



Discursive construction of environmental sustainability in the 2024 Indonesian presidential debate: Critical discourse and ecolinguistic analysis

Saiyidinal Firdaus^{1,*}

¹ Department of Applied Linguistics, Universitas Negeri Jakarta, East Jakarta, Special Capital Region of Jakarta 13220, Indonesia.

*Correspondence: saiyidinalfirdaus1995@gmail.com

Received Date: December 21, 2025

Revised Date: February 12, 2026

Accepted Date: February 18, 2026

ABSTRACT

Background: Environmental sustainability has emerged as a contested discursive arena within Indonesia's contemporary political communication, particularly during the 2024 presidential debates where competing visions of development, ecological ethics, and national progress converge. This study examines how sustainability is linguistically constructed and ideologically negotiated through an integrated framework combining Critical Discourse Analysis and ecolinguistics. Drawing on a corpus of official debate transcripts, the research analyzes lexical patterns, metaphors, narrative structures, and discursive strategies that shape competing sustainability imaginaries. **Methods:** Quantitative corpus mapping identifies the prominence of key environmental lexemes, while qualitative interpretation reveals how technocratic and justice-oriented discourses legitimize divergent pathways toward ecological transition. **Findings:** The findings indicate that sustainability is predominantly framed through technocratic modernization narratives, with downstream functioning as a master signifier that aligns environmental rhetoric with economic rationality. In contrast, agrarian and ethical discourses introduce counter-narratives grounded in stewardship, moral accountability, and socio-ecological justice. These discursive tensions demonstrate how political language actively shapes sustainability governance by influencing policy legitimacy, public imagination, and the perceived boundaries of environmental action. **Conclusion:** The study concludes that sustainability within the debates operates simultaneously as ideological performance and governance narrative, reflecting broader struggles between neoliberal developmentalism and ecological ethics in the Global South. **Novelty/Originality of this article:** By integrating CDA and ecolinguistic perspectives, this research advances critical sustainability discourse studies and highlights the importance of linguistically informed approaches to environmentally responsible political communication.

KEYWORDS: critical discourse analysis; ecolinguistics; Indonesian presidential debate; political discourse; sustainability governance.

1. Introduction

Environmental sustainability and the global transition toward sustainable development have emerged as defining challenges of the twenty-first century. Across global governance arenas, the notion of sustainability is increasingly framed as both an economic necessity and an ethical commitment to planetary stewardship (Alexander et al. 2016; Ferreira et al. 2023; Resosudarmo et al. 2023; Radtke and Renn, 2024; Ballew et al. 2025). Broadly defined, environmental sustainability encompasses systems of economic

Cite This Article:

Firdaus, S. (2026). Discursive construction of environmental sustainability in the 2024 Indonesian presidential debate: Critical discourse and ecolinguistic analysis. *Critical Issues of Sustainable Future*, 3(1), 15–33. <https://doi.org/10.61511/crsusf.v3i1.3240>

Copyright: © 2026 by the authors. This article is distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).



activity that enhance human well-being and social equity while substantially reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities. It has become a central focus in international and national policy frameworks. In Indonesia, this agenda is articulated through strategic programs such as the Low Carbon Development Strategy (LCDS) and the Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) under the Paris Agreement. However, translating these commitments into practice remains a major challenge, as rapid economic growth and industrialization often reproduce ecological degradation, social inequality, and uneven resource distribution.

Within this broader policy landscape, Indonesia's presidential and vice-presidential debates provide a revealing microcosm for examining how competing visions of sustainability are linguistically constructed and politically legitimized. These debates are not merely communicative events; they are performative sites where ideology, policy, and identity intersect. They reflect how political actors position themselves in relation to environmental governance, negotiate tensions between development and conservation, and deploy language to project legitimacy and authority. Despite their significance, linguistic-ecological analyses of Indonesian political debates remain underdeveloped. Previous scholarship has primarily focused on rhetorical and pragmatic strategies—such as the instrumental use of scientific diction or performative speech acts to construct leadership ethos (Atanasova, 2022; Nemes et al., 2022)—while largely overlooking the ecological dimension of political communication.

Political discourse is not merely symbolic communication; it plays a constitutive role in shaping sustainability governance and public policy trajectories. The ways in which environmental issues are framed within presidential debates influence how problems are prioritized, how solutions are legitimized, and how citizens interpret the feasibility of ecological transition. Discursive constructions such as “green growth,” “energy transition,” or “agrariann justice” do more than describe policy agendas—they structure the boundaries of political imagination and define what forms of sustainability become institutionally actionable. In emerging economies such as Indonesia, where development imperatives often intersect with ecological vulnerability, political language can normalize certain pathways of modernization while marginalizing alternative ecological visions. Examining presidential debate discourse therefore provides critical insight into how sustainability outcomes are socially negotiated, contested, and translated into governance narratives that shape real-world environmental decision-making.

To address this gap, the present study synthesizes theoretical insights from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), ecolinguistics, and policy discourse studies to investigate how narratives of environmental sustainability are discursively produced within Indonesia's 2024 presidential debates. Each framework contributes a complementary analytical perspective. CDA conceptualizes language as a form of social practice that reflects and reproduces power relations and ideological formations (Fairclough, 2010; Dijk, 2014; Wodak, 2021). In the political domain, CDA elucidates how linguistic structures such as passivization, nominalization, and actor deletion function to legitimize policy agendas, obscure accountability, or naturalize particular worldviews (Rahro et al. 2024). Through Fairclough's three-dimensional model—text, discursive practice, and social practice—this framework situates micro-level linguistic choices within macro-level ideological formations, making it particularly suitable for analyzing political “green talk.”

Building on CDA, ecolinguistics introduces a distinct ecological orientation by examining how language constructs human-nature relationships. Stibbe (2015) framework of “stories we live by” identifies recurrent narrative archetypes—such as progress, decline, redemption, and stewardship—that encode moral and ecological values. Ecolinguistic analysis explores whether political discourse reinforces anthropocentric and technocratic logics or fosters ecological ethics and sustainability consciousness (Ellison, 2017; Zhou, 2021; Hussain et al., 2022; Hussain et al., 2022). Central to this approach is metaphor analysis: metaphors such as “war against pollution” or “green growth as healing” linguistically structure perception and legitimize certain policy actions while marginalizing others (Nuh & Prawira, 2023; Bellehumeur & Carignan, 2024; Johnstone &

Stickles, 2024). These metaphorical framings reveal not only rhetorical strategies but also the deeper ideological assumptions underpinning human–ecological relations.

Parallel to these theoretical approaches, policy discourse scholarship on environmental sustainability identifies two dominant frames: the technocratic or market-led frame, emphasizing efficiency, innovation, and investment Anderson et al., (2016); Liu et al., (2020); Langen et al., (2021); Montgomery et al., (2023), and the justice-centered frame, which foregrounds redistribution, ecological limits, and local community rights. Indonesia epitomizes the tension between these frames, as state narratives of downstreaming and “green industrialization” often coexist with civil society discourses on environmental justice and agrarian reform. As research on climate communication demonstrates, such framings shape public perception and policy legitimacy through recurrent linguistic mechanisms—metaphor, modality, and evidentiality (Kurniawan et al., 2021; Apriliyanti et al., 2024). Examining modality markers (“must,” “can,” “will”) and actor positioning thus provides insight into whether sustainability discourse signifies genuine policy commitment or functions primarily as symbolic “greenwashing.”

In recent years, the integration of corpus linguistics with CDA—often referred to as *critical corpus linguistics*—has enhanced the empirical rigor of discourse studies. By combining frequency, collocation, and concordance analyses with critical interpretation, researchers can trace patterns of lexical co-occurrence that reveal ideological tendencies in large datasets (Shaw & Nerlich, 2015; Nurkaidah et al., 2024; van Hulst et al., 2025). Applying this approach to Indonesian electoral debates enables the identification of recurring discursive formations that normalize technocratic optimism or, conversely, ecological stewardship. The mixed-method design therefore enhances both the validity and interpretive depth of discourse analysis in environmental communication.

Indonesia’s current policy trajectory further amplifies the relevance of this inquiry. Programs such as the energy transition roadmap, mineral downstreaming, the new capital city/*Ibu Kota Nusantara* (IKN), and food-estate development are promoted as pillars of sustainable modernization. Yet numerous studies highlight their ecological contradictions, including deforestation, dispossession, and carbon-intensive infrastructure. In this context, presidential debates serve as condensed ideological arenas where candidates selectively emphasize benefits—jobs, growth, innovation—while minimizing social and environmental costs. The linguistic strategies employed—choices of metaphor, modality, and actor visibility—thus provide a diagnostic lens into Indonesia’s evolving democratic and ecological discourse.

Despite the growing body of CDA and ecolinguistic research in Indonesia, systematic corpus-informed analyses of political debates remain scarce. This study therefore occupies a distinct position at the intersection of environmental linguistics, political communication, and sustainability studies. By constructing and analyzing a corpus of five 2024 presidential and vice-presidential debates, this research seeks to uncover how environmental sustainability, ecological justice, and sustainability narratives are discursively framed, and whether such “green” language functions primarily as rhetorical legitimization or as an expression of substantive ecological vision. Theoretically, it advances the state of the art by integrating critical and ecolinguistic perspectives in analyzing Global South political discourse. Practically, it contributes to environmental policy and media literacy by revealing how political language can either reproduce or resist unsustainable paradigms.

Building on the theoretical and empirical gaps outlined above, this study is guided by the following research questions. First, how is environmental sustainability linguistically constructed and ideologically framed within the 2024 Indonesian presidential and vice-presidential debates? Second, what narrative patterns, metaphors, and discursive strategies emerge from the interaction between technocratic development discourse and justice-oriented ecological perspectives? Third, how do these discursive constructions reflect broader tensions between economic modernization, ecological ethics, and sustainability governance in Indonesia’s political communication? By addressing these questions, the study seeks to clarify the role of political discourse not only as symbolic

rhetoric but also as a mechanism shaping public imaginaries and sustainability trajectories.

Accordingly, this study aims to, (1) examine how notions of environmental sustainability and environmental justice are linguistically constructed in Indonesia's 2024 presidential debates; (2) identify the narrative story types, metaphors, and framing devices that characterize candidates' environmental discourse; and (3) evaluate the ideological implications of these discursive patterns for the country's broader sustainability agenda. Through this integrated approach, the paper aspires to contribute to a deeper critical understanding of how environmental communication operates as both a linguistic and ideological act—shaping not only political imagination but also the moral and ecological trajectory of Indonesia's developmental future.

2. Methods

2.1 Qualitative method

This study employed a critical qualitative research design grounded in corpus-driven Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and complemented by ecolinguistic perspectives. Ontologically, it assumes that environmental discourse is socially constructed through language, with meaning shaped by ideological positioning and power relations. Epistemologically, it adopts an interpretivist stance, prioritizing the understanding of contextual, symbolic, and value-laden dimensions of discourse rather than seeking causal generalizations. This methodological orientation enables a nuanced examination of how political actors linguistically construct, legitimize, and contest environmental and sustainability narratives in Indonesia's 2024 presidential and vice-presidential debates.

The research was conducted using official Indonesian presidential and vice-presidential debate transcripts as the empirical corpus. These debates, broadcast nationwide between November 2023 and February 2024, constitute an ideal site for investigating how environmental and sustainability discourses are articulated within elite political communication. This temporal and geographical context was deliberately chosen because the debates served as one of the most influential platforms shaping public understanding of climate policy, agrariann justice, and environmental sustainability in Indonesia. The research setting—Indonesia—was thus purposefully selected for its strategic role in regional environmental governance and its discursive tensions between economic growth imperatives and ecological sustainability. All data were derived from officially published transcripts, ensuring both transparency and verifiability.

The data corpus comprised verbatim transcripts from all five official debates, which were systematically compiled, converted from PDF to plain text, and annotated to indicate speaker identity and speech turns. This preprocessing step was crucial for ensuring accurate corpus queries and facilitating reproducibility. Preliminary lexical profiling revealed a limited yet ideologically significant use of environmental terminology—such as agrariann (44 occurrences), climate (24 occurrences), downstreaming (43 occurrences), and green (23 occurrences)—providing the empirical foundation for subsequent interpretive stages. The unit of analysis was defined as clauses or discourse segments containing explicit or implicit references to ecological, environmental, or sustainability issues.

2.2 Quantitative method

The research employed a multi-phase analytical procedure that integrated quantitative corpus tools with qualitative interpretive coding. The first stage involved textual preprocessing and normalization (e.g., lowercasing for computational analysis while preserving original orthography for quotations). The second stage utilized AntConc and Voyant Tools to conduct frequency, keyword, and concordance analyses of selected environmental lexemes (e.g., green, climate, downstreaming, agrariann). Quantitative

profiling was performed using simple percentage calculations (0–100%) for each lexeme to facilitate the tracing of recurring patterns of environmental discourse across the debates.

This study employed a comprehensive multi-stage analytical design integrating quantitative techniques with qualitative interpretive coding to capture both statistical patterns and semantic nuances. This approach was selected to address the complexity of environmental discourse, which often contains layered meanings and policy-driven rhetoric articulated by presidential–vice-presidential candidates. The initial stage concentrated on text preprocessing and normalization to ensure narrative consistency and minimize interpretive bias.

Subsequently, the corpus was analyzed using AntConc and Voyant Tools, two widely recognized platforms in linguistics and digital humanities (Purwaramdhona, 2025). These tools enabled frequency mapping, keyword extraction, and concordance generation, collectively providing detailed insights into lexical distribution and contextual relationships. Particular attention was given to lexicon relevant to environmental issues—such as green, climate, downstreaming, and agrariann—since these terms function as discursive anchors in sustainability narratives and policy frameworks. Concordance analysis, in particular, revealed the pragmatic positioning of these lexicons within broader syntactic and thematic structures, illustrating patterns of emphasis, mitigation, and ideological framing.

To complement the qualitative insights, the study operationalized quantitative mechanisms through proportional indexing expressed as simple percentage distributions (0–100%) for each lexicon across the dataset. This normalization facilitated cross-sectional comparison and temporal tracking of thematic dominance within a governmental cycle. By converting raw frequency counts into percentage-based metrics, the analysis achieved interpretive clarity and enabled the identification of lexical points that signal policy priorities. These metrics were not treated merely as descriptive statistics but as diagnostic indicators of discursive significance, allowing systematic mapping of linguistic signals underlying governmental environmental narratives.

The integration of interpretive outputs informed the final analytical synthesis, wherein statistical patterns were triangulated with thematic categorizations derived from close reading. This iterative process ensured that quantitative findings remained grounded in their socio-political context, thereby mitigating the reductionism often associated with corpus-based research. The rigor of this methodological design lies in its capacity to reconcile macro-level trends with micro-level semantic nuances, offering a holistic lens through which environmental discourse can be understood as both a linguistic and ideological construction (Kurniawati et al., 2022).

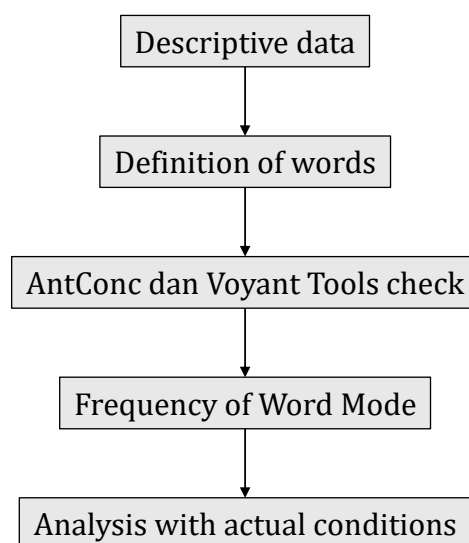


Fig. 1. Quantitative analysis process flowchart

Beyond its empirical contribution, this approach has broader implications for environmental discourse research. By demonstrating the utility of corpus tools in conjunction with qualitative interpretation, the study offers a replicable model for analyzing policy texts, media narratives, and institutional communication. Moreover, the emphasis on tracking specific lexicons introduces a scalable framework for monitoring discursive shifts over time, particularly in contexts where language serves as a proxy for evolving governance priorities. In sum, the methodological architecture of this study not only enhances analytical precision but also enriches the epistemological foundations of sustainability discourse studies. The quantitative data processing flowchart is presented in Figure 1.

2.3 Interpretation and analysis case

For qualitative interpretation, the study adopted Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) model, which consists of three interconnected levels. The first is textual analysis, which focuses on linguistic features such as modality, metaphor, passivization, and nominalization. The second is discursive practice analysis, which examines how these linguistic elements function within the communicative processes and ideological contexts of the debates. The third is social practice interpretation, which connects the discourse to broader socio-political and environmental paradigms in Indonesia.

To ensure analytical coherence, the study integrates Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis and Stibbe's ecolinguistic framework through a sequential interpretive process. The CDA model functions as the primary structural lens, guiding the identification of linguistic features such as modality, agency, metaphor, and interdiscursivity across textual, discursive, and social dimensions. These CDA findings then serve as the analytical foundation for ecolinguistic evaluation, where identified discursive patterns are interpreted through Stibbe's "stories we live by" to assess whether they promote ecologically beneficial, ambivalent, or harmful narratives. In this integrated design, CDA reveals how sustainability discourse is constructed and legitimized, while ecolinguistics evaluates the ecological ethics and narrative orientations embedded within those constructions. This complementary relationship enables the analysis to move beyond purely linguistic description toward a critical examination of how political language shapes ecological worldviews and sustainability imaginaries. In parallel, an ecolinguistic framework based on Stibbe (2015) story types—redemption, progress, sacrifice, and disaster—was applied to identify dominant ecological narratives. Each excerpt was evaluated according to its ideological orientation (pro-ecological, exploitative, or neutral) to visualize the distribution of ecological versus anthropocentric worldviews within the debates.

The data analysis phase incorporated triangulation between quantitative findings (lexical frequencies and collocational patterns) and qualitative insights (metaphor use and legitimation strategies) to strengthen methodological validity. The integration of multiple analytical lenses—corpus linguistics, CDA, and ecolinguistics—ensured both breadth and depth in interpretation. Additionally, NVivo and spreadsheet-based manual coding were employed to support systematic categorization and data display, ensuring traceability of every analytical decision.

Ethical considerations were rigorously observed. Since all data were obtained from publicly available sources, no human participants were directly involved, and the study was therefore exempt from ethical clearance requirements. Nonetheless, all quotations were faithfully contextualized to preserve semantic and pragmatic integrity, and all analytical interpretations were transparently supported by textual evidence. Methodological rigor was maintained through replicable data collection and analysis procedures, with detailed documentation of tools, parameters, and decision rules.

In summary, this study's methodological design provides a comprehensive, replicable, and theoretically grounded framework for analyzing environmental discourse in political

contexts. By combining corpus-driven analysis with critical and ecolinguistic interpretation, it reveals how environmental sustainability narratives are linguistically constructed, legitimized, and contested in the public political sphere. This hybrid approach effectively bridges the gap between linguistic inquiry and sustainability communication research, offering an adaptable model for future discourse-ecology studies.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Lexeme repetition analysis

As shown in Table 1 and Figure 2, the lexical items agrariann, climate, downstream, and green emerge as pivotal conceptual anchors structuring ideological narratives around sustainability and national development. Their recurrence and collocational patterns reveal not only how certain words dominate environmental debates, but also how they encode policy priorities and cultural imaginaries. From a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective, frequency data in this context does more than measure linguistic repetition—it exposes ideological salience. The recurrence of particular lexemes marks the normalization of specific discourses, demonstrating how language materializes power and naturalizes worldviews within the public sphere.

Table 1. The number of repetitions of the lexeme

No	Lexeme	Frequency	Collocation
1	Agrariann	42	Reform, Land Redistribution, One Map, Farmers, Indigenous Peoples
2	Climate	24	Climate Crisis, Carbon Tax, Green Energy, Impact on Food, Energy Transition
3	Downstream	43	Mining, Agriculture, Maritime, Added Value, Employment
4	Green	23	Green Energy, Green Jobs, Transition, Bioavtur, Biodiesel

The lexeme agrariann (44 occurrences), recurrently collocating with reform, land redistribution, and indigenous peoples, underscores the persistence of structural land equity and sovereignty as central national concerns. This finding confirms the endurance of agrariann justice as a moral and political foundation of Indonesian developmental thought, linking current debates to historical struggles over resource control and rural empowerment. Conversely, the prominence of downstreaming (43 occurrences), frequently paired with mining, agriculture, and added value, encapsulates the state's technocratic vision of progress. It performs an ideological fusion—what Fairclough (2010) terms “interdiscursive hybridity”—where economic growth and environmental rhetoric converge to legitimize extractive modernization.

In contrast, climate (24 occurrences) and green (23 occurrences) appear less frequently but exhibit greater semantic density. Their collocates—energy transition, carbon tax, biofuel, and green jobs—index the globalization of environmental discourse, indicating how transnational sustainability vocabularies are indigenized in the Indonesian political lexicon. This glocal adaptation process Bellehumeur and Carignan (2024) reflects Indonesia's engagement with global climate narratives while embedding them within nationalistic development frames. Collectively, the table and diagram function as integrated interpretive tools, illustrating how lexical choices mirror political ideology, policy orientation, and the evolving interrelation between ecological consciousness and economic modernization.

As illustrated in Table 1, the aggregate pattern of repetition and collocation indicates a linguistic convergence between economic pragmatism and environmental idealism. The aggregate pattern of repetition and collocation indicates a linguistic convergence between economic pragmatism and environmental idealism. The lexemes collectively function as symbolic mediators between two historically divergent rationalities: the pursuit of growth and the call for ecological restraint. In this regard, the discourse reflects what Hajer (1995)

calls “ecological modernization,” wherein sustainability is redefined as technological efficiency and market adaptability rather than systemic transformation. Thus, the data substantiate the argument that linguistic practices are ideological acts—discursively reproducing Indonesia’s developmental ethos through environmentalized rhetoric.

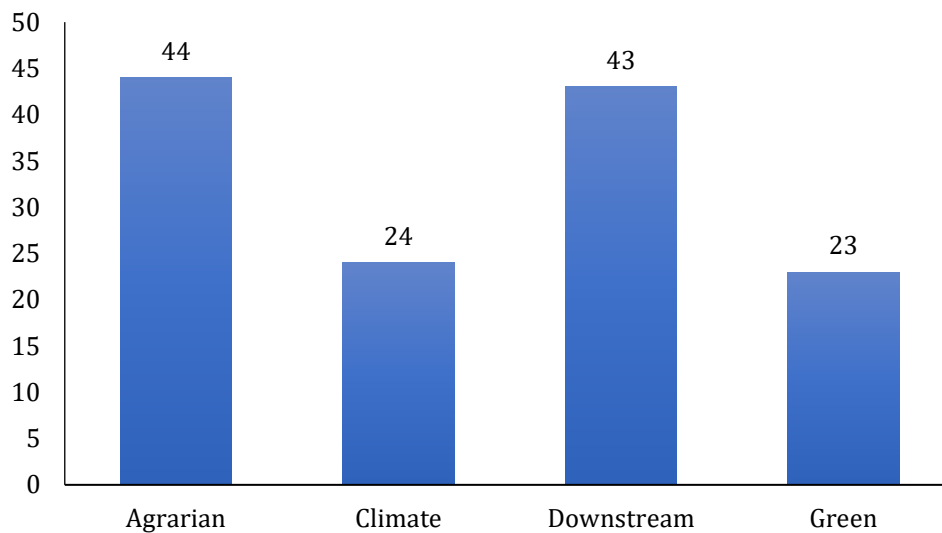


Fig. 2. Lexeme frequency distribution across the 2024 Indonesian presidential debates

Comprehensively, the occurrences of the terms agrariann (44) and downstreaming (43) dominate in an almost balanced manner, while climate (24) and green (23) occupy the second tier with a relatively consistent gap. When converted into proportions of the total 134 occurrences, agrariann accounts for approximately 32.8% and downstreaming for approximately 32.1%, together absorbing nearly two-thirds of the lexical space ($\approx 64.9\%$), whereas climate ($\approx 17.9\%$) and green ($\approx 17.2\%$) share the remaining narrative quota. The slight one-unit difference between agrariann and downstreaming indicates co-prioritization of land governance and raw-material-based industrialization strategies rather than the dominance of a single theme. Meanwhile, the ratio of agrariann to green ($44:23 \approx 1.9:1$) suggests that institutional economic narratives appear nearly twice as prominent as normative ecological narratives. The level of thematic concentration is therefore moderate—the two leading terms are strong but do not entirely displace ecological terminology, which is typically present in development policy communication seeking to balance economic legitimacy and environmental credibility.

Interpretively, the high frequency of agrariann and downstreaming generally correlates with emphases on land control and utilization reform, value-added industrial development, and productivity-oriented narratives; both function as discursive anchors shaping the policy framework and performance indicators. Conversely, climate and green in the second tier tend to serve normative framing functions—providing legitimacy, articulating aspirational goals (“sustainable,” “low-emission”), or acting as rhetorical counterweights—yet have not become the main gravitational center of the discourse. This pattern typically reflects a hierarchical prioritization in which institutional economic language constructs the core agenda (what is being done), while ecological language affirms the value orientation (why it matters). Concordance analysis, which is not visible in the quantitative graph, will be crucial to determine whether “climate” and “green” appear with technical collocates such as mitigation, adaptation, energy transition, or efficiency, or whether they function more as slogans. Similarly, it is important to examine whether agrariann and downstreaming co-occur with policy modality markers such as will, targets, promotes, and quantitative indicators that typically signal program operationalization.

While frequency provides strong signals of discursive prominence, several nuances must be considered to ensure a comprehensive interpretation. First, frequency does not

equate to significance; a single occurrence of climate containing a regulatory commitment may have greater policy impact than several descriptive mentions of downstreaming. Thus, contextual depth regarding valence, modality intensity, and speaker agency must be examined. Second, lexical and morphological variation—such as agrarianan, decarbonization, greening, green economy, downstream—may cause the core frequencies to appear lower than the underlying thematic presence; synonym normalization is therefore necessary for accurate discourse mapping. Third, corpus composition—including document type, temporal scope, and policy event context—shapes distribution; diachronic and sub-genre segmentation (e.g., speeches, press releases, policy drafts) will help distinguish temporary surges from structural trends. Fourth, visual representations such as 3D charts may exaggerate minor differences; reporting percentages and uncertainty intervals, where available, will improve interpretive transparency. By integrating frequency data with collocation patterns, concordance analysis, co-occurrence networks, and modality inspection across sub-corpora, the findings can be developed into a more layered discourse map—one in which institutional economic priorities form the central axis, ecological norms function as legitimizing devices, and the interplay between the two shapes the overarching narrative of development and sustainability.

3.2 Ideological tensions in the 2024 Indonesian Presidential debates

The 2024 presidential debates provide a revealing microcosm of Indonesia's broader ideological contestations. The juxtaposition of technocratic-growth and justice-ecological narratives exposes a fundamental epistemic divide regarding what sustainability entails for a postcolonial, developing society. The former conceptualizes environmental management as an instrument of modernization and competitiveness, while the latter envisions it as moral reparation and socio-ecological balance. Though both invoke the language of "green development," their ontological assumptions remain profoundly divergent.

The technocratic bloc, exemplified by Prabowo, Gibran, and Ganjar, framed *green* (green) as a semiotic emblem of modernity—connoting technological prowess, digital innovation, and industrial transformation. This framing resonates with Dryzek (2013) notion of ecological modernization, wherein environmental discourse is assimilated into capitalist rationality, legitimizing the state's modernization agenda. Conversely, Mahfud and Muhaimin's rhetoric re-signified green as ethical restitution—restoring balance among humanity, society, and nature. This alternative discourse embodies green moralism, integrating ecological ethics, Islamic spirituality, and agrarian justice within a post-secular political imagination.

Corpus analysis identifies downstreaming (43 occurrences) as a "master signifier" (Laclau and Mouffe C (2001) that anchors the technocratic discourse of progress. Its semantic field fuses industrial and ecological lexicons—mining, agriculture, added value, and employment—performing what Zizek et al., (2012) calls "ideological suturing," a discursive stitching of incompatible logics (growth and restraint). Through repeated deployment, *downstreaming* attains "semantic saturation" Machin and Mayr (2012), normalizing the equation of sustainability with industrial productivity, thus displacing ecocentric alternatives. This lexical dominance linguistically masks extractivist continuities beneath the surface of green rhetoric—a discursive form of greenwashing.

Yet, as Bappenas (2021) warns, Indonesia's reliance on resource-based industrialization entails significant socio-environmental risks—deforestation, pollution, and displacement—which remain linguistically invisible in political discourse. Thus, the technocratic greening evident in the debates may constitute a form of discursive greenwashing—aligning rhetorically with environmental ideals without addressing structural extractivism.

Conversely, the justice-ecological discourse articulated by Mahfud and Muhaimin foregrounds what Stibbe (2015) calls life-affirming stories. Their recurrent use of *keadilan agrarian* (agrarian justice), *masyarakat adat* (indigenous communities), and *tobat*

ekologis (ecological repentance) reinstates moral accountability and collective ethics within sustainability narratives. This resonates with Resosudarmo et al. (2023), who argue that Indonesia's sustainability must be grounded in socio-ecological justice rather than market efficiency. Mahfud's Qur'anic references and Muhaimin's emphasis on environmental ethics and intergenerational change reflect what Hussain et al. (2022) describe as eco-Islamic ethics—a moral framework linking human action, divine accountability, and environmental stewardship. Such discourse departs from anthropocentric modernism, emphasizing humility, repentance, and redistribution over productivity.

3.3 Agency and representation

Analysis of actor representation reveals a systematic suppression of agency within technocratic discourse. Passive syntactic constructions such as will be built (*akan dibangun*), considered (*dipertimbangkan*), and will be done (*akan dilakukan*) diffuse responsibility and obscure human intentionality, thereby depersonalizing governance. This syntactic erasure aligns with van Dijk (2014) framework of elite discourse control, where grammatical invisibility sustains power asymmetries. In contrast, Mahfud's and Muhaimin's use of active constructions— we will return the people's rights, we will collect ecological debts (*kami akan mengembalikan hak rakyat, kami akan tagih utang ekologis*)—reinstates moral agency and accountability. Thus, grammar itself becomes ideological terrain, encoding distinct visions of political responsibility and ethical subjectivity.

3.4 Metaphor and ideological framing

Metaphorical constructions constitute another critical dimension of ideological differentiation. The technocratic discourse employs *progress metaphors* such as leap to become a developed country and national transformation (*melompat menjadi negara maju and transformasi bangsa*), situating sustainability within a teleological narrative of advancement. Such metaphors naturalize anthropocentric temporality—equating modernization with virtue and equating nature's value with its utility. Conversely, redemptive metaphors like ecological repentance and balance between humans and nature articulate an ecocentric worldview grounded in moral humility and restoration. These moral metaphors reposition sustainability as ethical atonement, linking environmental stewardship to cultural and spiritual renewal. As Charteris-Black (2018) argues, such metaphors perform ideological legitimations, naturalizing political stances as moral common sense. The ecological-justice narrative, by invoking religion and moral duty, reclaims sustainability as an ethical rather than technocratic domain.

3.5 Quantitative findings and glocal interpretation

The disparity between agrarian (44) and climate (24) substantiates the argument that Indonesia's sustainability discourse is locally rooted yet globally inflected. While climate indexes globalized concerns of carbon, crisis, and transition, agrarian evokes deeply local moral geographies of justice and access. This glocal pattern supports Bellehumeur & Carignan (2024) thesis that Global South ecolinguistics recontextualizes international environmental vocabularies within indigenous moral idioms. Hence, agrarian functions as a culturally resonant counter-discourse to the technocratic abstraction of *climate*, grounding environmentalism in everyday lived experience.

However, the analysis also reveals a persistent implementation gap between rhetorical ambition and policy specificity. Despite extensive use of green energy and sustainable development, candidates failed to articulate measurable targets or fiscal mechanisms. As Jackson (2024) notes, such policy unverifiability transforms sustainability discourse into symbolic capital rather than concrete regulation. The performative

invocation of green thus functions more to legitimize authority than to enforce accountability.

3.6 Thematic synthesis and broader implications

The 2024 presidential debates crystallize the enduring dialectic between developmentalism and moral ecology. The dominance of downstreaming and economic transformation narratives manifests the persistence of growth-oriented nationalism, while the re-emergence of reforma agrarian and *tobat ekologis* signals a moral resistance to extractivist modernity. This hybridity exemplifies Fairclough (2010) notion of interdiscursivity—the fusion of heterogeneous discourse types to negotiate ideological contradiction. Consequently, sustainability in Indonesia appears less as a fixed policy object than as an ongoing dialogical performance in which language mediates competing moral economies of progress and care.

Environmental language operates as symbolic currency, enabling candidates to project modernity, morality, and inclusivity simultaneously. Beneath this rhetorical consensus, however, lies a deeper ideological conflict between neoliberal industrialism and ethical environmentalism. Extending the work of Stibbe (2015) and Fairclough (2010), this study demonstrates that sustainability discourse in the Global South functions both as a mirror and a mediator of civilization's moral contradictions—where the promise of progress and the plea for redemption coexist in perpetual negotiation.

The findings illuminate the interdependence of language, ideology, and governance in shaping environmental imaginaries. From a policy standpoint, the dominance of technocratic-green rhetoric risks perpetuating what Sumarno et al., (2022) term developmental inertia—a structural privileging of growth over ecological integrity. The prominence of downstreaming and industrial transformation in the 2024 debates indicates that environmental language has been co-opted as a legitimizing instrument for neoliberal developmentalism, aligning national progress with extractive expansion. Consequently, sustainability is linguistically reimagined not as a reorientation of human-nature relations, but as a continuation of the growth paradigm under a renewed moral vocabulary.

From a governance perspective, technocratic sustainability narratives may unintentionally depoliticize ecological conflicts by framing environmental issues as technical management problems rather than contested socio-ecological struggles. Such discursive framing risks narrowing policy imagination, privileging efficiency-driven industrial solutions while marginalizing community-based or redistributive ecological alternatives. When sustainability is predominantly articulated through economic modernization discourse, it may reinforce extractivist development pathways under a “green” semantic veneer, thereby complicating genuine ecological transformation. For policymakers, recognizing these discursive effects is crucial, as linguistic framing influences how environmental priorities are institutionalized, funded, and evaluated within governance structures. Consequently, integrating ethically grounded narratives—such as agrarian justice and ecological stewardship—into policy communication could help bridge the gap between symbolic sustainability rhetoric and actionable environmental governance.

This observation underscores the urgent need for policymakers to move beyond rhetorical “greening” and establish concrete governance mechanisms—such as carbon budgeting, just energy transition programs, and transparent land reform frameworks—that embed ecological accountability within institutional practices. By grounding sustainability in actionable, verifiable policies, Indonesia can bridge the gap between symbolic rhetoric and transformative governance.

From a discourse-theoretical perspective, the study demonstrates that linguistic form is a site of ideological production. The collocational patterns and metaphorical frames identified here illustrate how language constructs permissible meanings of “sustainability,” delineating the boundaries of political imagination. To enhance

democratic accountability, future sustainability communication in Indonesia must engage the moral, agrarian, and religious registers of local communities, translating policy jargon into culturally resonant narratives of care and justice.

This imbalance risks alienating local communities and environmental movements, as the technocratic language of policy rarely resonates with the moral and cultural idioms that shape everyday ecological practices. As Resosudarmo et al., (2023) emphasizes, sustainability communication in Indonesia must be culturally grounded and dialogical, translating ecological concepts into the moral, agrarian, and religious vocabularies embedded in local lifeworlds. The reemergence of agrarian justice and *tobat ekologis* within the debates demonstrates that such vocabularies persist at the grassroots level, providing a fertile linguistic foundation for more inclusive and ethical environmental governance. From a governance standpoint, the study identifies a persistent implementation gap between rhetorical ambition and operational planning. Candidates' frequent references to green energy and sustainable development were not supported by measurable indicators, budgetary allocations, or institutional mechanisms. As Jackson (2024) notes, such policy unverifiability transforms environmental discourse into symbolic capital rather than regulatory commitment.

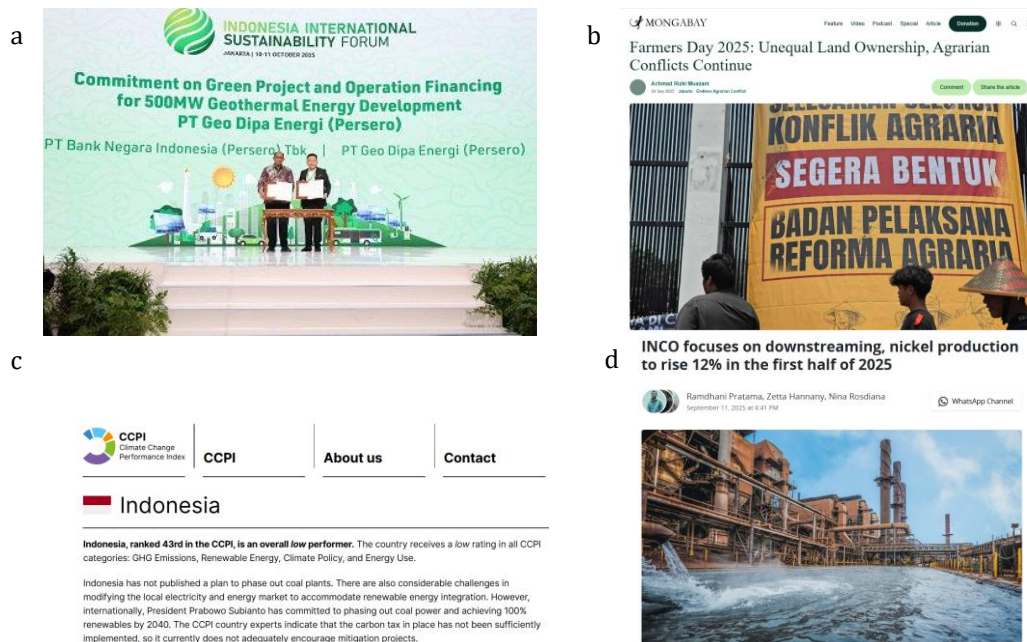


Fig. 3. Discursive prominence versus policy realization of sustainability lexemes during the first year of governance (BNI, 2025; CCPI, n.d.; Muazam, 2025; Pratama et al., 2025)

Without institutional anchoring, “environmental sustainability” risks devolving into discursive performance—a means of political branding rather than an instrument of transformative change. Therefore, integrating linguistic accountability into governance design is essential. Political actors and policymakers must ensure that sustainability rhetoric corresponds to transparent, measurable, and enforceable action plans, allowing public discourse to evolve from symbolic affirmation toward concrete reform. To contextualize the discursive patterns identified earlier, Figure 3 links lexical prominence with broader governance outcomes and media representations.

As shown in Figure 3, the percentage distribution of key lexemes reveals a divergence between discursive prominence and policy realization within the first year of governance. This shows that the topic of green energy has great potential even though it is not yet the main focus. Meanwhile, the word "downstreaming" appears with a percentage of 86%, and is proven to be directly proportional to good economic growth results. The government's focus on industrial downstreaming has succeeded in providing a significant boost to

increasing the added value of domestic products. In contrast to the word "climate" which appears by 50%. This percentage is not directly proportional to actual conditions, because the maintenance and handling of climate issues in Indonesia is still showing a decline. Although the attention to this issue is relatively good, its implementation in the field has not been in accordance with public expectations. The word "agrarian" shows the highest percentage, which is 87%, but it is not directly proportional to the realization in the field. This is evidenced by the fact that there are still many agrarian cases that have not been resolved during one year of the government.

Thus, the high level of attention in public discourse has not been fully followed by concrete actions in agrarian policy. Despite its comprehensive analytical framework, the study acknowledges several limitations. The corpus is limited to five official debate transcripts, which, while politically authoritative, capture only the formalized, performative dimensions of discourse. Political messaging in informal settings—campaign rallies, policy documents, interviews, and media coverage—may reveal additional layers of meaning and inconsistency. Moreover, transcriptional and tokenization constraints (due to OCR errors in PDF conversion) may have introduced minor inaccuracies in lexical frequency counts. Future research should therefore expand the corpus to include multi-modal data (text, audiovisual, and social media discourse) and employ advanced corpus-linguistic tools for collocation networks and sentiment analysis. Such triangulation would deepen our understanding of the performative construction of sustainability in both elite and popular discourse.

Lastly, the study offers an important conceptual and practical contribution. Conceptually, it reframes the "environmental sustainability" as a discursive battleground where national identity, moral legitimacy, and developmental ideology intersect. Practically, it provides an evidence-based linguistic map for evaluating environmental rhetoric in political communication. By identifying recurring lexical clusters (agrarian, downstreaming, climate, green), metaphors (progress, balance, redemption), and modality structures (must, will, must/required), the study equips scholars, journalists, and civil society actors with tools to critically assess the sincerity, coherence, and accountability of political sustainability claims. Such discourse-based evaluation mechanisms are vital for democratic environmental governance, ensuring that ecological promises are matched by ethical and institutional performance.

In conclusion, the "environmental sustainability" as constructed in the 2024 Indonesian presidential debates emerges not as a monolithic policy vision but as a heterogeneous and contested linguistic project. The coexistence of technocratic and ethical discourses demonstrates that sustainability in Indonesia is at once a promise of progress and a plea for redemption. The language of the debates reveals how environmental issues are mobilized to negotiate legitimacy, morality, and identity in a rapidly transforming society. While the rhetoric of modernization continues to dominate quantitatively, the moral counter-discourse rooted in agrarian justice, religious ethics, and ecological stewardship signifies an enduring resistance to the commodification of nature. Thus, sustainability in the Indonesian context is best understood as a dialogical process—a continuous conversation between the imperatives of growth and the ethics of care, between industrial modernity and spiritual ecology. In this interplay, language functions both as the medium of political persuasion and as the mirror of civilization's moral consciousness.

Furthermore, the findings bear significant implications for critical environmental sociology and political ecology. The linguistic convergence of economic and ecological lexicons—evident in expressions such as downstreaming green, green energy, and sustainable national transformation—illustrates what Žižek et al., (2012) terms ideological suturing: the discursive stitching together of conflicting logics (growth and restraint, exploitation and ethics) to conceal systemic contradictions.

This process allows political actors to sustain both developmentalist and environmentalist identities, thereby appealing to divergent constituencies. However, such synthesis can perpetuate contradictions between ecological ethics and economic

imperatives if unaccompanied by structural reform. Theoretically, this underscores the role of discourse not merely as a reflection but as a productive force—sustainability exists as much in what is said as in what is enacted.

Moreover, minor transcriptional inaccuracies (arising from PDF-to-text conversion and tokenization constraints) may have influenced lexical frequency counts. Future research should therefore broaden the dataset to include multi-modal corpora (textual, audiovisual, and social media discourse) and employ advanced corpus-linguistic tools for collocation mapping, sentiment analysis, and intertextual tracing. Such triangulation will deepen the understanding of how sustainability narratives are performatively constructed and contested across Indonesia's political and cultural spheres. Conceptually, the study reframes "environmental sustainability" as a discursive battleground where national identity, moral legitimacy, and developmental ideology intersect. Practically, it provides an evidence-based linguistic framework for evaluating environmental rhetoric in political communication.

By identifying recurring lexical clusters (agrarian, downstreaming, climate, green), metaphorical patterns (progress, balance, redemption), and modality structures (must, will, must, required), this study equips scholars, journalists, and civil society with diagnostic tools to assess the sincerity, coherence, and accountability of political sustainability claims. Such discourse-based evaluation mechanisms are essential for democratic environmental governance, ensuring that ecological promises are matched by ethical and institutional performance.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, the 2024 Indonesian presidential debates reveal that "environmental sustainability" is not a stable, unified policy vision, but a contested linguistic and ideological arena. Rather than functioning as a neutral term, sustainability becomes a battleground where competing agendas—economic expansion, ecological protection, technological advancement, and moral obligation—vie for dominance. This discursive competition demonstrates that what appears as a shared commitment to environmental protection is, in practice, a negotiation of values, priorities, and political authority.

The debates display a coexistence of technocratic sustainability, framed through the language of industrial policy, economic growth, and modernization (e.g., downstreaming, transformasi industri, green energy investment), and ethical sustainability, articulated through appeals to ecological justice, resource guardianship, and agrarian welfare. These two discourses do not simply differ in vocabulary; they represent distinct ideological orientations. Technocratic discourse positions sustainability as a tool for increasing national competitiveness, while ethical discourse treats the environment as a site of moral responsibility and collective care. Thus, sustainability serves a dual function: it operates simultaneously as a promise of development and as a moral plea for stewardship.

The analysis confirms that environmental expressions in political discourse function as symbolic capital—linguistic resources used to secure credibility, legitimacy, and authority. Candidates do not only debate environmental issues; they invest in language to strategically construct themselves as rational policy architects or as ethical guardians of the people and the land. Beneath the apparent political consensus lies a deeper ideological struggle: neoliberal industrialism versus eco-ethical responsibility, a clash reflective of Indonesia's ongoing negotiation of its postcolonial modernity. This tension illustrates how the nation continues to balance its desire to ascend in global markets with a persistent, culturally rooted valuation of nature as sacred, communal, and life-sustaining.

For the field of applied linguistics, particularly within the context of environmental governance, this study highlights the importance of analyzing how linguistic choices perform ideological work. It demonstrates the methodological value of integrating frequency analysis, collocation patterns, and metaphor study to expose the hidden power dynamics shaping policy narratives. Such tools allow us to see how often certain concepts dominate, which words they align with, and how metaphors subtly legitimize political

orientations—whether nature is framed as a “resource to process,” a “heritage to protect,” or a “mother to care for.”

Ultimately, sustainability discourse in Indonesia should be understood as a dialogical process: a continuous negotiation between the imperatives of development and the ethics of environmental care, between industrial modernity and spiritual ecology. Language emerges not merely as a channel of political persuasion, but as a mirror of civilizational values, reflecting how a society imagines justice, progress, and its relationship to the natural world. The Indonesian case shows that environmental debates are never only about policy—they are about identity, morality, and the future direction of the nation.

Acknowledgement

The author would like to express sincere gratitude to the Universitas Negeri Jakarta for providing the academic environment and institutional support that made this research possible. Special appreciation is extended to the supervisors and colleagues at the Postgraduate School for their insightful feedback during the conceptualization and development of this study. The author also wishes to thank the reviewers and peers whose constructive comments greatly improved the clarity and rigor of the manuscript.

The author acknowledges the assistance of colleagues who contributed to the data collection and transcription of the presidential and vice-presidential debate materials, as well as those who provided valuable discussions on ecolinguistic and critical discourse methodologies. Appreciation is also given to the language and technical editors who offered support in refining the manuscript’s academic expression and formatting. Finally, the author extends heartfelt thanks to family and friends for their constant encouragement, patience, and moral support throughout the research and writing process.

Author Contribution

The author solely conducted the conceptualization, methodology, data collection, analysis, interpretation, visualization, and manuscript preparation for this study. No external funding or supervision was involved. Conceptualization, S.F.; Methodology, S.F.; Software, S.F.; Validation, S.F.; Formal Analysis, S.F.; Investigation, S.F.; Resources, S.F.; Data Curation, S.F.; Writing – Original Draft Preparation, S.F.; Writing – Review & Editing, S.F.; Visualization, S.F.; Supervision, S.F.; Project Administration, S.F.

Funding

This research received no external funding.

Ethical Review Board Statements

Not available.

Informed Consent Statements

Not available.

Data Availability Statements

The data supporting this study are obtained from publicly accessible transcripts of the 2024 Indonesian presidential and vice-presidential debates. All materials analyzed were drawn from verified public sources. No new datasets were created or proprietary data used. Processed corpus files are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

Conflicts of Interest

The author declare no conflict of interest.

Declaration of Generative AI Use

During the preparation of this work, the author used ChatGPT to assist in improving clarity, coherence, and academic expression of the manuscript. After using this tool, the author reviewed and edited the content as needed and takes full responsibility for the content of the publication.

Open Access

©2026. The author(s). This article is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License, which permits use, sharing, adaptation, distribution and reproduction in any medium or format, as long as you give appropriate credit to the original author(s) and the source, provide a link to the Creative Commons license, and indicate if changes were made. The images or other third-party material in this article are included in the article's Creative Commons license, unless indicated otherwise in a credit line to the material. If material is not included in the article's Creative Commons license and your intended use is not permitted by statutory regulation or exceeds the permitted use, you will need to obtain permission directly from the copyright holder. To view a copy of this license, visit: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

References

- Alexander, S., Aronson, J., Whaley, O., & Lamb, D. (2016). The relationship between ecological restoration and the ecosystem services concept. *Ecology and Society*, 21(1).
- Anderson, Z. R., Kusters, K., McCarthy, J., & Obidzinski, K. (2016). Green growth rhetoric versus reality: Insights from Indonesia. *Global Environmental Change*, 38, 30–40. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2016.02.008>
- Apriliyanti, I. D., Nugraha, D. B., Kristiansen, S., & Overland, I. (2024). To reform or not reform? Competing energy transition perspectives on Indonesia's monopoly electricity supplier Perusahaan Listrik Negara (PLN). *Energy Research & Social Science*, 118, 103797. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2024.103797>
- Atanasova, D. (2022). How Constructive News Outlets Reported the Synergistic Effects of Climate Change and Covid-19 Through Metaphors. *Journalism Practice*, 16(2–3), 384–403. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2021.1968311>
- Ballew, M. T., Thomas-Walters, L., Goldberg, M. H., Verner, M., Lu, J., Marshall, J., Rosenthal, S. A., & Leiserowitz, A. (2025). Climate change messages can promote support for climate action globally. *Global Environmental Change*, 90, 102951. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2024.102951>
- Bappenas. (2021). *A Green Economy For A Net-Zero Future: How Indonesia can build back better after COVID-19* (I, Issue LLCDI). Kementrian Bappenas.
- Bellehumeur, C. R., & Carignan, L. M. (2024). On proposing relational environmental metaphors to stimulate engagement and foster well-being in the midst of climate change. *Frontiers in Psychiatry*, 15(May), 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsy.2024.1377205>
- BNI. (2025). *BNI Supports the Construction and Operation of PT Geo Dipa Energi (Persero)'s 500 MW Geothermal Energy Plant*. Bank Negara Indonesia. <https://www.bni.co.id/id-id/beranda/kabar-bni/berita/articleid/25632>
- Charteris-Black, J. (2018). *Analysing Political Speeches: Rhetoric, Discourse and Metaphor*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- CCPI. (n.d.). *Indonesia*. Climate Change Performance Index. <https://ccpi.org/country/idn/>
- Dryzek, J. S. (2013). *The Politics of the Earth: Environmental Discourses*. OUP Oxford.
- Ellison, K. (2017). Book review: Arran Stibbe, *Ecolinguistics: Language, Ecology and the Stories We Live By*. *Discourse Studies*, 19(1), 113–115. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445616683588a>
- Fairclough, N. (2010). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language (2nd ed.)* (Routledge (ed.)). <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315834368>
- Ferreira, J. J., Lopes, J. M., Gomes, S., & Dias, C. (2023). Diverging or converging to a green

- world? Impact of green growth measures on countries' economic performance. *Environment, Development and Sustainability*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10668-023-02991-x>
- Hussain, Z., Mehmood, B., Khan, M. K., & Tsimisaraka, R. S. M. (2022). Green Growth, Green Technology, and Environmental Health: Evidence From High-GDP Countries. *Frontiers in Public Health*, 9(January), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2021.816697>
- Jackson, J. (2024). Trading-off or trading-in? A critical political economy perspective of green growth's policy framing. *Globalizations*, 21(7), 1309–1329. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2024.2348259>
- Johnstone, C., & Stickles, E. (2024). Navigating the climate change minefield: the influence of metaphor on climate doomism. *Frontiers in Communication*, 9(May), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fcomm.2024.1380092>
- Kevin van Langen, S., Vassillo, C., Ghisellini, P., Restaino, D., Passaro, R., & Ulgiati, S. (2021). Promoting circular economy transition: A study about perceptions and awareness by different stakeholders groups. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 316, 128166. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2021.128166>
- Kurniawan, T. A., Avtar, R., Singh, D., Xue, W., Dzarfan Othman, M. H., Hwang, G. H., Iswanto, I., Albadarin, A. B., & Kern, A. O. (2021). Reforming MSWM in Sukunan (Yogyakarta, Indonesia): A case-study of applying a zero-waste approach based on circular economy paradigm. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 284, 124775. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2020.124775>
- Kurniawati, W., Ekoyanantiasih, R., Yulianti, S., Hardaniawati, M., Sasangka, S. W., & Firdaus, W. (2022). Kekuasaan Semantik dalam Analisis Wacana Kritis Debat Capres-Cawapres. *Ranah: Jurnal Kajian Bahasa*, 11(1), 165–179. <https://doi.org/10.26499/rnh.v11i1.4966>
- Laclau, E., & Mouffe C. (2001). Hegemony and Social Strategy. In *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*.
- Liu, F. H. M., Ganesan, V., & Smith, T. E. L. (2020). Contrasting communications of sustainability science in the media coverage of palm oil agriculture on tropical peatlands in Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. *Environmental Science & Policy*, 114, 162–169. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envsci.2020.07.004>
- Machin, D., & Mayr, A. (2012). Review of How to do critical discourse analysis. In *Sage* (p. 242).
- Montgomery, A. Wren, Lyon, Thomas P, & Barg, Julian. (2023). No End in Sight? A Greenwash Review and Research Agenda. *Organization & Environment*, 37(2), 221–256. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10860266231168905>
- Muazam, A. R. (2025). *Hari Tani 2025: Kuasa Tanah Timpang, Konflik Agrarian Terus Terjadi*. Mongabay. <https://mongabay.co.id/2025/09/24/hari-tani-2025-kuasa-tanah-timpang-konflik-agrarian-terus-terjadi/>
- Nemes, N., Scanlan, S. J., Smith, P., Smith, T., Aronczyk, M., Hill, S., Lewis, S. L., Montgomery, A. W., Tubiello, F. N., & Stabinsky, D. (2022). An Integrated Framework to Assess Greenwashing. In *Sustainability* (Vol. 14, Issue 8, p. 4431). <https://doi.org/10.3390/su14084431>
- Nuh, S. K., & Prawira, I. (2023). An ecolinguistic analysis of climate change news in Indonesia: The case of Mongabay. *E3S Web of Conferences*, 426. <https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/202342602119>
- Nurkaidah, Anas, A., & Baharuddin, T. (2024). Implementation of environmental policies on the development of a new capital city in Indonesia. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 10(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2023.2297764>
- Pratama, R., Hannany, Z., & Rosdiana, N. (2025). *INCO focuses on downstreaming, nickel production to rise 12% in the first half of 2025*. IDN Financials. <https://www.idnfinancials.com/id/news/57196/inco-fokus-hilirisasi-produksi-nikel-semester-i-2025-naik-12>
- Purwaramdhona, A. B. (2025). Penggunaan analisis korpus melalui aplikasi AntConc

- dalam penelitian karya sastra. *Diglosia: Jurnal Kajian Bahasa, Sastra, Dan Pengajarannya*, 8(2), 359–374. <https://doi.org/10.30872/diglosia.v8i2.1198>
- Radtke, J., & Renn, O. (2024). Participation in Energy Transitions: A Comparison of Policy Styles. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 118, 103743. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2024.103743>
- Rahro, H. R., Jebelli, P., & Azimfard, F. (2024). Critical discourse analysis of presidential candidates TV debates between Ebrahim Raisi and Abdolnaser Hemmati in Iran's 2021 presidential election. *Social Sciences & Humanities Open*, 10, 101040. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2024.101040>
- Resosudarmo, B. P., Rezki, J. F., & Effendi, Y. (2023). Prospects of Energy Transition in Indonesia. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 59(2), 149–177. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2023.2238336>
- Shaw, C., & Nerlich, B. (2015). Metaphor as a mechanism of global climate change governance: A study of international policies, 1992–2012. *Ecological Economics*, 109, 34–40. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2014.11.001>
- Stibbe, A. (2015). *Ecolinguistics: Language, Ecology and the Stories We Live By*. Taylor & Francis.
- Sumarno, T. B., Sihotang, P., & Prawiraatmadja, W. (2022). Exploring Indonesia's energy policy failures through the JUST framework. *Energy Policy*, 164(June 2021), 112914. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2022.112914>
- van Dijk, T. A. (2014). *Discourse and Knowledge: A Sociocognitive Approach*. Cambridge University Press.
- van Hulst, M., Metze, T., Dewulf, A., de Vries, J., van Bommel, S., & van Ostaijen, M. (2025). Discourse, framing and narrative: three ways of doing critical, interpretive policy analysis. *Critical Policy Studies*, 19(1), 74–96. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2024.2326936>
- Wodak, R. (2021). *The Politics of Fear: The Shameless Normalization of Far-right Discourse*. Sage.
- Zhou, W. (2021). Book review: Arran Stibbe, *Ecolinguistics: Language, Ecology and the Stories We Live By*. *Discourse Studies*, 23(3), 420–422. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445621998094c>
- Zizek, S., Abercrombie, N., Adorno, T., Althusser, L., & Barrett, M. (2012). *Mapping Ideology*. Verso Books.

Biography of Author

Saiyidinal Firdaus, I earned my Bachelor's degree in English Literature from Prayoga School of Foreign Language (2018). Then, I earned my Master's degree in Linguistics from Universitas Indonesia (2021) and I am currently pursuing a Doctorate in Applied Linguistics at Universitas Negeri Jakarta. My research interests encompass applied linguistics, discourse analysis, sociolinguistics, and semiotics. I have published extensively in national and international journals, focusing on language, media discourse, and cultural studies.

- Email: saiyidinalfirdaus1995@gmail.com
- ORCID: 0009-0007-1400-2479
- Web of Science ResearcherID: OOM-4207-2025
- Scopus Author ID: N/A
- Homepage:
<https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=L4mjgqsAAAAJ&hl=en>