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Talking poverty into policy: welfare keywords, moral economy, and the discursive governance of inequality in Indonesia

M. Rifa Jamaludin Nasir
Universitas Islam Negeri Salatiga

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ABSTRACT

Background: Indonesia's poverty-policy discourse increasingly translates inequality into administrative categories, yet less is known about how welfare keywords govern public understandings of poverty, responsibility, and deservingness. **Objective:** This study examines how Indonesian welfare discourse constructs poverty as a policy object through recurring keywords, moral-economy frames, and discursive-governance mechanisms. **Method:** Using a corpus-assisted critical discourse design, this study analyses 31 public and verifiable documents comprising official policy texts, statistical communications, academic sources, and contextual media or institutional materials. **Results:** Welfare vocabulary is dominated by targeting, data integration, social assistance, poverty reduction, empowerment, vulnerability, and inequality, showing that poverty is linguistically stabilized before it becomes administratively actionable. **Results:** Moral-economy framing positions poor citizens simultaneously as vulnerable beneficiaries, verifiable recipients, and productive subjects expected to move toward self-reliance. **Results:** Discursive governance operates through datafication, beneficiary selection, institutional coordination, delivery accountability, risk protection, and developmental inclusion. **Implication:** These findings suggest that welfare language is not secondary communication about policy but part of policy governance itself. **Novelty:** This study contributes a tripartite analytical model that integrates keyword mapping, moral-economy analysis, and governance coding to explain how inequality is talked into policy in Indonesia.

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Corresponding Author:

M. Rifa Jamaludin Nasir
Universitas Islam Negeri Salatiga
Jl. Lingkar Salatiga Km. 2, Pulutan, Sidorejo, Salatiga, Jawa Tengah, 50714, Indonesia
Email: rifa.jamaluddin@uinsalatiga.ac.id

1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia's poverty problem is no longer adequately understood only as a matter of aggregate decline, because official progress coexists with persistent vulnerability, regional unevenness, and contested meanings of welfare. Statistics Indonesia [1] reported that, in September 2025, 8.25% of Indonesia's population, or 23.36 million people, remained below the national poverty line, despite a decrease from March 2025. The World Bank's [2] updated poverty lines similarly show that Indonesia's poverty profile changes substantially depending on the threshold used: 5.4% of Indonesians were poor under the international extreme poverty line in 2024, while 19.9% fell below the lower-middle-income line and 68.3% below the upper-middle-income line. These divergent measurements indicate that poverty is not merely counted; it is institutionally defined, morally narrated, and politically governed. For this reason, welfare language deserves analytical attention as a site where inequality becomes administratively visible, publicly acceptable, and policy actionable.

Recent scholarship on Indonesia has produced substantial knowledge about poverty dynamics, social protection, welfare regimes, and policy reform. Hill (2021) [3] traces long-term changes in poverty and inequality, while Nugroho et al. (2021) [4] examine progress and reform challenges in poverty eradication. Purwono et al. (2021) [5] analyse poverty dynamics through multiple empirical approaches, and Yuda and Kühner (2022) [6] position Indonesia within global welfare-regime debates. More discourse-sensitive work has examined social protection distribution [7], policy semantics in Indonesian [8], knowledge politics in cash-transfer regimes [9], neoliberal inequalities in Indonesian social sciences [10], and moral economy in rural social-security arrangements [11]. However, this literature has not yet sufficiently examined how welfare keywords themselves organize poverty as a governable object. This gap justifies a corpus-assisted discourse inquiry into how poverty-policy language constructs inequality, responsibility, deservingness, and state intervention.

This study investigates how Indonesian welfare discourse transforms poverty from a socioeconomic condition into a policy category through recurring keywords, evaluative frames, and institutional vocabularies. It asks three interrelated questions. First, which welfare keywords recur across official, media, and contextual policy texts, and how do they stabilize particular meanings of poverty and inequality? Second, how do these keywords construct moral distinctions between vulnerability, dependency, responsibility, productivity, and deservingness? Third, how does welfare discourse govern inequality through the language of targeting, data integration, empowerment, coordination, resilience, and social assistance? These questions are addressed through a corpus-assisted critical discourse approach that links keyword mapping, moral-economy framing, and discursive-governance analysis. This design does not claim that language causes poverty reduction; rather, it examines how language makes poverty legible for intervention and how specific terms authorize particular forms of administrative and moral action.

This study advances the argument that Indonesian poverty-policy discourse governs inequality by combining statistical rationality with moral economy. Welfare keywords such as assistance, empowerment, targeting, vulnerability, resilience, and productivity do not function as neutral policy labels; they condense assumptions about who needs help, who deserves support, and what kinds of conduct public policy should encourage. This argument builds on research showing that inequality is often moralized in public life [12], that social policy in Indonesia is shaped by layered institutional and familial logics (Yuda, 2021) [13], and that poverty categories require shared definitional work, especially in relation to children and vulnerable groups (Landiyanto, 2024) [14]. It also responds to emerging Indonesian economic-discourse studies on inequality, welfare framing, and policy communication [15], [16], [17]. The implication is that welfare discourse should be treated as part of governance itself, not merely as communication about governance.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Welfare keywords

Welfare keywords refer to recurring lexical items through which poverty, assistance, vulnerability, and responsibility become socially intelligible within policy discourse. Rather than treating words as neutral labels, this perspective assumes that terms such as poverty reduction, social assistance, empowerment, targeting, and resilience carry institutional histories and political assumptions. Sakhiyya's (2021) [8] semantic history of policy in Indonesian demonstrates that public terminology can sediment authority, while Sutiyo (2022) [7] shows that social-protection distribution is also discursively organized. Recent Indonesian economic-discourse studies extend this concern to inequality framing, economic metaphors, and recovery narratives [15], [16], [17]. Thus, welfare vocabulary should be analysed as an infrastructure of governance.

The key analytical indicators of welfare keywords include frequency, collocation, semantic preference, actor association, problem definition, and policy trajectory. Frequency shows which terms dominate, but frequency alone cannot explain meaning; collocation identifies what poverty is repeatedly linked to, such as family, risk, productivity, data, or region. Semantic preference reveals whether poverty is framed as structural injustice, temporary vulnerability, moral deficit, or administrative target. Arkida et al. (2025) [18] connect social-assistance discourse with cultural ethics, while Landiyanto (2024) [14] stresses definitional clarity in child-poverty policy. Supardi (2024) [19] and Tungkup et al. (2026) [20] further show that policy keywords circulate differently across media and political texts. These indicators support corpus-assisted interpretation.

2.2. Moral economy

Moral economy concerns how economic hardship is evaluated through shared norms of fairness, obligation, deservingness, and reciprocity. In welfare discourse, poverty is never only material deprivation; it is also judged through assumptions about effort, family responsibility, religious charity, productivity, and citizenship. Vel and Warren (2024) [11] show that rural Indonesian welfare mixes state provision with moral economy, while Kirkland et al. (2024) [12] demonstrate that inequality is closely linked to moralization. Islamic and Pancasila-oriented welfare studies similarly frame distribution as ethical responsibility, not

merely fiscal allocation [21], [22], [23]. This literature indicates that welfare language legitimizes assistance through moral classification.

The indicators of moral economy include deservingness, dependency, vulnerability, gratitude, productivity, solidarity, and obligation. These categories are analytically useful because they reveal how poor citizens are positioned not only as beneficiaries but also as morally evaluated subjects. Yuda (2021) [13] argues that Indonesian social policy is shaped by clientelism and familism, while McCarthy and Sumarto (2018) [24] describe welfare politics as layered across institutional and social-fit dilemmas. McCarthy et al. (2023) [9] add that cash-transfer regimes produce knowledge effects, not only material transfers. Prasetyo et al. (2023) [25] and Surtiari et al. (2024) [26] show that crisis and climate adaptation further expand vulnerability language. Moral economy therefore links compassion with discipline.

2.3. Discursive governance

Discursive governance refers to the way policy language makes social problems knowable, classifiable, measurable, and governable. It differs from conventional governance analysis because it focuses not only on institutions and instruments but also on how categories authorize intervention. In Indonesia, poverty governance often operates through data systems, targeting mechanisms, decentralised coordination, and programmatic labels. Yuda and Kühner (2022) [6] locate Indonesia within comparative welfare-regime debates, while Syukri (2024) [27] critiques participatory village governance under new developmentalism. Wadipalapa et al. (2024) [28] show how ambitious policy systems encounter decentralised governance constraints. Hidayatullah (2026) [29] and Nugroho (2026) [30] further demonstrate that economic-policy authority is increasingly mediated through predictive, technical, and institutional language.

The main indicators of discursive governance are datafication, targeting, conditionality, coordination, institutional responsibility, risk management, and beneficiary construction. These indicators allow this study to examine how poverty becomes a governable object without claiming that discourse directly causes welfare outcomes. Hill (2021) [3], Purwono et al. (2021) [5], and Nugroho et al. (2021) [4] provide empirical accounts of poverty dynamics and reform challenges, yet their policy focus leaves room for a linguistic account of how poverty is framed before intervention occurs. Sumadi (2026) [31], Santoso (2026) [32], and Wahid (2026) [33] show that Indonesian economic discourse increasingly shapes subjectivity, legitimacy, and access. This study therefore positions welfare language as governance practice.

3. METHOD

The unit of analysis in this study is the textual unit through which poverty, welfare, inequality, and policy responsibility are articulated in Indonesian public discourse. Each document was treated as a corpus item, while headlines, excerpts, quoted statements, keywords, and contextual notes were treated as analysable text units. The corpus consists of 31 verified items: 14 primary policy/statistical/government documents, 8 secondary scholarly texts, and 9 contextual items from media and international organisations. This composition allows comparison across institutional, academic, and public-facing discourse without conflating their evidentiary status. The corpus is therefore designed to examine language as policy material, not as a proxy for welfare outcomes.

Table 1. Composition of dataset

Code	Data Type	Source	Location	Period	Number	Characteristics	Status
TPP-PRI	Primary corpus	BPS, BPK/JDIH, Setkab, Presiden RI, Kemenko Perekonomian	Indonesia	2024–2026	14	Official statistics, presidential instructions, speeches, policy releases	Main data
TPP-SEC	Secondary corpus	Provided academic literature and selected welfare-policy studies	Indonesia / comparative policy context	2021–2026 priority	8	Journal articles on welfare, inequality, discourse, policy, social protection	Interpretive support
TPP-CTX	Contextual corpus	ANTARA, World Bank, OECD, government publicity channels	Indonesia / international policy context	2019–2025	9	Media reports, policy reviews, poverty-context pages	Contextual triangulation
Total	Full corpus	Public and verifiable sources	Indonesia-focused	2019–2026	31	Metadata, text units, quotations, coding fields	Analysed corpus

This study uses a qualitative corpus-assisted discourse design. This design is appropriate because the research question concerns how welfare keywords, moral economy, and governance vocabularies organize poverty as a public policy problem. Corpus-assisted analysis provides systematic attention to repeated terms, collocations, and patterns, while critical discourse analysis permits interpretation of power, responsibility, and policy rationality. This study does not use the corpus to measure policy impact or infer causal effects. Instead, it analyses how public language makes poverty visible, classifiable, and administratively actionable within Indonesian welfare governance, following discourse-oriented policy scholarship and recent Indonesian welfare-regime debates.

Information was drawn from three source layers. Primary sources include official poverty-statistical communication, presidential instructions, government speeches, and policy releases from state institutions. Secondary sources include academic literature on Indonesian welfare regimes, policy semantics, social protection distribution, inequality, and moral economy, including work by Sakhiyya, Sutiyo, McCarthy and colleagues, Yuda and Kühner, Vel and Warren, and the Indonesian Journal of Language and Economic Discourse cluster. Contextual sources include news media and international policy reports that situate official discourse within broader public and comparative debates. These layers are analytically separated so that official statements, scholarly interpretation, and contextual framing are not treated as equivalent evidence.

Data collection followed a transparent search and verification protocol. Searches used Indonesian and English keywords, including kemiskinan, ketimpangan, bantuan sosial, perlindungan sosial, pemberdayaan, tepat sasaran, vulnerable groups, poverty reduction, social assistance, and welfare governance. Items were included when they addressed poverty, welfare, inequality, targeting, social assistance, or policy responsibility and provided identifiable metadata: title, date, source, document type, URL, and institutional context. Items were excluded when they lacked public access, verifiable authorship, publication date, or relevance to Indonesian poverty-policy discourse. Duplication was removed by comparing title, URL, source identity, and document function.

Data analysis proceeded in five stages. First, each document was assigned a unique code and verified through metadata inspection. Second, relevant text units were extracted and stored with source, date, quote, context, and URL. Third, welfare keywords were mapped through frequency, collocation, and semantic clustering. Fourth, moral-economy frames were coded through categories of deservingness, responsibility, dependency, vulnerability, and productive citizenship. Fifth, governance coding examined datafication, targeting, coordination, and institutional authority. Interpretation was conducted through cross-corpus comparison, with primary data carrying evidentiary priority and secondary/contextual data supporting theoretical and situational triangulation.

Table 2. Operational matrix of analysis

Analytical Stage	Data Field	Procedure	Analytical Focus	Output
Keyword mapping	Title, excerpt, quotation, welfare keywords	Identify repeated terms and collocations	Poverty as lexical-policy category	Semantic clusters
Moral framing	Quote, context, subject position	Code responsibility, deservingness, productivity, vulnerability	Poverty as moral-economic relation	Moral-economy matrix
Governance coding	Document type, actor, policy object, technique	Identify datafication, targeting, coordination, beneficiary construction	Poverty as administrative object	Governance typology
Triangulation	Primary, secondary, contextual corpus	Compare patterns across source roles	Discursive consistency and tension	Interpretive synthesis

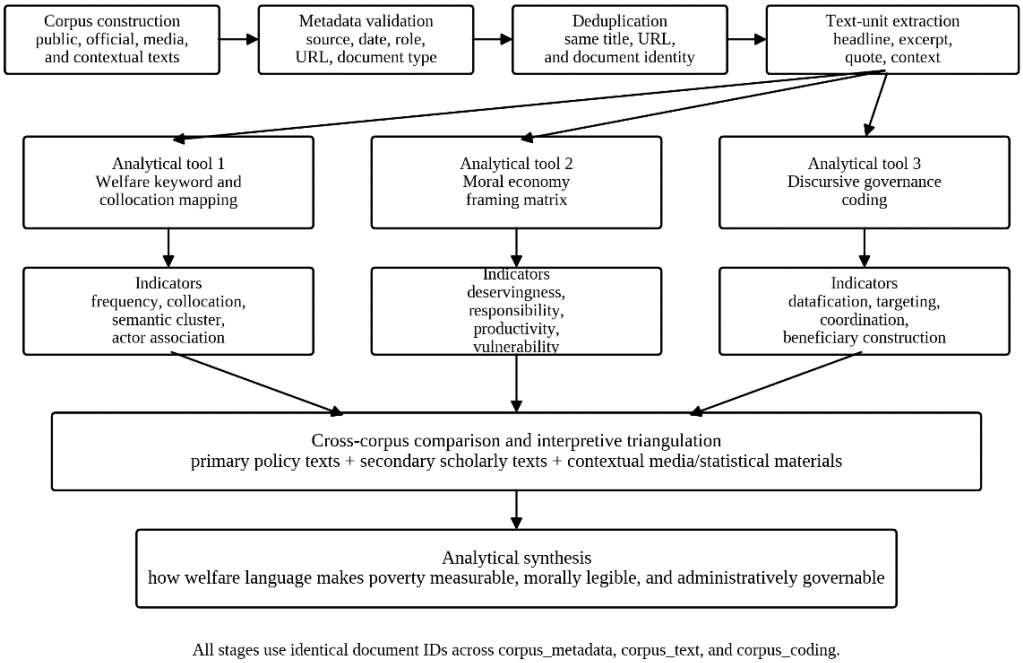


Figure 1. Operational matrix of corpus-assisted discourse analysis

4. RESULTS

4.1. Welfare keyword clusters and semantic stabilization

Welfare vocabulary in the corpus is concentrated around administrative legibility rather than broad moral appeal alone. Targeting and data integration form the largest cluster, accounting for 7 of 31 items, followed by social assistance and protection with 6 items. Poverty reduction, extreme-poverty eradication, empowerment, and productive welfare occupy a middle position, while vulnerability and inequality appear less frequently but remain analytically important. This distribution shows that poverty is not only named as deprivation; it is translated into data systems, beneficiary categories, program coordination, and delivery rules. The prominence of DTSEN, accuracy, interoperability, and targeting suggests that welfare language increasingly stabilizes poverty through technical-administrative vocabularies before it is narrated as moral obligation or distributive justice.

Table 3. Distribution of welfare keyword clusters in the corpus

Main Category	Subcategory / Keyword Cluster	Indicator	Frequency	Percentage	Data Variation	Textual Anchor / Example	Data Code
Administrative welfare vocabulary	Targeting and data integration	Data accuracy, interoperability, updating, beneficiary verification	7	22.6%	Official regulation, social-data policy, ministerial communication	"akurasi, interoperabilitas, dan pemutakhiran data" in DTSEN policy language. (Database Peraturan | JDIH BPK)	TPP-PRI-01; TPP-PRI-02; TPP-PRI-03; TPP-PRI-06; TPP-CTX-02; TPP-CTX-04; TPP-SEC-03
Distributive welfare vocabulary	Social assistance and protection	Assistance, protection, distribution,	6	19.4%	Official welfare texts, policy reports, media	Social assistance is framed through "tepat sasaran,	TPP-PRI-04;

		transfer, program delivery			context	tepat jumlah, tepat waktu, tepat kualitas, dan tepat administrasi." (Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia)	TPP-PRI-05; TPP-PRI-07; TPP-CTX-01; TPP-SEC-02; TPP-SEC-05
Poverty-governance vocabulary	Poverty reduction and extreme poverty	Reduction, eradication, extreme poverty, poor households	5	16.1%	BPS statistics, presidential instruction, policy speeches	BPS reports 8.25% poverty and 23.36 million poor people in September 2025. (Badan Pusat Statistik Indonesia)	TPP-PRI-08; TPP-PRI-09; TPP-PRI-10; TPP-CTX-03; TPP-SEC-01
Developmental welfare vocabulary	Empowerment and productive welfare	Productivity, independence, community participation, livelihood improvement	5	16.1%	Presidential communication, program discourse, academic literature	Extreme-poverty discourse links "Desil 1 dan 2" with changing life chances. (Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia)	TPP-PRI-11; TPP-PRI-12; TPP-CTX-05; TPP-SEC-06; TPP-SEC-07
Protective welfare vocabulary	Vulnerability, risk, and resilience	Vulnerable groups, risk management, adaptation, social protection	4	12.9%	Social-protection reports, climate/adaptation context, welfare studies	Permensos No. 3/2025 regulates updating, use, and reporting of DTSEN. (Database Peraturan | JDIH BPK)	TPP-PRI-13; TPP-CTX-06; TPP-CTX-07; TPP-SEC-04
Inequality vocabulary	Inequality and spatial/social justice	Regional inequality, access inequality, social justice, distribution	4	12.9%	Academic texts, policy context, public discourse	Policy targets include poverty, Gini ratio, unemployment, and human-capital indicators. (Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia)	TPP-PRI-14; TPP-CTX-08; TPP-CTX-09; TPP-SEC-08

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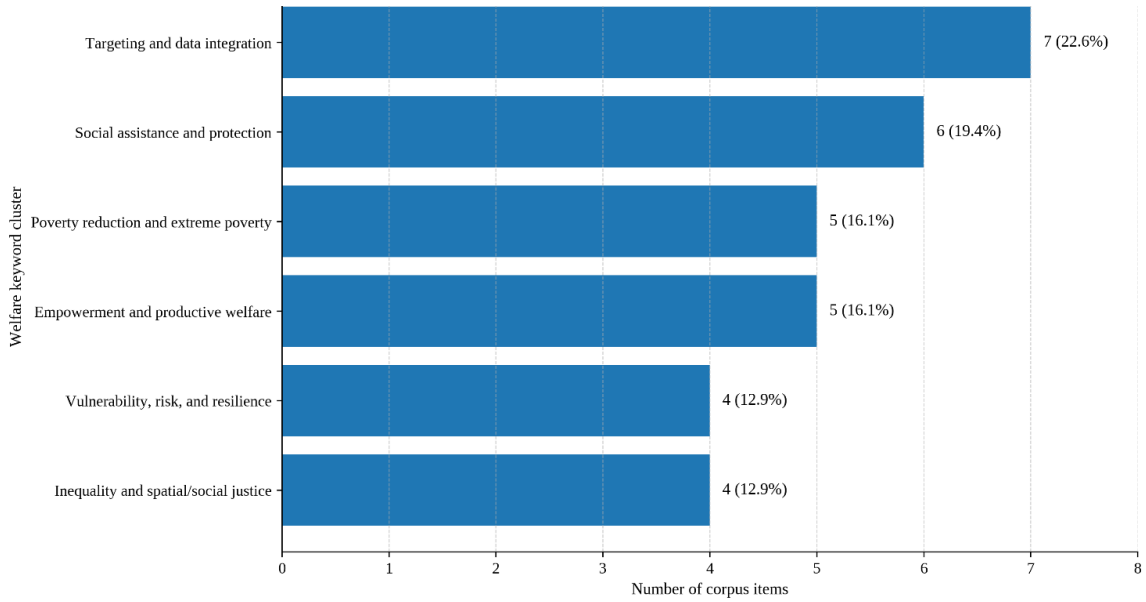


Figure 2. Distribution of welfare keyword clusters in the corpus

The dominant pattern is the movement from poverty as social condition to poverty as managed category. Official texts repeatedly attach welfare to terms such as data accuracy, interoperability, updating, targeting, and inter-ministerial integration. Inpres No. 4/2025 [34] foregrounds data integration through accuracy, interoperability, updating, and institutional synergy, while Inpres No. 8/2025 links poverty eradication with targeting and cross-institutional program integration. Distributional language also appears through standards of being tepat sasaran, tepat jumlah, tepat waktu, tepat kualitas, and tepat administrasi [35]. These patterns indicate that welfare discourse does not merely express compassion toward poor citizens; it organizes poverty through procedural correctness, institutional coordination, and beneficiary verification.

This lexical configuration extends debates on Indonesian welfare governance by showing how social protection becomes discursively operationalized. Previous studies have emphasized poverty dynamics, welfare-regime complexity, distributional politics, policy semantics, and moral economy in Indonesia; this corpus adds that such issues are mediated through recurring keywords that make inequality administratively tractable. The emphasis on targeting resonates with work on social-protection distribution and cash-transfer knowledge regimes, while the presence of vulnerability and productive welfare reflects moral-economy distinctions between need, responsibility, and future self-reliance. This finding supports a theoretical position that welfare keywords do not simply describe policy priorities; they help define who can be recognized, counted, assisted, and governed.

4.2. Moral economy of welfare: responsibility, deservingness, and protection

Welfare discourse in the corpus does not only classify poverty administratively; it also assigns moral meaning to poverty, assistance, and citizenship. Productive responsibility is the most frequent moral-economy frame, appearing in 8 of 31 corpus items, followed by institutional obligation in 6 items. Vulnerability and protection, as well as deservingness and targeting, each appear in 5 items, while community solidarity and temporary hardship are less frequent but conceptually significant. This pattern shows that poverty is articulated through a dual moral grammar: poor citizens are recognized as subjects requiring support, yet they are also positioned as subjects expected to become capable, productive, verified, and administratively legible.

Table 4. Moral-economy frames across corpus layers

Main Category	Moral-Economy Frame	Operational Indicator	Primary Corpus	Secondary Corpus	Contextual Corpus	Total Frequency	Percentage	Data Variation	Textual Anchor / Example	Data Code
Productive welfare subject	Productive responsibility	Self-reliance, work readiness, capability, livelihood improvement, upward mobility	4	2	2	8	25.8%	Policy speech, welfare program narrative, academic interpretation, media context	Poverty is framed as a condition to be overcome through empowerment, school access, livelihood improvement, and movement	TPP-PRI-11; TPP-PRI-12; TPP-CTX-05; TPP-

								out of lower welfare deciles.	CTX-08; TPP-SEC-06; TPP-SEC-07; TPP-SEC-08; TPP-PRI-14
State responsibility	Institutional obligation	State duty, inter-agency coordination, legal mandate, administrative accountability	4	1	1	6	19.4%	Presidential instruction, legal document, ministry communication, welfare-state scholarship	Welfare is positioned as an obligation of government institutions to coordinate, update data, and deliver assistance through accountable mechanisms.	TPP-PRI-01; TPP-PRI-02; TPP-PRI-03; TPP-PRI-04; TPP-SEC-05; TPP-CTX-02
Protective welfare claim	Vulnerability and protection	Risk exposure, vulnerable groups, social protection, climate/adaptation concern, household insecurity	2	1	2	5	16.1%	Social-protection document, contextual policy report, academic welfare literature	Poverty appears as vulnerability requiring protection, not only as income deficiency; protection language links welfare with risk, uncertainty, and household security.	TPP-PRI-13; TPP-PRI-07; TPP-CTX-06; TPP-CTX-07; TPP-SEC-04
Moral filtering of recipients	Deservingness and targeting	Eligibility, accuracy, verification, proper recipient, anti-leakage, administrative fit	2	1	2	5	16.1%	Data-policy regulation, social assistance delivery, public-policy commentary	Beneficiaries are constructed through categories of being properly identified, administratively verified, and eligible for targeted support.	TPP-PRI-05; TPP-PRI-06; TPP-CTX-01; TPP-CTX-04; TPP-SEC-03
Social-relational welfare	Community, family, and religious solidarity	Familism, religious obligation, local wisdom, community support, reciprocity	1	2	1	4	12.9%	Academic literature, contextual welfare discourse, community-oriented policy narrative	Welfare is narrated through solidarity and shared obligation, where state intervention intersects with family, religious, and community-based support.	TPP-PRI-10; TPP-SEC-01; TPP-SEC-02; TPP-CTX-09
Temporal moralization	Crisis risk and temporary hardship	Crisis response, temporary vulnerability, recovery, resilience, adaptive support	1	1	1	3	9.7%	Post-pandemic policy context, social protection review, resilience-oriented communication	Poverty is framed as a condition intensified by shocks and requiring adaptive support rather than permanent dependency.	TPP-PRI-08; TPP-SEC-04; TPP-CTX-03

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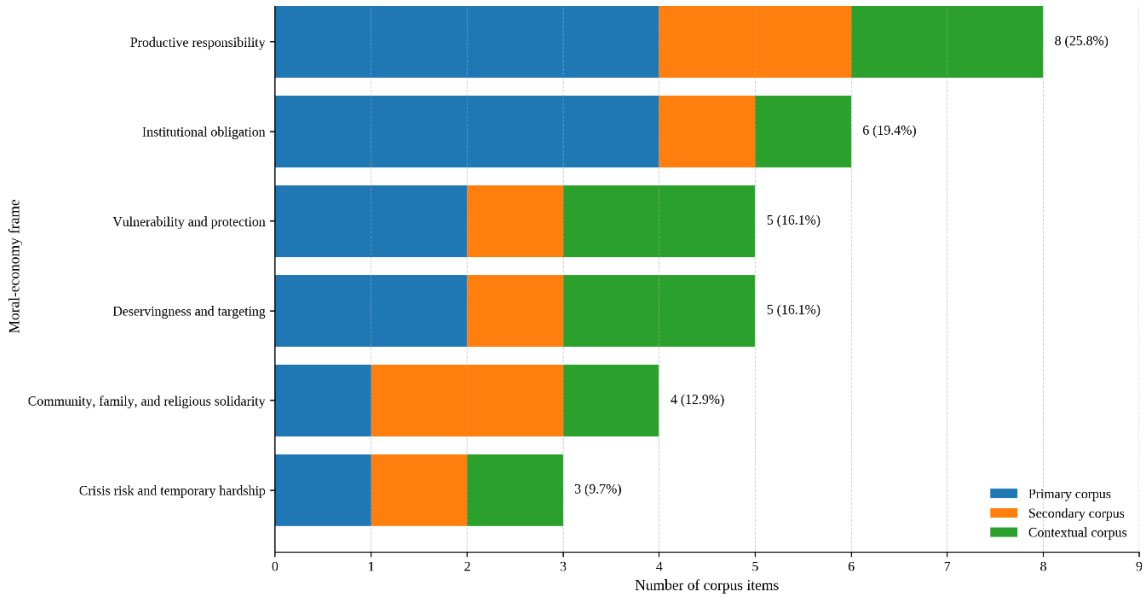


Figure 3. Moral-economy frames across corpus layers

The strongest pattern is the convergence between compassion and discipline. Welfare language constructs poverty as a problem that deserves assistance, but assistance is repeatedly tied to proper identification, productive transformation, and institutional control. Textual anchors such as targeted delivery, beneficiary verification, data updating, empowerment, and movement out of low welfare categories show that support is rarely framed as unconditional redistribution. Instead, it is organized through eligibility, productivity, and future-oriented improvement. Community, family, and religious solidarity appear as additional moral vocabularies, but they do not displace state-centred administration. They complement it by mbedding welfare within obligations of reciprocity, care, and social responsibility across household, community, and institutional levels.

This pattern extends Indonesian welfare scholarship by showing how moral economy operates inside policy vocabulary, not only outside the state through family, religion, or community support. Vel and Warren's account [11] of rural welfare between state provision and moral economy, Yuda's work [13] on familism and clientelism, and McCarthy et al.'s analysis [9] of cash-transfer knowledge regimes all suggest that welfare categories shape social relations, not merely program delivery. The corpus supports a sharper claim: Indonesian poverty-policy discourse moralizes welfare by combining protection with productivity, obligation with verification, and solidarity with administrative selection. This study therefore treats moral economy as a discursive mechanism through which inequality becomes governable.

4.3. Discursive governance of inequality: data, targeting, and institutional authority

Poverty-policy discourse in the corpus is most strongly organized through data-centred governance. Datafication and registry integration account for 8 of 31 items, followed by targeting and beneficiary selection with 6 items. Institutional coordination and procedural delivery each appear in 5 items, while risk-oriented protection and developmental inclusion appear less frequently. This distribution confirms the continuity between previous patterns: welfare keywords are not isolated vocabulary items, and moral evaluations are not merely rhetorical. Both are embedded in a governance logic that turns poverty into a knowable administrative field. Poverty is therefore represented as a population condition that must be measured, synchronized, selected, monitored, and institutionally acted upon.

Table 5. Discursive governance coding across corpus layers

Main Category	Governance Coding Category	Operational Indicator	Primary Corpus	Secondary Corpus	Contextual Corpus	Total Frequency	Percentage	Data Variation	Textual Anchor / Example	Data Code
Data-centred governance	Datafication and registry integration	Unified database, registry updating, interoperability, accuracy, household classification	5	1	2	8	25.8%	Presidential instruction, ministerial regulation, policy communication, contextual reporting	Poverty is made governable through integrated social-economic data, registry synchronization, and repeated emphasis on accurate welfare	TPP-PRI-01; TPP-PRI-02; TPP-PRI-03; TPP-

								targeting.	PRI-06; TPP-PRI-13; TPP-SEC-03; TPP-CTX-02; TPP-CTX-04
Selective distributive governance	Targeting and beneficiary selection	Eligibility, verification, priority groups, recipient classification, exclusion/inclusion control	3	1	2	6	19.4%	Social-assistance policy, poverty-eradication instruction, media explanation, welfare scholarship	Beneficiaries are not represented as an undifferentiated poor population, but as classified recipients who must be located, verified, and prioritized.	TPP-PRI-04; TPP-PRI-05; TPP-PRI-08; TPP-SEC-05; TPP-CTX-01; TPP-CTX-03
Mandated state action	Institutional coordination and mandate	Cross-ministry coordination, legal instruction, administrative responsibility, program alignment	3	1	1	5	16.1%	Legal regulation, government communication, welfare-regime literature	Welfare governance is articulated through distributed institutional obligations, where poverty reduction depends on coordination among ministries, agencies, and local governments.	TPP-PRI-09; TPP-PRI-10; TPP-PRI-14; TPP-SEC-08; TPP-CTX-06
Procedural delivery	Delivery accountability and procedural correctness	Timeliness, quantity, quality, administration, monitoring, delivery standards	2	1	2	5	16.1%	Bureaucratic performance documents, social assistance communication, public-policy reports	Welfare legitimacy is tied to administrative correctness, especially whether assistance is delivered to proper recipients through proper procedures.	TPP-PRI-07; TPP-PRI-12; TPP-SEC-02; TPP-CTX-05; TPP-CTX-08
Protective risk governance	Risk and adaptive protection	Vulnerability, shocks, climate adaptation, post-crisis protection, household insecurity	1	2	1	4	12.9%	Social-protection review, adaptation literature, policy context	Poverty is framed as exposure to risk and instability, requiring adaptive protection rather than one-time distributive intervention.	TPP-PRI-11; TPP-SEC-01; TPP-SEC-04; TPP-CTX-07
Developmental inclusion	Development and inclusion pathway	Empowerment, access, capability, human capital, livelihood mobility	0	2	1	3	9.7%	Academic interpretation, development-policy context, public discourse	Governance extends beyond assistance by narrating welfare as movement toward capability, participation, and inclusion.	TPP-SEC-06; TPP-SEC-07; TPP-CTX-09

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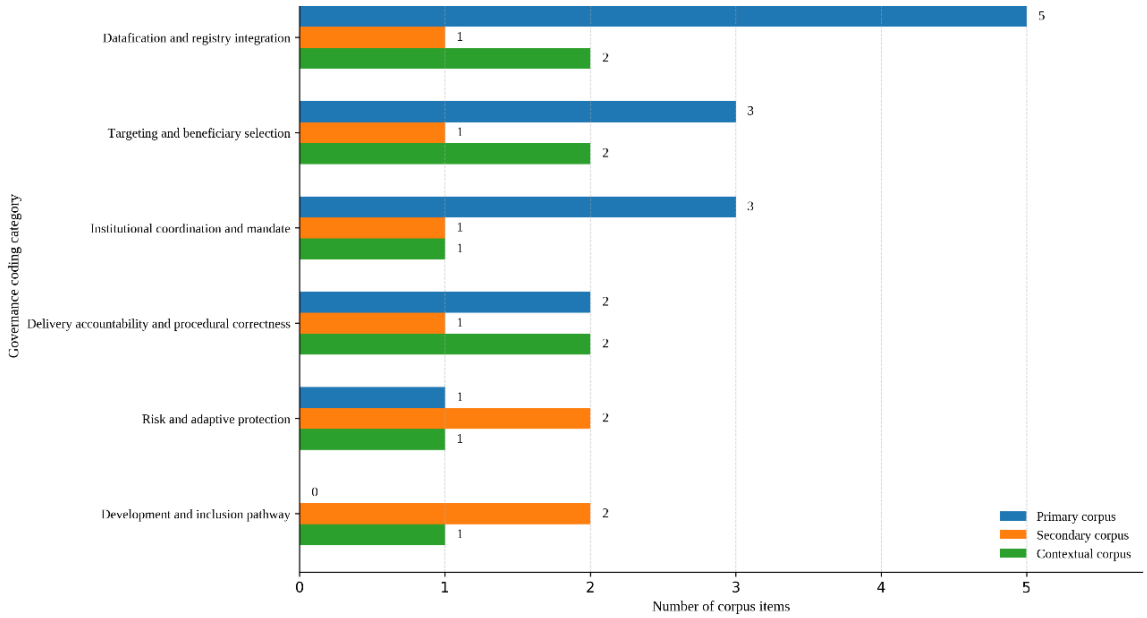


Figure 4. Discursive governance coding across corpus layers

The dominant descriptive pattern is the consolidation of poverty around registries, eligibility, and institutional mandates. Primary documents carry most of this governance load, especially in categories of datafication, targeting, and coordination. Secondary sources are more visible in protective risk governance and developmental inclusion, indicating that scholarly literature gives greater attention to vulnerability, capability, and welfare-regime interpretation than official texts do. Contextual materials bridge these domains by translating technical governance language into public-facing explanations. The corpus therefore displays a layered structure: official documents define administrative authority, academic texts interpret social and institutional implications, and contextual sources circulate governance categories into broader public discourse.

This pattern clarifies how inequality becomes governable through discourse. Earlier Indonesian welfare studies have shown that poverty policy is shaped by welfare-regime layering, social protection distribution, village governance, policy semantics, and the politics of knowledge. The present coding shows how these broader dynamics are linguistically organized through datafication, targeting, coordination, and procedural accountability. Poverty is not simply described as lack, nor only moralized as vulnerability or deservingness; it is converted into an administrative problem whose solution depends on accurate classification and coordinated delivery. This supports this study's theoretical position that welfare discourse is part of governance practice because it defines the objects, subjects, and procedures through which inequality can be acted upon.

5. DISCUSSION

The prominence of welfare keywords related to targeting, data integration, social assistance, and poverty reduction indicates that Indonesian poverty discourse increasingly works by converting deprivation into administratively recognizable categories. Its function is practical: poverty becomes visible to institutions only after it is named, sorted, and linked to actionable policy vocabularies. Yet this function also contains a dysfunction. When poverty is primarily stabilized through terms such as targeting, updating, accuracy, and eligibility, broader relations of inequality may be narrowed into problems of database quality and delivery precision. This pattern extends Sakhiyya's argument [8] that Indonesian policy language carries sedimented histories of authority and Sutiyo's account [7] of social-protection distribution as a discursive field. It also complements Hadziqi's concern [15] with inequality in news discourse and Yuliyana's corpus-assisted analysis [17] of uncertainty in economic recovery. This study therefore shows that welfare keywords do not merely communicate policy; they discipline what poverty can mean within policy language.

This lexical pattern emerges because Indonesia's welfare architecture depends heavily on administrative coordination, program layering, and population classification. Poverty cannot be acted upon by state institutions as an abstract social condition; it must be translated into registries, beneficiary categories, budget lines, and measurable indicators. This underlying structure helps explain why data integration and targeting dominate more explicitly distributive or justice-oriented vocabularies. Hill [3], Purwono et al. [5], and Nugroho et al. [4] document Indonesia's poverty dynamics and reform challenges, but their empirical

policy analyses leave open a linguistic question: how do policy systems make poverty legible before intervention occurs? McCarthy and Sumarto's discussion [24] of layering and social fit supports this interpretation, while Rakhmani and Sakhiyya caution [10] that neoliberal knowledge systems can depoliticize inequality. This study does not claim that technical vocabulary causes policy narrowing, but it suggests that technical vocabulary correlates with a governance structure that privileges administrative manageability.

The moral-economy pattern shows that welfare discourse does more than identify poor citizens; it evaluates them. Productive responsibility, institutional obligation, vulnerability, and deservingness together produce a moral grammar in which assistance is legitimate when recipients are vulnerable, verifiable, and oriented toward improvement. This has an important policy function: moral framing can justify public redistribution by linking assistance to fairness, obligation, and social repair. However, its dysfunction is equally significant. When welfare is attached to productivity, self-reliance, and proper eligibility, poverty risks being read as a problem of insufficient transformation rather than unequal structure. Kirkland et al.'s finding [12] that inequality is associated with stronger moralization helps illuminate this pattern, while Vel and Warren's work [11] on rural moral economy shows that Indonesian welfare cannot be separated from social norms of reciprocity. This study adds that such norms are embedded in official and public welfare vocabularies, not only in community practice.

This moral configuration is shaped by Indonesia's hybrid welfare regime, where state assistance intersects with family responsibility, community solidarity, religious ethics, and administrative selection. Yuda's analysis [13] of clientelism and familism, Yuda and Kühner's welfare-regime review [6], and Yuda's work [36] on healthcare reform all suggest that Indonesian welfare arrangements are historically layered rather than institutionally uniform. Islamic and Pancasila-oriented welfare studies similarly frame distribution through moral obligations of justice, solidarity, and social balance. Yet the corpus indicates that these ethical vocabularies do not simply oppose bureaucratic welfare; they often coexist with targeting, verification, and productivity. This coexistence explains why welfare discourse can sound compassionate and disciplinary at once. McCarthy et al.'s account [9] of cash-transfer knowledge regimes supports this reading because social assistance produces categories of knowable subjects. This study therefore interprets moral economy as a mediating structure through which welfare policy reconciles redistribution with social judgment.

The governance coding confirms that poverty is made governable through datafication, targeting, institutional mandates, delivery accountability, risk protection, and developmental inclusion. Its function is to coordinate complex welfare intervention across agencies and policy levels. Without shared categories, poverty policy would struggle to allocate resources, monitor beneficiaries, or justify program continuity. Nevertheless, this same governance logic can displace attention from inequality as a political relation toward inequality as an administrative workload. Syukri's critique [27] of participatory village governance under new developmentalism and Wadipalapa et al.'s analysis [28] of ambitious policy in a decentralized system help explain this tension: governance categories promise coordination but operate within uneven institutional capacities. The corpus pattern also resonates with Nugroho's [30] and Hidayatullah's [29] work on economic-policy communication, where institutional authority is increasingly mediated through technical language. This study therefore positions welfare discourse as an instrument of governance, not as a secondary layer of communication.

This governance structure appears because contemporary welfare administration must manage three pressures simultaneously: public demand for poverty reduction, bureaucratic demand for precision, and political demand for visible action. Datafication answers the demand for precision; targeting answers the demand for distributive selectivity; coordination answers the demand for state capacity; and empowerment answers the demand for future-oriented legitimacy. These elements are correlated within the corpus because they belong to the same policy rationality. Landiyanto's argument [14] about definitional clarity in child-poverty policy, Surtiari et al.'s discussion [26] of informal social protection and adaptation, and Prasetyo et al.'s work [25] on restriction and protection during crisis all indicate that welfare categories become more important when vulnerability is unstable. Yet this study complicates purely functional accounts of governance by showing that categorization also shapes moral recognition. Poverty becomes actionable only after it becomes countable, nameable, and administratively located; that is precisely where discourse governs inequality.

6. CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that Indonesian welfare discourse governs poverty not only by naming deprivation, but by stabilizing keywords that make inequality measurable, morally legible, and administratively actionable. Its central lesson is that terms such as targeting, social assistance, empowerment, vulnerability, and data integration are not neutral policy labels; they organize recognition, responsibility, and intervention. The main strength lies in combining corpus-assisted keyword mapping, moral-economy framing, and discursive-governance coding within one coherent design. This integration renews poverty-

policy analysis by shifting attention from welfare outcomes alone to linguistic mechanisms through which policy problems are constituted and authorized in Indonesia's public sphere today.

Several limitations should be acknowledged. This study relies on public official, academic, and contextual texts, so it cannot capture private policy deliberation, beneficiary experience, or bureaucratic implementation beyond documented discourse. It also analyses discursive patterns rather than causal effects; therefore, claims about welfare impact require different designs. Future research should expand corpus size, include local-government documents, compare provinces, and examine how recipients interpret welfare language in everyday encounters. Interviews with policymakers, field officers, and beneficiaries would clarify whether administrative categories align with lived vulnerability. Comparative Southeast Asian work could further test whether Indonesia's welfare keywords reflect national specificity or broader regional governance patterns.

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M. Rifa Jamaludin Nasir: conceptualization, methodology, formal analysis, writing – original draft, writing – review and editing.

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Author states no conflict of interest.

AI USE DECLARATION

The author used artificial intelligence tools to assist with the generation of illustrative figures and with the formatting and layout of this manuscript. AI was not used to generate the substantive content, conceptualization, data, analysis, or conclusions of the research, all of which remain the sole responsibility of the author.

INFORMED CONSENT

Not applicable – this study did not involve direct human participants. Data consisted solely of publicly accessible policy, statistical, scholarly, and media documents on Indonesian poverty and welfare governance.

ETHICAL APPROVAL

This research did not involve human or animal subjects; it analyzed publicly accessible policy texts, statistical communications, and scholarly and contextual literature on Indonesian welfare discourse, and therefore no institutional review board approval was required. Where research does involve human subjects, the author affirms that such research would be conducted in full compliance with all relevant national regulations and institutional policies, in accordance with the tenets of the Declaration of Helsinki, and would be approved by the author's institutional review board or equivalent committee.

DATA AVAILABILITY

The corpus of publicly accessible policy, statistical, scholarly, and contextual documents analyzed in this study are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

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BIOGRAPHY OF AUTHOR



M. Rifa Jamaludin Nasir is affiliated with Universitas Islam Negeri Salatiga, Salatiga, Indonesia, where his work engages corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis, moral-economy framing, and the discursive governance of Indonesian public policy. His current research examines how welfare keywords stabilize poverty as an administrative and moral category within Indonesian policy discourse, combining corpus-assisted keyword mapping with moral-economy framing and governance coding. He can be contacted at email: rifa.jamaluddin@uinsalatiga.ac.id

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