievably acting toward his political opponent, in this case, Anies Baswedan. Baswedan showed how the power holder has the authority to spread invalid information without even exercising his/her common sense (Actor Description, Metaphor, Hyperbole). Baswedan questioned the ministry's ability to think critically when making such statements. He even repeated the words “thinking critically” and “critical thinking” in his questions. Based on this, Baswedan shows his ideal figure of how a minister should be, having critical thinking skills when stating or deciding anything during his duty. A minister works for the country, not for particular groups in the government. A minister must be neutral for every political movement the opponent makes, not unfairly attacked. (Implication, Actor Description, Repetition, and Blaming the Victim).

Next, Baswedan described that BUMN does not function for the state's benefit. It is good if there is profit to take for the government, but there are other functions of BUMN. He

highlighted that BUMN can benefit the government and the people, and there is no way for the government to use this institution to “commerce” with their own people. In this part, Baswedan stated indirectly that the running era by Jokowi tended to use BUMN as part of his “commercing” tool with the people due to his authority. Baswedan clearly stated that it should not happen that way, so he wanted to re-manage the state-owned enterprises (Implication, Contrast and Division.)

The data shows that Baswedan uses seven strategies to answer the question: the Actor Description and Implication strategies were both frequently used (22.2%) in answering questions about abolishing State-Owned Enterprises by Baswedan soon after his election win. The Actor Description strategy is the way to describe specific individuals or groups based on the point of view or values of particular individuals or groups. It is used to portray the other individuals/groups negatively and show a more positive vibe of the in-group members. Implication is a communication strategy used to let the reader/listener draw their own conclusions about the speaker's statement. The implication is to hide the loud language about individuals/groups, particularly those with powers/ authority. Hence, the speaker avoids direct accusations and maintains a level of ambiguity, which can be helpful in sensitive situations. Baswedan used those two strategies, Actor description and Implication, to show the bad and good actors and implicitly accuse the others of the problem so the voters and supporters could clearly understand.

Topic 3

The following data showed a situation when an audience asked Anies Baswedan a question about the government's misuse of social assistance programs during the political campaign for the presidential election of 2024. Baswedan highlighted two contrasting words here: “recipient,” which refers to the people, and “giver,” which indirectly refers to the power holder. During the political campaign presidential election, President Jokowi stated his choice of one of the presidential candidates, Prabowo-Gibran, who was his son, as the candidate of the vice president. As the power holder, Jokowi got the authority to control political strategy to gain targeted voters and supporters, one of which was through misuse of the social assistance program (Bansos). Baswedan is not making the direct accusation due

to the sensitive situation. He wanted the audience to draw their own conclusion regarding the issue (Implication, Presupposition). Besides repeating the words “recipient” and “giver,” he also described an analogy about him giving three meals at once, which is impossibly compelling for the recipient to use (Repetition, Pronouns, Negative Comparison, Metaphor). He assumed the program should be prioritized based on the recipients' needs. He repeated the word “need” several times to emphasize the proper assistance at the right time, not during political moments (Repetition)

In the last statement, Baswedan clearly stated that he believed that Indonesian voters were critical voters who logically saw the unfair political setting demonstrated by the government. He used “I” to show his personal belief toward the voters and his pride in knowing that many people sounded their voices about this issue (Pronouns). He also wished that the people who needed the social assistance program could obtain their rights, yet their voices were protected (Compassion Move).

The data shows that Baswedan uses seven strategies to answer the question: the Repetition and Pronouns strategies were both frequently used (22.2%) in answering questions about the misuse of the Social Assistance Program (Bansos) by the government during the political presidential campaign in 2024. The Repetition strategy reinforces messages and shapes perception by repeatedly repeating particular word/s. It is used to persuade people to believe and start to accept the speaker's idea. This strategy can be used to show how the in-group members are positively different from what the out-group members have done so far. The next frequent strategy is Pronouns, which are not ordinary grammatical tools but can be used to carry one's ideology. In this topic, Baswedan used “I” several times to highlight himself as a politician and what kind of hopes, commitments, and leadership framing he could share with the people for their consideration. In short, Baswedan used this strategy to gain the ideological implications of power dynamics and persuasion.

Topic 4

The following data showed an audience asking Anies Baswedan about the Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises facing the digital technology movement and how the government handles the situation. Baswedan used the words “

small, “grow,” “big,” and “being antagonized” to show how UMKM (the Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises) could stay on track appropriately. In this part, Baswedan used those words to show engagement with the audience in sharing his idea while allowing a more nuanced and sophisticated approach (Implication). Next, Baswedan repeated the words “small” and “big” in the first sentence, again trying to ensure that everyone stayed on track (Repetition, Implications). In the last sentence, Baswedan clearly stated that the track and the system are the State's responsibility and commitment. The insecurity of the audience about his future income was evidence that there was something wrong with the system of the track where most of UMKM had no power to compete with the big businesses. Based on his answers, he defined some steps that the state should take to overcome the problem (Implication).

The data shows that Baswedan used two strategies to answer the question. The Implication strategy was frequently used (60%) in answering questions about the Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises facing the digital technology movement and how the government handles the situation. Implication is a communication strategy to let the reader/ listener draw their own conclusions about the speaker's statement. The implication is to hide the loud language about individuals/ groups, particularly those with powers/ authority. Hence, the speaker avoids direct accusation and maintains ambiguity, which can be useful in sensitive situations. The Repetition strategy was used around 40% to reinforce messages and shape perception by repeatedly repeating particular word/s. It persuades people to believe and accept the speaker's idea.

Topic 5

The following data showed an audience asking Anies Baswedan about violence against women and the vulnerability of the victim in the weak implementation of policy or regulation by the government. In this quote, “Data shows that 87% of violence against women is perpetrated by someone close to them, and less than 40% of these cases can be resolved...” Baswedan uses explicit statistics to show his credibility and objectivity. The women voters and supporters can obviously see how much Baswedan has been concerned about this topic for so long (Number Game). He also used “important priority” and connected the phrase with “national leadership.”

This means that Baswedan ideally shows that a good leader is concerned about vulnerable people such as women, the elderly, children, and those with disabilities (Actor Description). Then, he continued by repeating the word “priority” and used the contrasting words “high-level” and “low-level” of the government to describe a situation that could happen to the victims when this problem is not the concern of the government (Metaphor, Repetition, Actor Description). To ensure the voters, Baswedan used the pronoun “I” to highlight his track record during his tenure in Jakarta regarding the case of violence against women. He took several steps that gave the perpetrator no access to threaten the victim. By using the pronoun “I,” Baswedan promoted his achievements, qualities, and commitment. It also creates a sense of personal responsibility, authority, and leadership (Pronouns). Baswedan started using the pronoun “we” to show solidarity and unity for shared purposes. It creates the feeling of being supported and listened to their problems, particularly women, the elderly, people with disabilities, and children (Pronouns).

The data shows that Baswedan used five strategies to answer the question. The Pronouns strategy was frequently used (37.5%) in answering questions about violence against women and the vulnerability of the victim in the weak implementation of policy or regulation by the government. In this topic, Baswedan used “I” several times to highlight his track record during his duty as governor in Jakarta. He framed himself as the one who does not bring the topic for political purposes only, but he has done crucial programs about the issue.

Topic 6

The following data showed an audience complaining to Anies Baswedan about his unfriendly campaign building facilities for people with disabilities, the planning programs on Diffabled Communities, and the indication of the diffabled communities only for campaign/ political purposes. Baswedan used a metaphor of how problems cannot be fixed when the main issue remains (Metaphor) in the quote, “If the root cause is not addressed, the problem will persist...” He clearly pointed out that this building was not prepared for people with disabilities, and indirectly, it was not his fault. He used the word “You” and, in Bahasa Indonesia, “Anda” and “Ibu” or “Ma’am” in English to show formal nuance. In fact, he usually calls his audiences by name or uses “Mba” and “Mas” to

show intimacy. The questioner once told him not to call her “Ibu” because she’s not old, but he said it was an honor. Furthermore, in this topic, Baswedan expresses a defending statement toward the questioner due to her negative vibe toward Baswedan’s image. Thus, using the pronoun “You” toward the questioner could be a way to show formality and self-defense (Pronouns, Implication, Presupposition).

Baswedan frequently uses the pronoun “I” in this quote to show his track record in Jakarta. He wanted the voters and supporters to know that he is already concerned about disability communities not only as a politician but also as a personal matter (Pronouns, Actor Description). He elaborated on how many friendly new buildings for communities with disabilities have already been prepared and gradually fixed some old buildings as well (Actor Description).

In the last quote, Baswedan repeats the use of the pronoun “I” to show his concern and achievement. He also repeats that the other three issues—women, children, and the elderly—are also becoming his concerns. In the quote, “When I managed the region, if these four vulnerable groups had been well taken care of, then the others would have been, too...” He believed that if a leader could manage those four vulnerable people well, then he could manage the other significant issues (Repetition, Actor Description).

Also, in the quote, “Why do we choose to be open like this? So that in the future, we can hold each other accountable for what has been planned as a collective effort of the community...” Baswedan showed his readiness to prove his words to the people (Actor Description).

The diagram above shows that Baswedan used six strategies to answer the question. The Actor Description strategy was frequently used (40%) in answering questions about his unfriendly campaign, building facilities for people with disabilities, and planning programs on Diffabled Communities. The Actor Description strategy describes specific individuals or groups' achievements and qualities that can be seen clearly by the targeted voters and supporters.

Furthermore, the data shows that Baswedan political campaign strategies focus on understanding the political landscape, competitor analysis, and strategy development, developing a clear and relatable campaign message, effective use of digital tools and social media, field organizing and voter contact, building

community support and visibility, handling misinformation and negative campaigning, and get out of the vote (GOTV) strategies (O’Connell (2013), Daley (2024) and Holse 2024). Baswedan conducted the “Desak Anies” program to facilitate the targeted voters sharing their problems from the democratic principle to the people with disabilities by appearing on-site to seek opportunities to connect with the voters as the modern of building visibility and support. In the program “Desak Anies,” Baswedan prepared and responded himself to misinformation about his political issue to the voters by showing his track record and leadership commitment to overcome the problems.

IV. CONCLUSION

From the twelve Van Dijk framework analyses, Baswedan's most used strategy is the Actor Description, which is taken from six different topics. Baswedan frequently uses this strategy to define his true ideology toward some issues as a politician with proven positive track records, particularly during his duty as governor in Jakarta. The use of actor description also shows how the out-group members act negatively, harming the people. He also used the Pronouns strategy such as “I,” “We,” and “You.” He used the pronoun strategy most of the time to highlight his achievements, qualities, and commitment as a politician, leader, and human.

In answering the program's questions, Anies Baswedan always started by introducing the topic before beginning the body part. He never directly responded to the question about the body part. In the body, he shared his idea systematically by numbering the points. He ended the answer by wishing his hopes, sharing moral values and messages, and persuading the audience to follow his ideas. Those answers were shared in all types of sentences, most in complex and compound-complex sentences. It shows the verbal complexity of Anies Baswedan. Using those complex sentences is the way to ensure that his audience completely understands his ideology, qualities, and achievements as a politician, leader, and human being.

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