



## Political contestation: Ideology and linguistic realization by 2024 prospective Indonesian presidential candidates

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### ABSTRACT

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The political statements of prospective presidential candidates in the Republic of Indonesia (RI) in the pre-election period of 2024, in 2023, constitute texts of political contestation (PC) loaded with ideology. This research examines those PC texts. The texts are based on the respective ideologies of each presidential candidate. More specifically, this study investigates the ideologies of the presidential candidates, the linguistic realization used to express those ideologies, and the reasons behind the use of ideology and its linguistic realization. This research employs a qualitative descriptive design. Data collection tools included observation and document analysis. The data sources were the PC texts from three presidential candidates: *Anies Rasyid Baswedan*, *Ganjar Pranowo*, and *Prabowo Subianto*, obtained from newspapers, television, and social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook. The data, in the form of PC texts, were analyzed using the framework of systemic functional linguistic theory (SFL) as developed by Halliday (2014) and other SFL experts. The research findings indicate that, in addition to similarities, the three presidential candidates have differences in leadership ideology, the linguistic realization of that ideology, and the causes or reasons used. The theoretical contribution of this research enriches applied linguistic theories, especially political discourse analysis (PDA), and simultaneously benefits voters in the 2024 election by helping them understand the ideologies of presidential candidates. This understanding can solidify their decision to vote for a specific candidate, thus reducing the social friction that always occurs during elections in Indonesia.



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**Ideology** is a system or framework of concepts, images, values, or beliefs that underlie an individual's understanding, expression, or actions toward an inevitable reality as a member of society (Trew 1979: 95; Mazid 2014: 35); potential ideology indicates power, domination, and control (Wodak 1996: 117-20). Language serves as a means or resource to express, shape, and transform ideology (Fowler 2007: 62), and no word or language is free from ideology (Halliday 1994: xvii; Mazid 2014: 35). In the context of groups, ideology serves as a guide for action and acts as a filter to face attacks or intrusions from outside the group. For example, the Pancasila ideology of Indonesia serves as a guide for the Indonesian people to act or do something in Indonesia. In the presence of cultural or ideological influences from outside, Pancasila acts as a filter against foreign elements of that influence.

In 2023, during the pre-election period for 2024, Indonesian (social) media displayed political texts/statements from potential presidential candidates of Indonesia who may compete in the 2024 election. Indonesian (social) media – television or TV, newspapers, Twitter, WhatsApp, YouTube, Instagram, Facebook or FB, and other platforms – featured political texts from potential presidential candidates of the Republic of Indonesia: Anies Rasyid Baswedan (ARB), Ganjar Pranowo (GP), and Prabowo Subianto (PS). The political texts of these presidential candidates carry their unique ideological content and linguistic realization.

Several studies have been conducted in the field of political language. Li and Zhang (2019) examined the ideology and political attitudes, explicitly discussing the dialectical relationship between language and ideology in the political speeches of Donald Trump, the former President of the United States, at the UN General Assembly and the political speech of Teresa May, the Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom, in 2019. Then, Bataineh (2019: 40-44) analyzed the political speech of King Abdullah of Jordan, which utilized linguistic resources such as deixis, metaphor, terminology, repetition, and pragmatic aspects in persuasive appeals to the British, Europeans, and the global community to enhance world peace. Furthermore, Tian (2021: 516-520) examined President Trump's political speeches on television, fundamentally discovering strategies in language use linked with grammatical elements such as transitivity, modality, and pronoun.

All of the previous studies did not extensively address the elements of ideology or systematically examine how ideology is realized in grammar (lexicogrammar), a linguistic resource for encoding meaning. The present research, an interdisciplinary study combining linguistics and politics, investigates the ideological elements and linguistic realization of the PC texts of the potential presidential candidates of the Republic of Indonesia. The realization of ideological elements in a language is examined by using SFL

theory as developed by Halliday (2005, 2014) and other SFL experts such as Martin (1992, 2012), Eggins (2014), and Thompson (2014).

The SFL theory elucidates that language or text is a resource for creating meaning. The use of language in natural situations, referred to as realized texts in society, is related to the social context of that text. With reference to the SFL theory by Halliday (1978; 2005; 2014) and further developed by other SFL experts such as Martin (1992; 2010), Eggins (2014), Martin and Rose (2007; 2008; 2012), Halliday and Matthiessen (2006), and Thompson (2014), the focus in SFL is on the metafunction that represents the function of language in its use. To understand a text, an analysis is conducted based on metafunctions, which according to Halliday (2014) occur in three categories: (1) Ideational Function, (2) Interpersonal Function, and (3) Textual Function. Out of the three categories, the present study is focused on the Ideational Function.

The Ideational Function portrays the natural reality present within a text, which arises from two subcategories: the Experiential Function, depicting types of experiences, and the Logical Function, indicating relationships between experiential units. Firstly, based on the Experiential Function, experiences are technically realized through activities, verbs or Processes, Participants, and Circumstances. The verb is termed a Process, which can be further categorized into six types: Material, Mental, Relational, Behavioral, Verbal, and Existential Processes. The six categories of the process are briefly explained as the following concerning Halliday (2014: 221-331).

Material Process indicates activities or experiences occurring outside the human beings and about the physical world. In English, Material Process is commonly or unmarkedly coded in continuous, progressive or sedang form in *Bahasa Indonesia* (BI), such as *menulis* 'write,' *berjalan* 'walk,' *bermukim* 'live.'

The mental process is in contrast to the Material Process, which indicates activities or experiences occurring inside or in the mind of a human being about the psychological or mental world. Mental process is related to human beings or anthropomorphized. The areas of Mental Process are related to cognition, affection, perception, and desirability. In English, Mental Process is commonly or unmarkedly not coded in continuous, progressive or sedang form in BI such as *memikirkan* 'think', *menyukai* 'like', *ingin* or *mau* 'want', *bermaksud* 'intend'. The prominent feature of the Mental Process is that it potentially projects linguistic experience, as *I thought I would go to the party*, where *thinking* or *thought* is the projecting process..

The relational process indicates activities or experiences occurring inside and outside human beings. Specifically, the process is subcategorized into the identification, attribution, and possession process. Relational Process: Identifying gives the identity of something. The underlying meaning is ' $a = b$ ' which means 'a equals b' such as in the clause *Beny is the doctor*. In Relational

Process: Attributing the meaning is 'a  $\epsilon$  b' which means 'a is a set member of b' such as in the clause *Benny is a doctor*. Relational Process: Possessing is about ownership with the underlying meaning 'a has b' such as in the clause *Beny has got a car*. The participants in the clause of Identifying Relational Process are reversible whereas those in Attributing Relational Process are not. Thus, the clause *Beny is the doctor* is reversible to *the doctor is Benny* whereas *Beny is a doctor* is not reversible to *\*a doctor is Beny* which is grammatically inaccurate or unacceptable. In English, the Relational Process is BE (*is, am, are, was, were, have been, has been, will be...*) and other processes or verbs which can be replaced by BE such as *become, look, sound, cost, play, weigh, has, own, possess*. In BI, Relational Processes are *adalah* 'BE', *mendapat* 'get', *merupakan* 'refer', *menjadi* 'become', *memiliki* 'have' or 'own'. Further, in BI the Relational Process *adalah* is implicitly used. In the clause *Beny dokter* the process *adalah* is implied between the two participants. Thus the clause is *Beny (adalah) dokter*.

The Behavioural Process indicates physiological activities such as *sleep, bowing, dying, and smiling*. Behavioural Process, which is between Material and Mental Processes, shares both Material and Mental Process features. Thus, the clause *they are sleeping*, or *s/he is sleeping*, is grammatically acceptable, sharing the features of the Material Process. The clause *\*I am sleeping* is not where the feature of the Mental Process occurs.

Verbal Process codes information. The Relational Process category, which is between Mental and Relational Processes, shares the features of both Mental and Relational Processes. Verbal Processes include *say, tell, ask, order, instruct, and advise*. On the one hand, like the Mental Process, the Verbal Process projects linguistic experience, such as in the clause where the man said *he would go to the party*, where *say* or *said* is the projecting process. On the other hand, like the Relational Process, Verbal Process shares the feature of Attributing Relational Process, such as the clause where he told a story corresponding to *how he played a doctor* (in the drama).

Existential process indicates the existence of the entity. Existential Process, which is between Material and Relational Process, share the features of both Material and Relational Process. In English, Existential Process is coded by *There  $\Lambda$  BE...* (where  $\Lambda$  means 'followed by') or *There  $\Lambda$  Process...* On one hand, like Relational Process the dominant process in Existential Process is BE (*is, am, are, was, were, have been, has been, will be...*) such as *there are cars in the garage*. On the other hand, like Material Process the process *come* is functioning as Existential Process in the clause *there comes a beautiful lady*. In BI, the Existential Process are *ada, berada* 'exist' as in the clauses such as *ada mobil di dalam garasi itu* 'there are cars in the garage' and *dia berada di kamar* 'he exists in room' or 'he is in the room'.

Each process involves Participants labelled differently based on the type of Process: (Actor, Goal) in material processes, (Senser, Phenomenon) in mental processes, (Token-Value, Carrier-Attribute, Possessor-Possessed) in relational processes, (Behaver) in behavioural processes, (Sayer, Verbiage) in verbal processes, and (Existent) in existential processes. Additionally, Processes involving Participants occur within nine types of Circumstances: Extent, Location, Manner, Cause, Contingency, Role, Matter, Accompaniment, and Angle.

Secondly, based on the logical function, the relationships between experiential units consist of ten categories: paratactic elaboration (1=2), paratactic extension (1+2), paratactic enhancement (1x2), paratactic locution (1 "2), paratactic idea (1 '2), hypotactic elaboration ( $\square = \square$ ) hypotactic extension ( $\square + \square$ ), hypotactic enhancement ( $\square \times \square$ ), hypotactic locution ( $\square " \square$ ) and hypotactic idea ( $\square ' \square$ ).

In this study, the analysis applied is the Ideational Function only, as it can sufficiently reveal the differences in lexico-grammatical aspects as the linguistic realization of ideology in the PC texts of the potential presidential candidates for the 2024 pre-election period. The details and terminology used in the analysis are based on Halliday (2014). Below is an example of the analysis of a PC text.

### Text

"Kita ingin memberikan keadilan. Ini bukan soal PAD (Pendapatan Asli Daerah) berkurang, tetapi agar warga bisa tinggal dan berumah di Jakarta," jelasnya.

"We want to give justice. This is not a matter of local income reduced but for residents can afford living properly in their houses in Jakarta" he said.

### Experiential Function Analysis

(1) Kita ingin memberikan keadilan  
 we want give justice  
**Actor Process: Material Range**  
 'we want to offer justice'

(2) Ini bukan soal PAD (Pendapatan Asli Daerah) [(yang) berkurang]  
 this no matter of local income reduced  
**Token Process: Relational Value**  
 'this is not a matter of local revenue'

(3) Tetapi agar warga bisa tinggal  
 but for resident can live  
**Actor Process: Material**  
 'but how people can afford living (in Jakarta)'

(4) dan (agar warga) berumah di Jakarta  
 and (for residents) house in Jakarta

Actor            Process: Material            Circumstance: Location: Spatial  
'and how people can afford residing in Jakarta'

### Logical Function Analysis

The text is analyzed as constituted by a simple clause *Kita ingin memberikan keadilan* and a clause complex *Ini bukan soal PAD (Pendapatan Asli Daerah) berkurang, tetapi agar warga bisa tinggal dan berumah di Jakarta,* where logical function analysis of the clause complex indicates their logical relations as follows;

(1) <i>ini bukan soal PAD (Pendapatan Asli Daerah) berkurang</i>	1		
(2) <i>tetapi agar warga bisa tinggal</i>	+2	1	
(3) <i>dan berumah di Jakarta</i>		+2	

The logical relations can be bracketed as (1+2(1+2)) where a paratactic extension relation occurs between clause (1) and (2) and again a paratactic extension relation occurs between clause (2) and (3).

### Result of the Analysis

This text is a projection known as a quasi-projection. It employs two types of Processes: Material and Relational Processes. Among these, the dominant type is Material Process. One clause contains a Circumstance, while the other three do not. The analysis of logical function indicates the presence of two levels of logical relationships, specifically paratactic extension labelled as (1 +2 (1 +2)). It's important to note that the results of this analysis do not yet fully reveal the underlying ideology. Further consideration and examination of its relation to other texts are necessary for a comprehensive understanding, though this has not been presented here due to practical constraints.

The upcoming election in Indonesia in February 2024 is expected to be closely contested, featuring three prominent candidates – Anies Rasyid Baswedan (ARB), Prabowo Subianto (PS), and Ganjar Pranowo (GP) – each presenting distinct visions for the nation's future. Beyond determining the next leader, the election holds immense significance in shaping Indonesia's political trajectory, potentially introducing new dynamics. It is a pivotal moment that could define the country's political landscape in the coming years. The political texts of these prospective presidential candidates mirror their commitment to these principles and their respective visions for Indonesia's future.

Based on the explanation above, this study aims to formulate the ideology of the PC texts, analyze the linguistic aspects as the realization of ideology, and elucidate the reasons or causes for the realization of ideology in the PC texts during the pre-election period of 2024.

There are three reasons for choosing to use the SFL theory, in line with Li, Lui, and Fung (2020: 7-8). Firstly, SFL theory is more effective than other grammatical theories in analyzing realizations of ideology in language because SFL focuses on the study of text and social context. In contrast, other grammatical theories tend to focus solely on linguistic form. In the perception of SFL, social context determines and is determined by the text. The social context encompasses Ideology, Culture, and Situation. These three elements of social context determine the text or language, and in turn, language or text determines Ideology, Culture, and Situation. Thus, ideology is formulated or realized through the use of text or language. The second reason is that SFL theory has been widely used to describe both oral and written texts in various languages. The third reason is that SFL theory has long been and is at the forefront of use in critical discourse analysis (CDA) and political discourse analysis (PDA).

## **METHOD**

### **Research Design**

A qualitative descriptive design was employed in this research, utilizing text analysis known as content analysis based on the work of Halliday (2005, 2014), a British linguist. SFL views that language use or text depends on social context encompassing the context of situation and culture, specifically covering ideology. Text and social context form construal semiotics, which specifically says that text and context are interdependent in the sense that social context determines and is determined by text. This implies explicitly that text is determined by and determines ideology. Thus, ideology finds its realization in text and specifically in the lexico-grammatical aspects of the text.

In the present study political statements of the prospective presidential candidates were analysed based on semantic (discourse) criteria and grammar or lexicogrammar. This analysis identified categories, and conclusions regarding language usage trends or patterns were drawn based on these categories.

The data sources for this study were print and electronic media, including newspapers, television, YouTube, Twitter, WhatsApp, Instagram, Facebook, and other media platforms such as pamphlets, banners, and electronic billboards. The data in this research consists of the speech texts of the presidential candidates. These texts were dissected into clauses. A total of 658 clauses were used as the research data, with 219 clauses from the speech text of *Anies R Baswedan*, 217 clauses from the speech text of *Ganjar Pranowo*, and 222 clauses from the speech text of *Prabowo Subianto*.

### **Instruments and Procedures**

The instruments used to collect data were observation and document analysis. Observation was conducted to gather data from various media (social) forms. Document analysis was employed to analyze the presidential candidates' political statements and address research questions 1 and 2. The following steps or procedures were undertaken to collect data:

1. Observing various forms of media (social), including newspapers, YouTube, television, Twitter, WhatsApp, Instagram, and Facebook, as well as other media platforms such as pamphlets, banners, and electronic billboards, in order to locate political statements made by the presidential candidates.
2. Randomly selecting relevant texts for use in this research.
3. Transcribing the political statements of the presidential candidates into written text form.

### **Data Analysis Procedures**

Transcribing the political statements of the presidential candidates into written text form involved extracting the ideological content and linguistic realization. In order to formulate the ideology of the texts, the following procedures were carried out:

1. Articulating each presidential candidate's ideology based on the PC texts and supporting data.
2. Decompiling the PC texts of each presidential candidate into clauses.
3. Analyzing the grammatical elements or lexicogrammar within each clause based on experiential functions, encompassing Process, Participant, and Circumstance.
4. Identifying clause complexes within the PC texts of each presidential candidate.
5. Analyzing the grammatical elements or lexicogrammar within each clause complex based on logical functions, which encompass ten categories: paratactic elaboration (1=2), paratactic extension (1+2), paratactic enhancement (1x2), paratactic locution (1 "2), paratactic idea (1 '2), hypotactic elaboration ( $\square=\square$ ), hypotactic extension ( $\square+\square$ ), hypotactic enhancement ( $\square\times\square$ ), hypotactic locution ( $\square''\square$ ) dan hypotactic idea ( $\square'\square$ ).
6. Converting the occurrences of various elements or lexicogrammar categories—experiential function and logical function—into proportions or percentages using a quantitative approach.
7. Determining the linguistic realization tendencies of each PC text by the presidential candidates.

## **FINDINGS**

### **Ideology**

Indonesia's three prospective presidential candidates possess and express different ideologies in their respective PC texts. In other words, within their PC texts, each presidential candidate envisions a governance system they intend to implement, contrasting it with the existing governance system. This is illustrated in Table 1.

Indonesia's presidential election system requires a candidate to be nominated by a political party or coalition of political parties. ARB was nominated by a coalition of four political parties, namely Nasdem (national-democratic) party, PKS (prosperous–justice) party, PKB (nation-revival) party, and *Umat* (Muslim) party. Except for the Nasdem party which is nationally oriented, the other three political parties are oriented to ideologies based on Islam 'syariah' teaching'. It appears that ARB emphasized Islam-based ideology in his campaign speeches. PS was nominated by a coalition of Gerindra (movement of great Indonesia) and Demokrat (democracy) parties. PS himself was the chairperson of the Gerindra party. Demokrat party is a nationally oriented party. Gerindra and Demokrat focus their ideology on maintaining and revising the incumbent president, Joko Widodo's program. PS performed a strong nationally-oriented mission in his campaign speeches. GP was nominated by a single political party, the PDIP (struggle for Indonesia Democracy) party. PDIP is the winner in the previous presidential election. Therefore, the party is very strong in its political orientation of nationalism and socialism.

**Table 1. The Ideology of the 2024 Prospective Presidential Candidate**

ARB	PS	GP
Making changes in government policies	Continuing the governance policies of President Jokowi	Continuing and supporting President Jokowi's policies

Concerning their respective ideologies or visions, each prospective presidential candidate emphasizes different policies or visions. The focus areas of policy statements by the prospective presidential candidates across various fields are summarized in Table 2 below.

**Table 2. Policy Focus**

ARB	PS	GP
Governance of the city, infrastructure, transportation, environment, empowerment, and the quality of life for the community.	Social and humanitarian issues, economic empowerment, and the improvement of educational quality.	National security and resilience, as well as the interests of the nation.

Furthermore, concerning ideology, another aspect to consider is the mode or manner in which the prospective presidential candidates convey their political statements. The modes of delivering political statements by the three presidential candidates are presented in Table 3. The delivery modes were inferred and derived from statements of Handoko Gani an expert in gestures as broadcast by the CNN Indonesia (14 July 2023 at 08.45am) and television broadcast Liputan 6 (13 December 2023 at 4.08 pm)

**Table 3. Delivery Modes**

ARB	PS	GP
Fluent in structured language communication and composed in responding to questions.	Effective political communication with engaging gestures.	Charismatic, eloquent, and communicates with clarity and decisiveness.

### Linguistic Realization

The PC text was analyzed to identify the linguistic realization of the text. The linguistic realization takes the form of grammatical or lexico-grammatical elements. Specifically, the linguistic realization is based on the Ideational Function, which encompasses the Experiential and the Logical Functions. The experiential function is specifically confined to types of processes and circumstances. Based on the processes, differences in the portrayal of experiences conveyed by each prospective presidential candidate were found.

As shown in the table 4, ARB predominantly presented relational experiences (41.55%), GP presented material experience (44.83%), and PS also presented material experiences (51.01%) out of the total clauses used. Although GP and PS were qualitatively the same in the sense that they both used predominantly material experiences, quantitatively, they differed where PS more intensely used material processes than GP did. In addition, the three prospective presidential candidates differed in terms of the order of intensity of the process.

As indicated in Table 4, ARB presented his experiences in the PCT in the order of Relational  $\wedge$  Material  $\wedge$  Mental  $\wedge$  Verbal  $\wedge$  Existential Process (where  $\wedge$  means 'followed by') whereas GP in that of Material  $\wedge$  Relational  $\wedge$  Verbal  $\wedge$  Behavioural  $\wedge$  Mental  $\wedge$  Existential Process and PS in that of Material  $\wedge$  Relational  $\wedge$  Mental  $\wedge$  Verbal  $\wedge$  Behavioural. Further, Table 4 shows that the behavioural process was not found in ARB's PCT, and the existential process was not used in GP's PCT, whereas all types of processes were used in PS's PCT.

**Table 4. Proportion of Process**

No	Types of Process	ARB		PS		GP	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Material	77	35.16	97	44.83	113	51.01

2	Mental	21	9.60	7	3.45	21	9.40
3	Relational	91	41.55	67	31.03	67	30.20
	a Identification	33	15.07	15	6.89	33	14.77
	b Attribution	56	25.57	52	24.14	33	14.77
	c Possession	2	0.91	0	0	1	0.66
4	Behavioural	0	0	16	7.11	3	1.34
5	Verbal	20	9.13	22	10.13	18	8.05
6	Existential	10	4.56	8	3.45	0	0
<b>Total</b>		<b>219</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>217</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>222</b>	<b>100</b>

With respect to the Circumstance, the experiences expressed in the PCTs also vary quantitatively. As indicated qualitatively in Table 5, the three prospective presidential candidates equally express their experiences predominantly in the Circumstances of location, manner, and extent. However, quantitatively, there are differences. ARB most intensely associated his experiences with Circumstance: Location, with a proportion of 44.15%, followed by PS, with a proportion of 38.67%, and GP the least, with a proportion of 22.86%. In terms of Circumstance of Manner, PS used Circumstance of Manner the most intensely (29.33%), followed by ARB (25.98%) and the least by GP (20%). Circumstance of Extent is the most intensely used by GP (15.71%), followed by PS (14.67%) and the least by ARB (12.98%).

**Table 5. Proportion of Circumstance**

No	Process	ARB		GP		PS	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Extent	10	12.98	11	15.71	11	14.67
	a Spatial	4	5.19	0	0	0	0
	b Temporal	4	5.19	6	8.57	7	9.33
	c Frequency	2	2.60	5	7.14	4	5.34
2	Location	34	44.15	16	22.86	29	38.67
	a Spatial	22	28.57	14	20	21	28
	b Temporal	12	15.58	2	2.86	8	10.67
3	Manner	20	25.98	14	20	22	29.33
4	Cause	1	1.30	0	0	1	1.33
5	Contingency	2	2.60	0	0	0	0
6	Role	1	1.30	8	11.43	1	1.33
7	Matter	2	2.60	11	15.71	0	
8	Accompaniment	7	9.09	7	10	9	12
9	Angle	0	0	3	4.29	2	2.67
<b>Total</b>		<b>77</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100</b>

Referring to the ten categories of logical function, logical relations in the clause complexes of each prospective presidential candidate's PCT text were analyzed and are presented in Table 6 below. It was found that qualitatively, all prospective presidential candidates used paratactic relation

(1+2). However, they differed quantitatively in terms of intensity, with GP being the most intense (45.83%), followed by PS (39.57%), and the least intense ARB (38.83%). The second type of logical relation that is mostly used is hypotactic enhancement (□×□). In terms of intensity, there is a slight difference between the most and the least GP (33.33%), ARB (33.01%), and PS (29.68%). A significant difference is the use of hypotactic idea (□'□), where GP did not use the type of logical relation. ARB used the hypotactic idea the most, with a proportion of 15.53%, and PS employed the logical relation, with a proportion of 8.79%.

**Table 6. Proportion of Logical Relation**

No	Process	ARB		GP		PS	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Paratactic elaboration (1=2)	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	Paratactic extension (1+2)	40	38.83	40	45.83	36	39.57
3	Paratactic enhancement (1x2)	0	0	0	0	4	4.39
4	Paratactic locution (1"2)	0	0	0	0	2	2.19
5	Paratactic idea (1'2)	0	0	0	0	0	
6	Hypotactic elaboration □□=□□	5	4.86	15	16.67	9	9.89
7	Hypotactic extension □□+□□	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	Hypotactic enhancement □□x□□	34	33.01	29	33.33	27	29.68
9	Hypotactic locution □□"□□	8	7.77	4	4.17	5	5.49
10	Hypotactic idea □□'□□	16	15.53	0	0	8	8.79
<b>Total</b>		<b>103</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>100</b>

After analyzing and comparing linguistic realizations of the PCTs of the prospective presidential candidates, it is found that there are qualitative and quantitative similarities and differences. As indicated in Table 7, in terms of Process GP and PS share similar linguistic or lexico-grammatical features. However, GP's PCT is quantitatively different from that of PS. Linguistic features of ARB's PCTs are qualitatively different from those of GP's where the feature of the hypotactic idea (□'□) was not used in GP's PCT. Likely, this qualitative difference also occurs between GPs' and PS's PCTs.

**Table 7. Salient linguistic features of prospective presidential candidates**

No	Prospective Presidential	Process	Circumstance	Logical Function
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Candidate				
1	ARB	Relational	Location	□ '□
2	GP	Material	Location	-
3	PS	Material	Location	□ '□

The following texts in (6) are examples of the ARB's PCT where the features of [Relational, Location, □ '□□□ are printed in bold letters.

(6)

*Pilihan tempat ini adalah pilihan luar biasa, Gus Imin.* [Process: Relational]

'the choice for this place is extraordinary, Gus Imin'

*kakek saya lahirnya di sini di Ampel* [Circumstance: Location: Spatial]

'my grandfather was born here in Ampel

*Karena itu, saya rasa,* □

'because of that, I think.

*kita semua yang berkumpul di sini, kita pegang betul nilai ini,* '□

'all of us who are gathereing here, we keep this value tightly'

Texts in (7) are examples of the GP's PCT where the features of [Material, Location, □ '□□□ are printed in bold letters

*Ibu Ketua Umum PDI Perjuangan memberikan penugasan kepada saya sebagai Gubernur*  
Madame Head of PDI Perjuangan assigned me to the Governor.

*Jawa Tengah dua periode.* [Process: Material]  
**of Central Java for two terms.**

*Saya lahir di sini di partai ini,* [Circumstance: Location]

'I was born here in this party'

Texts in (8) are examples of the PS's PCT where the features of [Material, Location, □ '□□□ are printed in bold letter

*saya akan memberi segala yang ada pada diri saya* [Process: Material, Actor]

**'I will give everything I have for this country.'**

*kita telah bangun infrastruktur secara merata di seluruh Indonesia tidak hanya di Jawa*

'we have built infrastructures throughout Indonesia, not just for Java;

**[Circumstance: Location: Spatial]**

*Saya merasa bersama* □□

**'I think**

*kita akan mampu menggapai cita-cita kita bersama*

'we will get to our intentiaon together'

'□

### Reasons for Linguistics Realization

The use of language in the PCT is influenced by the social context of the text, which in this study refers to the ideology, namely something (elements, meanings, opinions, assumptions, concepts, theories, etc.) idealized by each prospective presidential candidate as the basis or guide for action. ARB idealized a change in the current ongoing governance system. GP idealized the continuity of the present governance system carried out by President Jokowi. PS idealized partial support for Jokowi's governance system, emphasizing national defense and security. Furthermore, all three prospective presidential candidates are under the umbrella of a party coalition. ARB is under a party coalition led by the *Nasdem* party leader, GP is under a party coalition with the PDI-P (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan*), and Prabowo Subianto is under a coalition with the *Gerindra* party under his leadership. Of the three prospective presidential candidates, only PS had control over the party's direction. The influence of this coalition is powerful in the PCT. More specifically, using lexico-grammatical elements in the PCT is determined and influenced by ideology and coalition affiliation. The influence of ideology and coalition as a social context has been emphasized by Halliday (1978, 2016: 5,26).

ARB's dominant use of Relational processes with Circumstances of location is due to the ideology of change. ARB defined the change and ascertained its progress, and this is realized by the Relational Process as seen in (9a) and (9b) stated by ARB on Kompas TV program on Sep 2, 2023. Lexicogrammatically, the Token is the phrase *tugas kita* 'our duty' and the Value is *memastikan perubahan ini berjalan terus* 'to ascertain this change proceeds continuously' in the form of the embedded clause. The Relational Process *adalah* 'is' is implied to link the Token to the Value. The lexicogrammatical aspects are in bold.

(9a)

*tugas kita* (adalah) [[**memastikan perubahan ini berjalan terus**]]

**Token Process: Relational Value**

'our duty is to ascertain this change proceeds continuously'

(9b)

*republik ini jadi lebih baik di masa* [[**yang akan datang**]].

**Carrier Process: Relational Attribute Circumstance: Location: Temporal**

'this republic becomes better in the future'

A strong reason or basis is required to change the existing system. This reason or basis triggers the use of hypotactic enhancement ( $\square \times \square$ ) and hypotactic idea ( $\square' \square$ ) in the PCT by ARB as indicated in (10)

(10a)

*seseorang memiliki keberanian*  $\square$

'someone has bravery'  
*karena dia memiliki keyakinan* x □ □  
'because s/he is sure'  
*bahwa [[yang dikerjakan]] adalah kebenaran, kebaikan* ' □  
'that what s/he does is the truth and goodness'

Unlike ARB, the dominant use of Material by GP is due to the idealization of the continuity of President Jokowi's governance system. GP uses subjective considerations to support this ideology of continuity by referring to statements from several individuals, which resulted in using the Relational Process. Examples on the use of Material Process are given in (11) where GP maintains continuity of Joko Widodo's governance. (the daily Kompas of April 21, 2023)

(11)  
*tentu terobosan-terobosan [[yang diberikan oleh Pak Jokowi]], fundamen [[yang sudah dibangun]]*

**Goal**

'obviously breakthroughs made by Jokowi, the fundamen set up by him

*mesti kita lanjutkan*

**Process: Actor Material**

must be continued by us'

*hanya kita (adalah) [[yang terusberkomiten]]*

**Token Process: Relational Value**

'it's only us that have a committment'

*untuk melanjutkan itu*

**Process: Material Goal**

'to continue that'

*di mana beliau mendobrak kemapanan, kenyamanan*

**Actor Process: Material Goal**

'where he made breakthroughs'

*sehingga Indonesia bergerak maju.*

**Actor Process: Material Circumstance: Manner**

'so that Indonesia moves on progressively'

Further, subjective considerations resulted in the use of Mental processes, and the quoting or referencing others' opinions, such as leaders of other political parties, triggers the dominant use of Verbal Processes. The use of Circumstances of location is related to the time and place of the quotation and reference as shown in (12) where Circumstance: Location: Temporal is used.

(12)

*hari ini Ibu mengumumkan*

**Circumstance: Location: Temporal Sayer Process: Verbal**

'today Ibu (Megawati) announced'

*memberikan amanah kepada saya [[yang jauh lebih berat]],*

**Process: Material Range Beneficiary: Recipient**

'give confidence to me, which is much harder'

Logical paratactic extension occurs dominantly because GP's PCT tends towards spoken language mode. In the mode of spoken texts, the addition of information occurs gradually, and the stages are realized by conjunctions. The use of conjunctions triggers Paratactic extension (1 +2). In (13) the speech of GP as quoted by daily Kompas on April 21, 2023 where the "I" refers to GP with Paratactic logical relations.

(13)

*saya lahir dari partai ini*

1

'I was born from this party'

*digembleng oleh partai ini*

+ 2

'trained by this party'

*dan besar di partai ini dengan nilai-nilai perjuangan partai.*

+3

'and brought up in this party with its struggle values'

The dominant use of Material Processes by PS is due to the ideology of supporting Jokowi's government policies in defense and national security, as well as showing respect to the elders as shown in the text (14).

(14)

1. *bahwa saya menerima keputusan ini*[Tepuk tangan][**Process: Material, Actor, Goal**]
2. *bahwa saya akan berbuat yang terbaik*[Tepuk tangan][**Process: Material, Actor, Circumstance: Manner**]
3. *saya akan memberi segala* [[yang ada padadiri saya]] [Tepuk tangan][**Process: Material, Actor**]

PS expresses support by using Verbal Processes. Circumstances of location occur because they are related to the place and time associated with references and quotations to individuals. Similarly, the use of Hypotactic idea (□ '□) occurs because of the support for individuals that prompts PS to assert something and to whom he refers or quotes.

## DISCUSSION

Linguistic realizations, which in this study encompass processes, circumstances, and logical functions, emerge in the PCTs due to the influence of social context, particularly ideology. In other words, ideology affects the use of linguistic resources, such as ideational functions that encompass experiential and logical functions. The proportion of the use of processes,

circumstances, and logical functions indicates the roles played by each prospective presidential candidate. Additionally, the social context in which the prospective presidential candidates have their careers also influences the use of linguistic resources. This influence of social context has been proposed by Halliday (1978).

Furthermore, Halliday (2016: 5, 26) asserts that a text is structured or formed in line with the purpose for which it is used. Therefore, the findings of this research justify Halliday's theory. In other words, the research findings indicate that the influence of social context, particularly ideology and the platform of the presidential candidate, affects the aspect of linguistic realization. This concept is known as the relationship between logogenesis, ontogenesis, and phylogenesis in Halliday's theory (2014). Further, the present study findings indicate specifically that grammar or lexicogrammatical aspects underpin the social context of ideology. This specific relation was explicitly not stated in Li and Zhang's (2019) study, although they asserted that there was a dialectical relationship between language and ideology.

This research has limitations, primarily in terms of data and data sources. This is due to time constraints in gathering more data. Tables 4, 5, and 6 indicate that lexicogrammatical categories are not found. With a larger dataset, the validity or accuracy of the findings will be even closer to precision.

## **CONCLUSION**

After analyzing the data and comparing the results, conclusions are drawn as the following:

1. This research poses three questions: questioning ideology, linguistic realization, and the underlying elements of grammar usage. These three questions have been answered well and with relevant responses regarding language use.
2. The ideology of each presidential candidate, namely change by ARB, continuity or continuation by GP, and support by PS. Each ideology or idealization has resulted in linguistic realizations encompassing processes, circumstances, and logical relationships.
3. Theoretically and empirically, it is found that ideology determines the linguistic or lexicogrammatical realization of the PCTs.

In relation to the conclusions drawn, the following suggestions are put forward.

1. It is recommended that the university conduct a study regarding the ideology of campaign texts in the 2024 election to enlighten the public about the vision and mission of the presidential candidates of the Republic of Indonesia.

2. It is advised that further research utilizing a larger dataset be carried out to compare the findings of this study.
3. The results of this research should preferably be utilized as course material for students in relevant majors, such as linguistics or other social sciences programs.

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