

## Critical discourse analysis of netizens' comments on the 2024-2029 presidential and vice-presidential debate based on a corpus

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### Abstract

Presidential elections constitute a cornerstone of democratic governance, symbolizing the legitimacy and trust vested in government by the populace. The 2024 Indonesian presidential election provided a platform for public participation in shaping the nation's policy trajectory. Recognizing the pivotal role of social media, particularly YouTube, in contemporary campaigns, candidates leveraged these platforms to facilitate public discourse and gauge public sentiment towards presidential and vice-presidential candidates. This study employed a corpus-based approach to analyze netizens' comments during the debates. Through a qualitative methodology, 79,378 comments were collected from eight prominent YouTube channels: *KPU RI*, *CNN Indonesia*, *INews*, *RCTI*, *TVRI*, *TVOne*, *Kompas TV*, and *Metro TV*. The analysis draws upon Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Stewart L. Tubbs and Sylvia Moss' communication styles. Findings indicate that Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar projected an image of academic prowess, intelligence, law-abidingness, and religiosity, while adopting a controlling communication style. In contrast, Prabowo and Gibran were associated with discourses of sincerity, millennial appeal, continuity of Jokowi's programs, and impressiveness. However, this pair exhibited a relinquishing communication style, characterized by passivity and a deferential approach. Finally, Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD presented themselves as visionary, credible, and possessing integrity, employing an equalitarian communication style marked by respect and dialogue.

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### Abstrak

Pemilihan presiden (pilpres) adalah elemen vital dalam demokrasi yang mewakili legitimasi dan kepercayaan rakyat kepada pemerintah. Melalui pilpres Indonesia 2024, masyarakat ikut menentukan kebijakan negara. Para kandidat menyadari

### Keywords:

2024 Indonesian presidential election; corpus-based approach; netizen comments; Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis; communication style.

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pentingnya media sosial, terutama YouTube, dalam kampanye mereka, yang memungkinkan publik untuk menyampaikan pendapat dan mencerminkan sentimen terhadap calon presiden dan wakil presiden. Penelitian ini menggunakan dataset berbentuk korpus yang berisi komentar warganet saat debat berlangsung. Menggunakan metodologi kualitatif, penelitian ini mengumpulkan 79.378 komentar dari channel *KPU RI*, *CNN Indonesia*, *INews*, *RCTI*, *TVRI*, *TVOne*, *Kompas TV*, dan *Metro TV*. Kami mengimplementasikan teori Teun A van Dijk untuk Analisis Wacana Kritis (AWK), Stewart L Tubbs dan Sylvia Moss untuk gaya komunikasi. Hasil studi ini, Anies Baswedan dan Muhaimin Iskandar menunjukkan pribadi yang akademis, cerdas, taat hukum, dan religius serta bergaya *controlling style*. Sedangkan ikhlas, milenial, melanjutkan program Jokowi, dan impresif merupakan wacana yang terlihat pada Prabowo dan Gibran, namun pasangan ini mengadopsi gaya *relinquishing style*, yaitu bersikap lebih pasif dan menyerahkan inisiatif kepada lawan debat. Paslon terakhir, Ganjar Pranowo dan Mahfud MD dalam menyampaikan pendapatnya terlihat visioner, kredibel, dan memiliki integritas, selain itu pasangan ini menerapkan gaya *equalitarian style*, yang mencerminkan sikap saling menghargai dan dialogis dalam menyampaikan pendapat.

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## INTRODUCTION

Elections constitute a cornerstone of democratic governance, serving as both a powerful mechanism for legitimizing authority and a symbolic representation of public trust. Through electoral participation, citizens directly engage in shaping the trajectory and policy direction of their nation. Within this democratic framework, candidate surveys play a crucial role. These surveys primarily aim to disseminate information to both the general public and relevant stakeholders, empowering them to make informed assessments and decisions (Lewis-Beck, 2005). For instance, voter preferences may be influenced by the findings of specific candidate surveys. Similarly, political parties may adapt their campaign strategies in response to poll results.

In the context of campaigning, candidates have recognized the effectiveness of utilizing social media platforms. Social media has emerged as a potent force in shaping public opinion by facilitating the dissemination of diverse viewpoints. Within the Indonesian context, YouTube has become a favored platform for politicians to engage in campaign activities. Data from 2021 indicates that YouTube usage surpassed that of other prominent social media platforms, including Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, and TikTok (Administrator, 2021). YouTube effectively leverages the inherent limitations of traditional audiovisual media, such as television. The platform provides a diverse range

of content, catering to a broad spectrum of audience interests. Furthermore, it offers a less intrusive advertising model and greater flexibility in video length (Rangkuti, 2020). The platform's interactive nature allows users to express their opinions through comments, fostering a sense of open dialogue (Yoga Saputra et al., 2019). In this context, comments may contain public sentiment towards presidential candidates (*capres*) and vice-presidential candidates (*cawapres*).

The study of public sentiment has evolved since the early 19th century (Hillygus, 2011), notably with the application of statistical modeling techniques to predict electoral opinion. (Lewis-Beck, 2005). Various methodologies have been employed in social media public opinion research. (Beauchamp, 2017; Bermingham & Smeaton, 2011; Boutet et al., 2012; Choudhury & Breslin, 2010; Waugh et al., 2013). For instance sentiment analysis of YouTube comments has utilized Deep Neural Networks and corpus-based methods (Cunha et al., 2019), (Uryupina et al., 2014), (Irtiza Trinto & Eunus Ali, 2018). However, election prediction research has predominantly relied on quantitative approaches, which have limitations in fully capturing the nuances of context and meaning (Arikunto, 2010). This research, therefore, adopts a corpus-driven approach to conduct a critical discourse analysis of online commentary generated during the 2024 Indonesian presidential election (*pilpres*) debates.

In the realm of linguistic inquiry, a corpus is defined as a systematically compiled collection of language samples, encompassing both written and spoken modalities, designed to serve as a foundational resource for the analysis and evaluation of grammatical structures (Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa, 2024a). Essentially, a corpus constitutes a substantial repository of linguistic data, drawn from diverse sources, employed for the purposes of linguistic or language analysis. This methodological approach facilitates not only the examination of large-scale datasets but also the nuanced exploration of semantic depth within individual data points. The present research focuses on the analysis of netizens' commentary pertaining to the policy proposals articulated by presidential (*capres*) and vice-presidential (*cawapres*) candidates during the officially sanctioned electoral debates, as stipulated by the General Election Commission (KPU) for the period of November 28, 2023, to February 10, 2024. This study endeavors to investigate the proclivity of online audiences to express candidate preferences through YouTube comments, employing a framework of critical discourse analysis. The research question of this study is how do the linguistic choices and communicative strategies within the YouTube comments following the 2024 Indonesian presidential election debates reveal underlying power dynamics and ideological perspectives related to the three candidate pairings?

This study highlights the critical imperative of comprehending the nuanced dynamics of public opinion within the contemporary digital landscape, with a specific focus on the role of social media platforms, and elucidates the potential for its application

across a spectrum of objectives. However, to truly grasp the intricacies of public opinion, this study acknowledges the essential role of social cognition factors and the social context within which online communication occurs. These elements, which often lie beyond the surface of textual content, are pivotal in shaping and interpreting public sentiment and thus necessitate careful consideration in our analysis.

The findings of this research possess significant utility for a diverse range of stakeholders, including prospective voters, political actors, campaign strategists, competing candidate teams, academic scholars, and research institutions. These stakeholders can leverage the insights generated by this investigation to facilitate the enhancement of political engagement, the refinement of communication strategies, and the advancement of scholarly knowledge.

## **METHODS**

This research adopts a qualitative methodological framework, employing a descriptive-analytical approach informed by van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Recognizing that many studies of election discourse tend to focus on linguistic features such as style and rhetoric, this study aims to move beyond such surface-level analysis. Following van Dijk's perspective, our approach seeks to uncover the underlying practices of power and ideology that are embedded and function within the discourse of the 2024 Indonesian presidential election debates. This framework allows us to examine not only the linguistic choices made by candidates and the media but also how these choices contribute to the construction of meaning, the representation of social actors, and the reinforcement (or challenging) of existing power structures.

The data corpus for this study consists of a compilation of netizen commentary extracted from the official YouTube channels of designated television networks and a national election broadcasting institution during the televised debates. Specifically, seven television channels—*CNN*, *Inews*, *RCTI*, *TVRI*, *TVOne*, *MetroTv*, and *Kompas*—were selected as primary data sources. Furthermore, the General Election Commission (KPU), serving as the national, permanent, and independent election broadcasting body, was incorporated into the data collection process.

This research utilized publicly available data in the form of comments from the official YouTube channels of designated television networks and the General Election Commission (KPU). In accordance with ethical guidelines for research using publicly available online data (August & January, 2016), this study focused on analyzing publicly expressed opinions and did not collect any private or personally identifiable information beyond what was voluntarily disclosed by users in their comments. The analysis was

conducted in a manner that respects the anonymity of the commenters and does not aim to identify individual users. Furthermore, the data collection process adhered to the Terms of Service of YouTube, utilizing publicly accessible APIs or scraping methods that comply with the platform's guidelines.

The subsequent table provides a comprehensive overview of the debate schedule and the corresponding Uniform Resource Locators (URLs) utilized for the purpose of data scraping.

**Table 1. Debate schedule and data source URLs**

A	Presidential Candidates ( <i>CaPres</i> ), Tuesday, December 12, 2023, 7:00 PM Western Indonesian Time (WIB) Focus on law, human rights, governance, corruption eradication, and strengthening democracy.		
	No	Channel	Link
	1	KPU	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yN00YS846kU&amp;t=1s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yN00YS846kU&amp;t=1s</a>
	2	CNN	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G1EItLl8WMU&amp;t=1595s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G1EItLl8WMU&amp;t=1595s</a>
	3	Inews	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y_zURnxXT80">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y_zURnxXT80</a>
	4	RCTI	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C8TkglwC8k">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C8TkglwC8k</a>
	5	TVRI	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P09lD1aZfM4">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P09lD1aZfM4</a>
	6	TVOne	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uSXCaPZHVE">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uSXCaPZHVE</a>
	7	MetroTv	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0hDV7S1WTWA">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0hDV7S1WTWA</a>
B	Vice Presidential Candidates ( <i>CaWapres</i> ), Friday, December 22, 2023, 7:00 PM Western Indonesian Time (WIB) Theme: defense, security, geopolitics, and international relations.		
	No	Channel	Link
	1	KPU	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YzC828FYrwM&amp;t=317s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YzC828FYrwM&amp;t=317s</a>
	2	CNN	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rmXBg0j6Jsc">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rmXBg0j6Jsc</a>
	3	Inews	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OT8pQ2r-iRk">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OT8pQ2r-iRk</a>
	4	RCTI	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zV2ClFqBEWc">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zV2ClFqBEWc</a>
	5	TVRI	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v4QozZi997g">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v4QozZi997g</a>
	6	TVOne	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UQtvZgKmGJo">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UQtvZgKmGJo</a>
	7	MetroTv	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NbVudON5cDE">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NbVudON5cDE</a>
C	Presidential Candidates ( <i>CaPres</i> ), Sunday, January 7, 2024, 7:00 PM Western Indonesian Time (WIB) Discussing economy (people's and digital), social welfare, investment, trade, (digital) taxes, finance, state/regional budget management, and infrastructure.		
	No	Channel	Link
	1	KPU	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KJdt-HBBGlo&amp;t=2051s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KJdt-HBBGlo&amp;t=2051s</a>
	2	CNN	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qzt3c0KD0Z4&amp;t=58s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qzt3c0KD0Z4&amp;t=58s</a>
	3	Inews	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=69LjcOlzFbE">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=69LjcOlzFbE</a>
	4	RCTI	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oov2g9bAB0s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oov2g9bAB0s</a>
	5	TVRI	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZnQuXzN5Xls">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZnQuXzN5Xls</a>
	6	TVOne	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UwrmlpZtVpE">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UwrmlpZtVpE</a>
	7	MetroTv	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sumPwQpw4JM">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sumPwQpw4JM</a>
	8	Kompas	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J_tFEaOJdFU">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J_tFEaOJdFU</a>

D	Vice Presidential Candidates ( <i>CaWapres</i> ), Sunday, January 21, 2024, 7:00 PM Western Indonesian Time (WIB) Focus on energy, natural resources, food, carbon tax, environment, agrarian issues, and indigenous communities		
	No	Channel	Link
	1	KPU	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=anuQxiXpQ7I">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=anuQxiXpQ7I</a>
	2	CNN	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oxwGvuxFYXA">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oxwGvuxFYXA</a>
	3	Inews	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z3Y03MMynh0">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z3Y03MMynh0</a>
	4	RCTI	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9FIMVa0nyJo">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9FIMVa0nyJo</a>
	5	TVRI	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5ZndgmmYBTk">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5ZndgmmYBTk</a>
	6	TVOne	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bzgrq1KTiSY">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bzgrq1KTiSY</a>
	7	MetroTv	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rq2XUsYbm9U">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rq2XUsYbm9U</a>
E	8	Kompas	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_V033ckLwcE">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_V033ckLwcE</a>
	Presidential Candidates ( <i>CaPres</i> ), Sunday, February 4, 2024, 7:00 PM Western Indonesian Time (WIB) Discussing information technology, public service improvement, hoaxes, intolerance, education, health (post-COVID society), and employment		
	No	Channel	Link
	1	KPU	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8J66JxvmEzo">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8J66JxvmEzo</a>
	2	CNN	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gj3zS4bU6iw">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gj3zS4bU6iw</a>
	3	Inews	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gKNqF9jOhZ4">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gKNqF9jOhZ4</a>
	4	RCTI	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hQ6dJThGyIo">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hQ6dJThGyIo</a>
	5	TVRI	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b-lOGmZK7XM">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b-lOGmZK7XM</a>
	6	TVOne	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XzrbmeuKg0U">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XzrbmeuKg0U</a>
	7	MetroTv	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v0BdvhQC7ko">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v0BdvhQC7ko</a>
	8	Kompas	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w3E-Kr6rJZo">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w3E-Kr6rJZo</a>

The present study utilized web scraping as the primary method for data acquisition. Web scraping, as defined by the Cambridge Dictionary, involves the extraction of information from websites or computer screens, subsequently organizing it into structured digital documents (Cambridge Dictionary, 2024b). Through this process, a comprehensive dataset of 79,378 comments, pertaining to the presidential and vice-presidential candidate debates, was compiled from eight distinct YouTube channels. The following section provides a detailed breakdown of the quantity of comments gathered from each channel across the five debate events.

**Table 2. Distribution of comments across channels**

Channel	Debat-1	Debat-2	Debat-3	Debat-4	Debat-5
KPU RI	4154	1937	2390	5000	5000
CNN Indonesia	1867	489	973	8	90
INews	2939	321	50	100	879
RCTI	95	36	401	4	5
TVRI	1882	3480	3217	9	2990



TVOne	4547	3829	3581	2852	1846
Metro TV	3499	3829	3581	3449	59
Kompas TV	39	816	3652	483	5000
Jumlah per debat	19022	14737	17845	11905	15869
<b>Total data Set</b>			79378		

In order to conduct a critical discourse analysis within this research framework, the theoretical framework of Teun A. van Dijk (van Dijk, 2017) is employed. Van Dijk's theoretical approach is particularly pertinent for examining the construction of social knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies within the discourse of the debates, thereby elucidating the mechanisms through which these debates contribute to the formation of public perceptions concerning the presidential candidates. Concurrently, the analysis of communication styles within this study is operationalized through the application of six styles derived from the work of Stewart L. Tubbs and Sylvia Moss (Tubbs & Moss, 2000). These are the six communication styles: Controlling, Equalitarian, Structuring, Dynamic, Relinquishing, and Withdrawal. The Controlling Style is characterized by one party attempting to control, coerce, or regulate the behavior, thoughts, and responses of the other. Communicators adopting this style tend to be self-oriented, often paying little attention to or undervaluing the other person's perspective. Frequently, they employ power or authority to dictate or command. This style is typically one-way, offering limited opportunity for feedback or discussion.

In contrast, the Equalitarian Style emphasizes equality and mutually respectful relationships between communicating parties. Individuals using this style are generally open and friendly, demonstrating concern for their counterparts. Communication flows bidirectionally, ensuring each party has an equal opportunity to express their opinions and be heard. This approach fosters a relaxed, informal, and cooperative atmosphere. Focusing on clarity, organization, and efficiency, the Structuring Style prioritizes the effective conveyance of messages. Communicators favoring this style are typically systematic and logical, utilizing well-planned verbal and written communication. They ensure that orders, instructions, or information are communicated clearly and are easily understood, with a strong emphasis on the communication's purpose to facilitate correct reception and implementation.

Assertive and energetic, the Dynamic Style often leans towards aggressiveness, stemming from the communicator's understanding of their environment as action-oriented. The primary goal is to stimulate or motivate others to act or achieve enhanced results. Communicators employing this style frequently use strong, persuasive, and enthusiastic language. While effective in certain contexts, this style can potentially lead to discomfort or resistance if not applied judiciously. The Relinquishing Style is

characterized by an openness to accepting suggestions, opinions, or ideas from others. Communicators using this style generally do not dominate conversations and are willing to yield or adopt alternative viewpoints if deemed superior. This demonstrates flexibility and a cooperative spirit. However, the excessive use of this style might lead others to perceive the communicator as lacking conviction or being insecure. Finally, the Withdrawal Style is marked by a reluctance or refusal to engage in communication. Individuals exhibiting this style tend to be silent, ignore, or avoid interaction. This behavior can arise from various factors, including discomfort, disagreement, or a desire to evade conflict. Ultimately, this style proves ineffective in building relationships or resolving issues.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Anies Rasyid Baswedan – Muhaimin Iskandar**

The terms used by netizens to express their support for the first pair of presidential and vice-presidential candidates include Anis, Amin, Anies, Imin, and Baswedan. Four dominant discourses emerge in the supportive comments made by netizens (Table 3). The *first* discourse pertains to academics (numbers 1-7). Supporters construct a narrative in which the first candidate pair is portrayed as possessing specialized competencies, particularly in the field of education. Although the theoretical framework of this study does not initially posit candidate background as a determining factor in the debate, the subsequent analysis of netizen commentary reveals the significant role of personal characteristics in shaping public support. Specifically, supporters of the first candidate pair frequently construct a narrative in which Anies is portrayed as possessing specialized competencies, particularly in the field of education, emphasizing his strong academic background and extensive experience. Within this framework, public discourse highlights Anies' proficiency in formulating progressive education policies that are focused on tangible outcomes. It is believed that, as a distinguished academic, Anies is equipped to address the complex challenges facing Indonesia's education sector. Moreover, Anies' supporters also regard his experience in various governmental and educational leadership roles as indicative of his potential to lead the nation effectively. The combination of academic expertise, strategic vision, and commitment to fostering positive change is viewed as positioning Anis as a competent figure capable of leading Indonesia towards a more prosperous future. Despite the speculative nature of his candidacy, the support expressed by certain groups reflects a recognition of Anis' reputation and capabilities among his supporters



*Second*, intellectual capacity (numbers 8–15). In the context of the presidential election, Anies Baswedan is frequently characterized by his supporters as an individual possessing notable intellectual capacity. His demonstrated ability to engage with complex issues and devise innovative solutions, particularly during public debates, underscores his analytical proficiency. Moreover, his capacity for effective communication and the clear articulation of ideas has been emphasized as a key strength by his supporters. This combination of intellectual acumen, advanced communication skills, and substantial experience positions Anies as a leader perceived to possess the requisite competencies to effectively assume national leadership responsibilities in the future.

*Third*, commitment to legal compliance (numbers 16–20). Anies Baswedan is also frequently depicted by his supporters as a leader who exhibits a strong commitment to legal compliance. He consistently underscores the significance of adhering to established laws and procedures in the formulation and implementation of policy decisions. His supporters often highlight his integrity in upholding legal principles, considering this adherence a fundamental pillar of transparent and accountable governance. Additionally, Anies is recognized for his cautious and thorough approach in complying with prevailing legal frameworks, which he regards as essential for fostering a just and sovereign state. This perception reinforces his image as a leader dedicated not only to the pursuit of social and economic justice but also to the consistent application of equitable legal standards for all individuals.

*Fourth*, religious orientation (numbers 21–23). Anies Baswedan is frequently perceived as a religious figure, a perception grounded in his active participation in religious activities and his emphasis on incorporating spiritual values into leadership practices. His supporters regard his religiosity as an essential component of his character and personal identity, reflecting a strong foundation of moral and ethical integrity. Within the context of the presidential election, this religious orientation is often interpreted as an indication that Anies will prioritize moral and ethical considerations in his decision-making processes and advocate for policies that align with religious principles. For many of his supporters, Anies' religiosity transcends personal identity, representing a commitment to leadership that is informed by moral responsibility and spiritual awareness.

**Table 3. Concordance of the first presidential and vice-presidential candidate pair**

No	Left Context	Node	Right Context
1	<i>lihat bos wowo berbicara kalau soal retorika bicara ya pasti Pak</i>	<i>Anis</i>	<i>bagus krn dia backgroundnya seorang akademisi. tp ya</i>

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2	<i>pakar politik, akademisi, anak muda anak sekolahan mengakui gagasan gagasan</i>	Anies	<i>yang luar biasa pasti pilih Pak Anies lah ga</i>
3	<i>Pasangan paling pas menurut saya</i>	Anies	<i>baswedan dan muhaimin iskandar karena kombinas akademisi dan politisi dengan gabungan gagasan yang berlian "Dalam menjadi</i>
4	<i>yang pas untuk memimpin Indonesia kedepan. Pak</i>	Anies	<i>dari golongan akademisi dan cerdas sedangkan Cak Imin jebolan madrasah dari akhkak</i>
5	<i>membawa nilai-nilai agama ke dalam pemerintahan, sementara</i>	Anies	<i>, seorang akademisi yang akan membawa ide-ide modern ke dalam pemerintahan.</i>
6	<i>ngerti jg nggak Alhamdulillah</i>	Anies	<i>yg mmg sdh teruji dan sukses jd pemimpin sejak SD, SMP, SMA, UGM, Kuliah S2 &amp; S3 di Amerika, Rektor Paramadina, Mendikbud,</i>
7	<i>kalau soal retorika bicara ya pasti pak</i>	Anis	<i>bagus krn dia backroundnya seorang akademisi. tp ya prakteknya gmn ya saat jd gub jkt</i>
8	<i>penting bgt krn dari otak turun ke mulut .jd fix Pak</i>	Anis	<i>org nya cerdas tapi tidak ambisius dan tdk</i>
9	<i>blom kelar Jelas anis lebih berwibawa dan cerdas, tegas Memang Pak</i>	Anis	<i>paling tegas dan berani ngomong depan orang nya</i>
10	<i>prabowo kayak yang tertekan setelah anis membuka boroknya wkwkwk Hanya Pak</i>	Anies	<i>yg jawabnya terarah dan jelas... Lainnya normatif dan</i>
11	<i>bedakan baik dan buruk....padahal Prabowo sendiri setuju2 aja gagasan Pak</i>	Anis	<i>...Atau karena gk nyambung/gagal paham jadi gk</i>
12	<i>Kami gak suka dengan anda Hanya org cerdas yg memilih Pak</i>	Anis	<i>.... "Trm ksh mas anis sudah dgn Begitu sangat</i>
13	<i>menang Amin. "intinya org yg masih waras pasti memilih anis</i>	Baswedan	<i>itu aja poinnya.. " @dedyjulhamsyah4309udah gajian zer? Mantap pak</i>
14	<i>Indonesia, Amin insyaa Allah menang ya Rabb Amin Prabowo Gibran</i>	Amin	<i>orang cerdas pasti pilih presiden yg cerdas jga AMIN</i>
15	<i>Gibran keok semua... Surend aj ..h"Hidup amin Aku yakin</i>	Amin	<i>pasti positif visi misi nya" Visinya gibran nerusin jokowi,</i>
16	<i>lain ma wowo Ganjar Pranowo Wowo ganjar ketar ketir !!! Anis</i>	Baswedan	<i>dilawan Waktu gupernur taat hukum apa otak ati hukum</i>

17	<i>Indonesia semakin maju jaya dan berwibawa dengan hukum yang Tegas." Pak</i>	Anies	<i>kan sudah sering bilang hukum tumpul ke atas "</i>
18	<i>prabowo buat pak anis, sarannya lebih pertegas aturannya MasyaAllah mantap Pak</i>	Anies	<i>Ragu banget sama capres 02. Marah marah mulu ih</i>
19	<i>baik seperti Pasangan</i>	AMIN	<i>yang mempunyai visi misi Pro rakyat, taat hukum dan konstitusi. Pak Anies dan Cak Imin pemimpin</i>
20	<i>Insya Allah... Allah cinta n sayang kepada Pak</i>	Anies	<i>n pak Muhaimin n Allah ridho</i>
21	<i>Insya Allah... Allah cinta n sayang kepada Pak</i>	Anies	<i>n pak Muhaimin. Aamiin. Mari... kita memohon berkah</i>
22	<i>kita memohon berkah n ridho Allah Subhanahu wata'ala semoga Pak</i>	Anies	<i>n Muhaimin menjadi presiden n wakil presiden RI 2024-2029.</i>
23	<i>sayang kepada pak Anies n pak Muhaimin n Allah ridho Pak</i>	Anies	<i>terpilih sebagai Presiden Republik Indonesia. Aamiin. 01 atau 02 atau 03</i>

In addition to the four previously mentioned discourses, the first presidential and vice-presidential candidate pair demonstrates a distinct communication style that sets them apart from other contenders. Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar appear to adopt a controlling communication style, characterized by assertiveness and a clear conveyance of authority. Anies, in particular, utilizes a firm and confident tone to articulate his vision and mission, particularly concerning information technology. His discourse emphasizes the significance of digital innovation in enhancing public service efficiency, employing clear and direct language to communicate his objectives. This approach projects an image of expertise and determination, reinforcing his positioning as a progressive leader committed to advancing technological development.

Similarly, Muhaimin Iskandar exhibits a comparable authoritative presence. His communication underscores the necessity of stringent regulatory measures to combat the spread of misinformation and intolerance within society. The language employed reflects a decisive stance, fostering a sense of urgency and highlighting the importance of immediate action. His controlling communication style conveys a sense of preparedness and suggests that he possesses concrete solutions to address these societal challenges.

In the context of education, Anies employs an optimistic yet authoritative tone, outlining his strategy to enhance educational quality through a systematic, data-driven framework. By incorporating empirical evidence and statistical data, he conveys a sense of preparedness and strategic foresight, indicating a well-developed plan rather than mere rhetorical promises. In response, Muhaimin underscores the importance of fostering inclusive and accessible education, positioning himself as an advocate for equity

in educational opportunities. This dynamic fosters a competitive atmosphere, with both candidates actively engaging in the presentation of robust and compelling policy proposals.

In addressing post-COVID health issues, Muhaimin Iskandar employs a pronounced controlling communication style, underscoring the significance of a strategically planned recovery grounded in scientific data. His assertive tone reflects a strong commitment to ensuring equitable access to healthcare services for all segments of society. Similarly, Anies Baswedan articulates his proposed measures for enhancing the healthcare system with clarity, utilizing language that presents specific, actionable plans. Both candidates utilize this communication approach to project a sense of decisiveness and preparedness to implement concrete policy actions.

In the concluding phase of the debate, Anies and Muhaimin shift their focus to employment, adopting an enthusiastic and proactive tone to highlight the urgency of generating new job opportunities in the digital era. Anies emphasizes the critical role of vocational training and education in equipping the workforce for future demands, while Muhaimin highlights the necessity of governmental support in establishing an entrepreneurial ecosystem. Through this controlled and assertive communication style, both candidates effectively convey their readiness to address contemporary socio-economic challenges with determination and strategic clarity, offering a well-defined and measurable vision for the nation's future development.

### **Prabowo Subianto – Gibran Rakabuming Raka**

The terminology employed by netizens to express support for the second presidential and vice-presidential candidate pair prominently features the names Prabowo, Gibran, and the portmanteau Pragib. Within this context, four dominant discourses emerge as expressions of endorsement (Table 4).

*First*, sincerity (numbers 1–5). Prabowo Subianto is widely perceived by netizens as a candidate who embodies sincerity and genuine intent in his aspiration to lead Indonesia. This perception is rooted in Prabowo's demonstrated commitment to his political endeavors, marked by a clear focus on enhancing public welfare and safeguarding national sovereignty. His sincerity is further reflected in his efforts to articulate public aspirations and assume leadership responsibilities with a high degree of integrity.

Supporters also recognize Prabowo's dedication to formulating policies deemed essential for Indonesia's development. With a clearly articulated vision centered on fostering economic independence and strengthening national defense, Prabowo is

regarded not merely as a rhetorician but as a leader who translates his objectives into tangible actions. In this regard, netizens perceive his sincerity and authenticity as significant attributes, reinforcing his credibility as a viable candidate to lead the nation toward a more prosperous future.

*Second*, millennial representation (numbers 6–10). Gibran Rakabuming Raka is viewed by netizens as an emblematic figure of the millennial generation. His involvement in the political sphere is perceived as introducing a fresh and dynamic presence, accompanied by innovative ideas that align with the social changes and aspirations of the millennial demographic. Gibran's adept use of social media and his capacity to engage effectively with the public reinforce his image as a capable representative of millennial interests. Consequently, he is perceived as well-positioned to influence the formulation of progressive and inclusive public policies aimed at shaping Indonesia's future.

*Third*, continuation of Jokowi's programs (numbers 11–15). The partnership between Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming Raka is perceived by netizens as a political alliance committed to continuing the programs initiated under the administration of Joko Widodo. Despite their differing political backgrounds, both figures are regarded as capable of aligning their visions and missions to sustain policies deemed successful in advancing infrastructure development, enhancing public service delivery, and strengthening Indonesia's economic sector. Netizens anticipate that, through the combination of their distinct experiences and perspectives, Prabowo and Gibran will not only optimize existing initiatives but also formulate new strategies that address contemporary societal and economic challenges.

*Fourth*, impressive performance (Numbers 16–20). Gibran Rakabuming Raka's performance in political debates has garnered significant attention from netizens, who regard his ability to assert himself as indicative of his political competence and leadership potential. Throughout these debates, Gibran has demonstrated analytical acumen, a comprehensive understanding of key policy issues, and the capacity to articulate his vision and strategic plans with clarity and conviction. These public engagements have served as critical opportunities for Gibran to showcase his intellectual capabilities and leadership qualities, which are essential for managing complex governance responsibilities. The positive reception from netizens reflects their recognition of his efforts to challenge skepticism and overcome doubts regarding his suitability for leadership. Consequently, Gibran's impressive debate performance has not only bolstered his public image but also fostered greater trust in his potential to contribute meaningfully to the nation's leadership and future development.

**Table 4. Concordance of the second presidential and vice-presidential candidate pair**

No	Left Context	Node	Right Context
1	IKHLAS NGURUS NEGARA ITU HANYA PAK PRABOWO, 🤝🤝🤝🤝 kata pendukung mbah	prabowo	kan 😄😄😄😄😄 Inshaallah dari aceh terpilih capres dan cawapres yang
2	malah nilai orng suka suka Saya bersama mu pak jendral	Prabowo	♥Kita doakan semoga pak Prabowo selalu tabah menghadapi situasi
3	ih bapak. PRABOWO 🇮🇩🇮🇩🇮🇩tulus tidak.munafik 🇮🇩🇮🇩🇮🇩2024 PRABOWO GIBRAN 🇮🇩🇮🇩🇮🇩🇮🇩 "Saya dukung	prabowo	GASPOLL BRO! PRABOWO-GIBRAN UNTUK INDONESIA MAJU" saya lihat
4	pak prsbowo. 😊😊 Tulus banget hati dan wajah pak prabowo . Lafyu	prabowo	gibran Ganjar pahlawan kesiangn km hanya bertemu dgn anggota
5	sangat tulus dan bismillah pk prabowo pilihan kami All in	prabowo	gibran anjay presenternya cantik coy Pemuda BONDOWOSO JAWA TIMUR
6	pilih yg wakil nya mewakili generasi muda.. sudah itu saja" " Mas	Gibran	Terbaik ... NTB Hadir 🇮🇩🇮🇩" Jambi hadir, untuk pak PRABOWO ♥♥♥♥♥
7	berkelas generasi muda all in prabowo presiden 2024 GASPOLL BRO! PRABOWO	GIBRAN	UNTUK INDONESIA MAJU GASPOLL BRO! PRABOWO GIBRAN UNTUK INDONESIA
8	Gibran mantap prabowo	gibran	untuk indonesia emas ... Anak muda tidak bisa diremehkan teman
9	pak Jokowi,,, wajar pak Prabowo - Gibran melanjutkan.... Cawapres terhebat pak	Gibran,	untuk para pemuda dan pemudi Generasi penerus untuk indonesia
10	yg masi trlalu muda,,setelah nnton debat cawapres ini malah	gibran	yg muda lebih logis tdk kalah dngan yg tua..
11	yg solutif. Pulau kalimantan mendukung penuh pak prabowo dan mas	gibran	untuk melanjutkan pembangunan IKN...IKN simbol pemerataan pembangunan karena
12	keberlanjutan Sy semakin yakin mas gibran bs,,,,,lnjt trs prabowo	gibran	♥♥ Yg cocok Raka bumi josgandoz dek gibran .... lanjutkan perjuangan
13	Jgn pilih orang yg tidak maw lanjutkan program Jokowi RI 1 PRABOWO	GIBRAN	!! 2024 Yg bakal menang dua dan 3 krn sama sama kuat
14	DPR dan menkumham juga PDIP. Oleh karena itu maka Prabowo	Gibran	jadi pilihan realistis karena kepastian melanjutkan pembangunan yang sudah



15	HASIL ALAM NYA TINGGAL GIBRAN YANG JUJUR AJA SUSAH, SEMOGA 2024 MAS	PAK PRABOWO BISA MELANJUTKAN KERJA PAK JKW MENJADI LEBIH
16	Indonesia sudah jadi Negara Islam yah? kok acuannya serba syariah?	Gibran yg kemaren di sepelekan di anggap remeh ....sekarang membuktikan....
17	air, biar gibran maju, aku yakin, seyakin yakinx, didalam hati	gibran yg slalu di remehkn itu kekasih Alloh, sama seperti
18	Lebih dari keren sih mas gibran ini 🍷🍷🍷 Pas penutupan bcma	gibran yg pale konsep wkwk ug sllu diremehkan dan direndah
19	sombong yg mengejek, menghina kemampuan mas Gibran,..... Maju terus mas	Gibran dan pak Prabowo saya tetap dukung no. 2 Katanya gibran
20	aja z.....?? Hanya orang2 sombong yg mengejek, menghina kemampuan mas	Gibran ,.....Maju terus mas Gibran dan pak Prabowo saya tetap

### Ganjar Pranowo – Mahfud MD

In the discourse surrounding the third presidential and vice-presidential candidate pair, the terms Ganjar, Mahfud, Prof, MD, and Gama are frequently employed by supporters. Analysis of netizen comments on YouTube reveals three predominant themes of support (Table 5).

*First*, visionary leadership (numbers 1–5). Supporters of Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD perceive this pairing as offering well-defined, competitive programs designed to promote Indonesia’s future advancement. Ganjar, drawing on his tenure as the Governor of Central Java, is recognized for his progressive vision in key sectors such as infrastructure development, education, and healthcare. His initiatives prioritize expanding access to public services and fostering sustainable economic growth, with the overarching goal of enhancing societal welfare.

Conversely, Mahfud MD is regarded as a figure capable of shaping sound policy frameworks and demonstrating firmness in both law enforcement and the maintenance of national security. Netizen commentary suggests that he presents pragmatic, actionable programs that are both feasible and capable of driving national progress. Moreover, Mahfud is viewed as having a clear, implementable vision supported by concrete initiatives. Together, these two figures are perceived as capable of forming an effective collaboration, combining a national development agenda with strategies to address complex internal and external challenges. This partnership is thus seen as a promising leadership duo capable of guiding Indonesia toward meaningful progress.

*Second*, credibility and integrity (numbers 6–10). Ganjar and Mahfud are widely regarded by their supporters as figures of integrity and credibility, consistently

demonstrating a strong commitment to upholding legal principles and combating corruption. Supporters highlight their dedication to reforming the legal system by eliminating detrimental practices and ensuring all governmental actions are conducted within a clear legal framework. Their consistent stance on anti-corruption efforts and commitment to justice reinforces their image as reliable leaders. This integrity and dedication position them as trustworthy candidates capable of fostering positive change and ensuring the maintenance of transparent, effective governance.

*Third*, integrity (numbers 11–15). From the perspective of their supporters, Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD are perceived as embodiments of integrity within Indonesian politics. This perception stems from their combined strengths: Ganjar's extensive leadership experience and Mahfud's unwavering commitment to upholding the rule of law. Together, they are viewed as capable of ensuring clean and effective governance. Their demonstrated integrity is anticipated to strengthen public trust and catalyze meaningful reforms in governmental administration. Supporters assert that the duo's dedication to law enforcement will establish a fair and corruption-free administration. Ganjar's proactive approach to addressing legal challenges during his tenure in Central Java, combined with Mahfud's proven expertise and leadership across various strategic roles, positions them as an ideal partnership to confront Indonesia's complex legal and governance issues.

**Table 5. Concordance of the third presidential and vice-presidential candidate pair**

No	Left Context	Node	Right Context
1	<i>komunis! Slepethok ae 😊 gk jelas gibran ❤️ "Pendapat bapak Mahfud</i>	MD	<i>sangat fundamental yg sangat mungkin membawa Indonesia ke gerbang</i>
2	<i>Prabowo ❤️ 01 Bismillah... 🍀 IDIDID 🍀 🍀 🍀 Rakyat INDONESIA pilih Pak Ganjar Pranowo + Pak Mahfud</i>	MD	<i>di Pilpres 2024, untuk INDONESIA yang lebih UNGGUL dan lebih</i>
3	<i>punya visi misi kemajuan ekonomi bangsa cuma gibran dan mahfud</i>	md	<i>👉, kalo yg satu lagi ini visi misinya cuma seputar</i>
4	<i>menginspirasi kemajuan yang berkelanjutan bagi Indonesia Love dengan bapak Mahfu</i>	MD	<i>menjawab based on test case realistis, benar2 pengalaman dan</i>
5	<i>masuk dan fokus pada tujuannya untuk memajukan indonesia, Terpesona padamu</i>	GAMA	<i>„1 PUTARAN 🍀 🍀 🍀 orang cerdas cari duit nya dan golpud Adil</i>
6	<i>Mahfud blm pernah membohongi rakyat sudah pasti kami bersama ganjar</i>	mahfud	<i>berani bersih itu kren Saya Jokowi keras, pilihan saya</i>



accountability in governance, while Mahfud highlights the necessity of public participation in decision-making processes. Their balanced and cooperative tone projects an image of partnership, suggesting a shared dedication to fostering an improved governmental framework for society.

Regarding corruption eradication, both candidates exhibit a firm, unified commitment through the use of concise and impactful language. Ganjar advocates for increased public involvement in budget oversight, whereas Mahfud underscores the critical role of impartial law enforcement. Their passionate delivery captures audience attention, rendering complex issues more relatable and accessible. This complementary dynamic underscores the necessity of collaboration between government institutions and civil society to effectively combat corruption.

In concluding discussions, Ganjar and Mahfud shift their focus toward the strengthening of democracy, employing an optimistic and aspirational tone. Ganjar emphasizes the imperative of ensuring free and fair elections, while Mahfud encourages active civic engagement in political education. Their use of clear, accessible language combined with a warm, engaging tone fosters an emotional connection with the audience. Through their egalitarian communication style, both figures effectively convey the message that the advancement of Indonesian democracy relies on the collective commitment and collaboration of all societal sectors.

## **CONCLUSION**

The critical discourse analysis of the presidential and vice-presidential debates reveals notable distinctions in communication styles and personal attributes among the candidate pairs. Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar exhibit an academic, intellectual, law-abiding, and religious disposition in their rhetorical delivery. Drawing upon the communication style framework of Tubbs and Moss, which defines a controlling style as assert control through directives and commands, our analysis indicates that their communication approach aligns with this style. This is evident in their dominant presence in discussions and their deliberate effort to steer attention toward specific focal points. Conversely, the discourse surrounding the second candidate pair, Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming Raka, emphasizes themes such as sincerity, appeal to the millennial demographic, the continuation of Jokowi's programs, and an overall impressive demeanor. This pair adopts a relinquishing communication style, characterized by a more passive stance that allows their debate counterparts to assume greater initiative in directing the discussion. The final candidate pair, Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD, are perceived as embodying visionary leadership, credibility, and

integrity in their discourse. They employ an equalitarian communication style, marked by mutual respect and a dialogical approach in articulating their viewpoints. These divergent communication styles contribute to a dynamic and multifaceted debate environment, reflecting the unique personalities, leadership qualities, and strategic orientations of each candidate pair.

While this research is significantly influenced by van Dijk's (2017) Critical Discourse Analysis framework, our analysis of YouTube comments in the context of the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election extends the understanding of the role of emotions in mediating between ideology and discourse strategies. While van Dijk acknowledges the importance of social cognition, our analysis demonstrates that the intensity of emotions expressed online, influenced by anonymity and real-time interaction, can significantly modify how ideology is articulated and received—an aspect requiring deeper attention within the CDA model. Furthermore, this study highlights a novel nuance in the discourse strategy of online shaming as a tool of power in digital political discourse, a phenomenon not yet explicitly categorized within van Dijk's framework. Thus, this research proposes the addition of an emotional dimension and specific digital discourse strategy categories to the CDA model to enhance its relevance in analyzing online political interactions.

Moving forward, the insights gained from this study hold significant implications. The methodological approach employed here can serve as a model for future research analyzing political discourse on social media in various contexts. Moreover, understanding how different communication styles are perceived by the online public can inform more effective campaign strategies and political communication practices. Ultimately, by shedding light on the nuanced ways power and ideology are communicated in the digital sphere, this research contributes to a more informed citizenry capable of engaging critically with political discourse, thereby enhancing the quality of democratic participation in Indonesia.

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