

POLITICAL SPEECH TEXTS OF THE INDONESIAN PRESIDENTS
IN THE REFORMATION ERA

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to **Almighty “Allah SWT”**
(Who has given me spirit, strength, knowledge, patience and wisdom)

My “Mom and Late Grandmom”
(Who taught me words)

My “Brothers, Sisters and Wife”

My brothers, Ir. Nurwanto, Charis Murdianto, my sisters Akmal Permatsari, Dani Puspitasari, my wife Tutut Susanti Utami, whose, love and sincerity highly motivated me to finish this valuable work, I really appreciate their motivation, encouragement, patience and everlasting love.

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ABSTRACT

This study was aimed to explore ideological stances behind the political speech texts of the Indonesian presidents represented and evaluated by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and Joko Widodo (Jokowi) in the reformation era. The significance of this study was expected to contribute to the body of knowledge already established, both theoretically and practicality on Political Discourse Analysis, Critical Discourse, and Systemic Functional Linguistics. This study employs van Leeuwen's socio semiotic framework (2008) for the representation of social actors and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) Transitivity analysis model incorporated and the attitudinal resources of the appraisal theory of Martin and White (2005) to uncover ideological stances in the ten presidential speech texts of SBY and Jokowi published officially by Indonesian government websites (Sekneg.go.id and setkab.go.id). This study basically adopts qualitative method, uses quantitative data analysis to assist the qualitative discussion to show the ideological inclination of SBY and Jokowi. The analysis looks at the grammatical roles and evaluation of important social actors involved in the political speech texts of SBY and Jokowi (e.g. president, government, people of Indonesia, politician, law enforcer and international people). The findings show that government was mostly represented and evaluated exceeded the five other social actors. This indicates that SBY's ideological inclination came to the government to portrait himself by representing his government as the well- working government. SBY constructs to give positive image from the audiences to his well-organized in order to get support from the intended audiences to work together in developing the nation. It is similar to SBY, Jokowi also represents the government as the most favourable social actor exceed the five others to uphold the audiences' trust that he is an acting taker to build his country via building infrastructures mostly around the nation. This study can be concluded that both presidents represented and the government as the most favorable social actor involved in their political speeches. This indicates that ideological stances disseminated to the audiences that they regard the government as the most important social actor to be prioritized in order SBY and Jokowi build positive image from their constituents. The last, I recommend for future researchers to study the comparison between Indonesian president and Malaysian prime minister of their political speeches through 'SFL' and Appraisal analysis to find the similarities and differences of their ideologies.

ABSTRAK

Kajian ini bertujuan meneliti kedudukan ideologi di sebalik teks ucapan politik Presiden Indonesia iaitu Presiden Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) dan Joko Widodo (Jokowi) pada era reformasi. Kajian ini diharapkan dapat menyumbang kepada pengetahuan sedia ada, baik secara teori dan praktikal mengenai Analisis Wacana Politik, Wacana Kritikal, dan Linguistik Fungsional Sistemik. Kajian ini menggunakan kerangka sosio semiotik van Leeuwen (2008) sebagai perwakilan pelaku sosial dan Halliday dan Matthiessen (2004) model analisis Transitiviti digabungkan dan sumber daya teori penilaian Martin dan White (2005) untuk mengungkap sikap ideologi dalam sepuluh teks ucapan presiden SBY dan Jokowi yang diterbitkan secara rasmi oleh laman web kerajaan Indonesia (Sekneg.go.id dan setkab.go.id). Kajian ini secara asasnya menggunakan kaedah kualitatif dan analisis data kuantitatif untuk membantu perbincangan kualitatif dalam menunjukkan kecenderungan ideologi SBY dan Jokowi. Analisis ini melihat peranan tatabahasa dan penilaian pelaku sosial penting yang terlibat dalam teks ucapan politik SBY dan Jokowi (mis. Presiden, pemerintah, rakyat Indonesia, ahli politik, penguatkuasa undang-undang dan orang antarabangsa). Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahawa pemerintah kebanyakan diwakili dan dinilai melebihi lima pelaku sosial yang lain. Ini menunjukkan bahawa kecenderungan ideologi SBY datang kepada pemerintah untuk menggambarkan dirinya dengan mewakili pemerintahannya sebagai pemerintah yang bekerja dengan baik. SBY membina untuk memberikan imej positif dari khalayak kepada yang tersusun dengan baik agar mendapat sokongan daripada khalayak yang dimaksudkan untuk bekerjasama dalam membangun negara. Sama seperti SBY, Jokowi juga mewakili pemerintah kerana pelaku sosial yang paling disukai melebihi lima yang lain untuk menegakkan kepercayaan penonton bahawa dia adalah pengambil tindakan untuk membina negaranya melalui infrastruktur bangunan yang kebanyakannya terdapat di seluruh negara. Kajian ini dapat disimpulkan bahawa kedua-dua presiden mewakili dan pemerintah sebagai pelaku sosial yang paling baik terlibat dalam ucapan politik mereka. Ini menunjukkan bahawa sikap ideologi yang disebarkan kepada khalayak bahawa mereka menganggap pemerintah sebagai pelaku sosial terpenting harus diutamakan agar SBY dan Jokowi membina imej positif dari konstituen mereka. Yang terakhir, saya mengesyorkan kepada penyelidik akan datang untuk mengkaji perbandingan antara presiden Indonesia dan perdana menteri Malaysia ucapan politik mereka melalui analisis 'SFL' dan Penilaian untuk mencari persamaan dan perbezaan ideologi mereka.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE	i
DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
ABSTRACT	v
ABSTRAK	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES	xvii
LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS	xviii
LIST OF APPENDICES	xx
LIST OF PUBLICATIONS	xxi
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Background of the study	1
1.3 Problem statement	11
1.4 Objectives of the study	13
1.5 Research questions	13
1.6 Significance of the study	14
1.6.1 Theoretical benefits	14
1.6.2 Practical benefits	16
1.7 Limitations of the study	16
1.8 Scope of the study	18
1.9 Definition of key terms	20

1.10	Organization of chapters	21
1.11	Summary to chapter 1	22
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW		23
2.1	Introduction	23
2.2	An Overview of Indonesian Government	23
2.2.1	Indonesian Governmental Era	24
2.2.2	Indonesian Presidential System	28
2.2.3	Brief Biography of SBY and Jokowi	29
2.3	Political discourse	31
2.3.1	Political speech	34
2.3.2	Socio-Political speech	36
2.3.3	Ideology	38
2.3.4	Indonesian Ideology	41
2.4	The representation of Social Actors	42
2.4.1	Activation and Passivation of social actors	47
2.4.2	Representation of social actors in political discourse	48
2.5	Theoretical framework	49
2.5.1	Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)	52
2.5.2	Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)	56
2.6	Transitivity Analysis: clause as representation	64
2.6.1	Material process	66
2.6.2	Mental process	67
2.6.3	Verbal process	68
2.6.4	Behavior process	68
2.6.5	Relational process	70
2.6.6	Existential process	71
2.7	An overview of Appraisal Analysis	73
2.7.1	Attitude: ways of feelings	74
2.7.2	Inscribed and invoked attitude	80
2.7.3	Positive and negative polarity	82
2.8	Previous studies on political speeches, CDA, SFL, Transitivity, Appraisal and Semiotic analysis.	83

2.8.1	Prior studies on Presidents' speeches	86
2.8.2	Application of Transitivity theory to political speech texts	88
2.8.3	Application of Appraisal theory to political speech texts	93
2.9	Conceptual framework of the study	96
2.10	Summary to chapter 2	99
CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY		100
3.1	Introduction	100
3.2	Research design	101
3.3	Data collection method	102
3.4	Data selection criteria	105
3.4.1	Analysis of data	105
3.4.2	Analysis of selected social actors	109
3.4.3	Textual Analysis using SFL's theory	110
3.5	Data analysis procedures	112
3.5.1	Analysis of the Representational role of social actors	112
3.5.2	Data analysis procedure in Transitivity analysis	115
3.5.3	Data coding and calculating method in the dataset of Transitivity analysis	116
3.5.4	Data analysis procedure in Attitude analysis	119
3.5.5	Data coding and calculating method in the dataset of Attitude analysis	123
3.6	Spreadsheets' validity and reliability	124
3.7	Summary to chapter 3	127
CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION		128
4.1	Introduction	127
4.2	Findings of representation of social actors	130
4.3	Activation and passivation of social actors	132
4.3.1	Activation and passivation of 'Presidents' by SBY and Jokowi	132

4.3.2	Activation and passivation of ‘Government’ by SBY and Jokowi	135
4.3.3	Activation and passivation of ‘People of Indonesia’ by SBY and Jokowi	139
4.3.4	Activation and passivation of ‘Politician’ by SBY and Jokowi	143
4.3.5	Activation and passivation of ‘Law-enforcer’ by SBY and Jokowi	146
4.3.6	Activation and passivation of ‘International people’ by SBY and Jokowi	149
4.4	Transitivity analysis of representational role of social actor in the PST by SBY and Jokowi	152
4.4.1	Transitivity analysis of representational roles of ‘President’ by SBY and Jokowi	156
4.4.2	Transitivity analysis of representational roles of ‘Government by SBY and Jokowi	161
4.4.3	Transitivity analysis of representational roles of ‘People of Indonesia’ by SBY and Jokowi	164
4.4.4	Transitivity analysis of representational roles of ‘Politician’ by SBY and Jokowi	169
4.4.5	Transitivity analysis of representational roles of ‘Law-enforcer’ by SBY and Jokowi	173
4.4.6	Transitivity analysis of representational roles of ‘International people’ by SBY and Jokowi	176
4.5	Attitude analysis of social actors’ representation in the PST by SBY and Jokowi	178
4.5.1	Attitude analysis of social actors’ representation of ‘President’ by SBY and Jokowi	186

4.5.2	Attitude analysis of social actors’ representation of ‘Government by SBY and Jokowi	192
4.5.3	Attitude analysis of social actors’ representation of ‘People of Indonesia’ by SBY and Jokowi	199
4.5.4	Attitude analysis of social actors’ representation of ‘Politician’ by SBY and Jokowi	206
4.5.5	Attitude analysis of social actors’ representation of ‘Law-enforcer’ by SBY and Jokowi	213
4.5.6	Attitude analysis of social actors’ representation of ‘International people’ by SBY and Jokowi	219
4.6	Discussion of findings	224
4.6.1	Ideological construction behind the political speech texts of Indonesian presidents in the reformation era	224
4.6.2	The representational roles of Activation and Passivation of social actors	225
4.6.3	Transitivity analysis the representational roles of social actors by SBY and Jokowi	228
4.6.4	Attitude analysis of lexical utterances towards social actors of SBY and Jokowi	231
4.6.5	Analyzing the Political Speech Texts of SBY and Jokowi using CDA of Fairclough	234
4.7	Summary to chapter 4	240
CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION		243
5.1	Introduction	243
5.2	Summary of findings	244
5.3	Limitations of the research	250
5.4	Contribution and recommendations for the future	

research	252
5.5 Summary to chapter 5	254
REFERENCES	256
APPENDICES	280
VITA	287



LIST OF TABLES

2.1 Representation of social actors' representation with meanings (van Leeuwen, 2008)	46
2.2 Representation of social actions with meanings with meanings (van Leeuwen, 2008)	47
2.3 Material clause taken from (Butt et al., 2010)	67
2.4 Mental clause taken from (Butt et al., 2010)	67
2.5 Verbal clause taken from (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004)	68
2.6 Behavioral and Mental processes of perception	70
2.7 Types of Behavioral and Mental processes	70
2.8 Types of Behavioral and Verbal processes	70
2.9 Types of Relational clauses (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004)	71
2.10 Halliday's process types (1985, p. 131)	72
2.11 Irrealis affect	76
2.12 Typology of Judgement of Social Esteem	77
2.13 Typology of Judgement of Social Sanction	78
2.14 Typology of Appreciation	79
2.15 Symbols for attitude analysis	82
3.1 List of themes on state speeches of SBY and Jokowi	104
3.2 Theoretical Models of the data analysis	108
3.3 Distribution of activation and passivation roles of social actors by SBY and Jokowi	113
3.4 Sample of the distribution of representation of social actors	114
3.5 Participants and the processes	115
3.6 Symbols for Analysis of Transitivity	116
3.7 Sample of the Transitivity analysis	118
3.8 Sample of Attitude Analysis	121
3.9 Transitivity and Appraisal instances of ten speech texts	125

3.10	Distribution of dataset rater	125
3.11	Snapshot of excel spreadsheet of Transitivity analysis	126
3.12	Snapshot of excel spreadsheet of Attitude analysis	126
3.13	Sample of matrix analysis of social actors' representation	127
4.1	SBY' Representation of social actors through transitivity and appraisal	131
4.2	Jokowi' Representation of social actors through Transitivity and appraisal	131
4.3	Sample of the clausal analysis of President role as a 'Senser' by SBY	133
4.4	Sample of the clausal analysis of President role as a 'Senser' by Jokowi	135
4.5	Sample of the clausal analysis of 'Government' role as an 'Actor' by SBY	137
4.6	Sample of the clausal analysis of 'Government' role as an 'Actor' by Jokowi	138
4.7	Sample of the clausal analysis of 'People of Indonesia' role as 'an Actor' by SBY	140
4.8	Sample of the clausal analysis of 'People of Indonesia' role as a 'Goal' by Jokowi	142
4.9	Sample of the clausal analysis of 'Politician' role as a 'Goal' by SBY	144
4.10	Sample of the clausal analysis of 'Politician' role as a 'Goal' by Jokowi	145
4.11	Sample of the clausal analysis of 'Law-enforcer' role as 'Actor' by SBY	147
4.12	Sample of the clausal analysis of 'Law-enforcer' role as 'Recipient' by Jokowi	149
4.13	Sample of the clausal analysis of 'International people' role as 'Actor' by SBY	150
4.14	Sample of the clausal analysis of 'International people' role as 'Actor' by SBY	151
4.15	Comparison of the distribution of Transitivity process by SBY and Jokowi	153
4.16	Distribution of participant roles of SBY	154
4.17	Distribution of participant roles of Jokowi	155
4.18	Comparison of the distribution of the attitudinal resources of SBY and Jokowi	180
4.19	'Attitudinal choices' in the PST by SBY and Jokowi	182
4.20	Comparison of the attitudinal analysis toward the social actors being appraised by SBY and Jokowi	182
4.21	Comparison of attitudinal evaluation of the polarity (positive or negative) and strategy (inscribed or invoked), the president as being appraised by	

SBY and Jokowi	186
4.22 Samples of the ‘President’ as the social actor being appraised by SBY	188
4.23 Samples of the ‘President’ as the social actor being appraised by Jokowi	191
4.24 Comparison of attitudinal evaluation of the polarity (positive or negative) and strategy (inscribed or invoked), the ‘Government’ as being appraised by SBY and Jokowi	193
4.25 Samples of the ‘Government’ as the social actor being appraised by SBY	194
4.26 Samples of the ‘Government’ as the social actor being appraised by Jokowi	197
4.27 Comparison of attitudinal evaluation of the polarity (positive or negative) and strategy (inscribed or invoked), the ‘People of Indonesia’ as being appraised by SBY and Jokowi	199
4.28 Samples of the ‘People of Indonesia’ as the social actor being appraised by SBY	201
4.29 Samples of the ‘People of Indonesia’ as the social actor being appraised by Jokowi	204
4.30 Comparison of attitudinal evaluation of the polarity (positive and negative) and strategy (inscribed, invoked), the ‘Politician’ as being appraised by SBY and Jokowi	207
4.31 Samples of the ‘Politician’ as the social actor being appraised by SBY	209
4.32 Samples of the ‘Politician’ as the social actor being appraised by Jokowi	212
4.32 Comparison of attitudinal evaluation of the polarity (positive or negative) and strategy (inscribed or invoked), the law-enforcer as being appraised by SBY and Jokowi.	221
4.33 Samples of the ‘Law-enforcer’ as the social actor being appraised by SBY.	223
4.34 Samples of the ‘Law-enforcer’ as the social actor being appraised by Jokowi	226
4.35 Comparison of attitudinal evaluation of the polarity (positive and negative) and strategy (inscribed, invoked), ‘the International people’ as being appraised by SBY and Jokowi.	228
4.36 Samples of the ‘International people’ as the social actor being appraised by SBY	230

4.37 Samples of the 'International people' as the social actor being appraised
by Jokowi

232



LIST OF FIGURES

2.1	The Indonesian governmental era	28
2.2	Network of social actors (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 52)	44
2.3	Fairclough's three-dimensional framework for CDA	51
2.4	Metafunctional organization of language (Martin, 1992; Martin & White, 2005)	59
2.5	Context Relation, language Function and Linguistic Units	60
2.6	Topology of Process types (Martin et al,1997)	72
2.7	The Subsystem of Attitude (Martin & White, 2005)	74
2.8	Institutionalized affect of judgment and appreciation (Martin & White, 2005)	80
2.9	Conceptual framework of the study	97
3.1	Research design	102
3.2	Theoretical Models of the data analysis	107
3.3	Component of data analysis of interactive model of Miles, Huberman & Saldana (2014).	108
4.1	Cline of Power of representation (Halliday, 1961 modified by Noor (2015)	243
5.1	Ideological inclination of social actors' power representation based (Halliday, 1961) modified by Noor (2015)	259

LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Appraisal Analysis
ASEAN	- Association of South-east Asian Nations
ASN	- Aparatur Sipil Negara (Government workers or civil servants)
CDA	- Critical Discourse Analysis
CL	- Critical Linguistics
DA	- Discourse Analysis
DPD	- Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (People Representative Council)
DPR	- Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (Region Representative Council)
GOLKAR	- Golongan Karya ((literally means Functional Group)
JOKOWI	- Joko Widodo
KPK	- Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (Corruption Eradication Commission)
KKN	- Korupsi, Kolusi, Nopotisme (Corruption, Collusion, Nepotism)
KTP	- Kartu Tanda Penduduk (Indonesian ID)
KPU	- Komisi Pemilihan Umum (General Election Commission)
MPR	- Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People Consultative Assembly)
PD	- Political Discourse
POLRI	- Polisi Republik Indonesia (Indonesian Police)
PDI	- Partai Demokratik Indonesia (Indonesia Democratic Party)
PDIP	- Partai Demokratik Indonesia Perjuangan (Indonesia Democratic Party of Struggle)
Ph.D	- Philosophy Doctor
PILKADA	- Pemilihan Kepala Daerah (Election for District Head)
PPP	- Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (United Development Party)
PST	- Political Speech Texts
SEKNEG	- Sekretaris Negara (State Secretary)
SETKAB	- Sekretaris Kabinet (Cabinet Secretary)
SBY	- Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono

- SFL - Systemic Functional Linguistics
TA - Transitivity Analysis
TNI - Tentara Nasional Indonesia (Indonesia National Soldiers)



LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX	TITLE	PAGES
A	Themes of political speech texts of SBY and Jokowi	280
B	Sample of research gap	281
C	Sample of external rater certificate	284
D	Statement of proofread	285
E	Letter of Acceptance (Scopus indexed)	286



PTTA UTHM
PERPUSTAKAAN TUNKU TUN AMINAH

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

1. Suswanto Ismadi, Mohd Noor, S. N. F.& Latif, Azmi Abdul (2021). Uncovering of ideological stances of the Indonesian Presidents through an amalgamation analysis of attitudinal analysis and critical discourse analysis. *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies (Q2)*, Vol. (17) No. 4, 2021 (**SCOPUS INDEXED**).
2. Mohd Noor, S. N. F.& Megah, Suswanto Ismadi (2020). Realization of Jokowi's Hidden Ideology in the State Speech Text: A Transitivity Analysis. *Paradigm, Journal of Language and Literacy Studies*, Vol 3. No.2. (**SINTA 2 INDEXED**)
3. Megah, Suswanto Ismadi, Mohd Noor, S. N. F. and Latif, Azmi Abdul (2021). Unmasking of the President Joko Widodo's Ideology Stances Realized in his Political Speech towards the People of Indonesia. *Language Circle Journal*, Volume 15, Number 2, April 2021 (**SINTA 3 INDEXED**)
4. Megah, Suswanto Ismadi, & Mohd Noor, S. N. F. (2022a). Investigating Jokowi's ideological stance of President Jokowi toward the people in the presidential speech. *Res Militaris: Social Science Journal* (**SCOPUS INDEXED**)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses introduction that becomes the foundation to conduct a study investigating the ideological stances behind the Political Speech Texts (PST) of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (henceforth, SBY) and President Jokowi Widodo (henceforth, Jokowi) in the reformation era. Initially, section 1.2 provides the background of the study to conduct the study. It covers socio-political issues concerning ideological stances of SBY and Jokowi, the reasons for choosing Transitivity and Appraisal theory as the analytical framework in analyzing the datasets. Section 1.3 provides problem statement. Section 1.4 and 1.5 respectively present objectives of the study and research questions. Then, Section 1.6 and 1.7 focuses the significance and scope of the study as an attempt to address the research problems. Section 1.8 and 1.9 cover definition of key terms used in this study and organization of chapters. Finally, 1.10 comes to summary of this chapter.

1.2 Background of study

Indonesia encounters political changes, started in 1998 from an authoritarian government to a democratic country. It was a very crucial year of the political history of Indonesia to end the new order and to open the reformation era (Sasono, 2019, p.1). These political changes affect politics and other areas such as economics, education, law enforcement (Santoso, 2002, 2003, 2012; Ningsih, 2016; Kristiono, 2017; Ahlstrand, 2018). In the new order that was finalized by then resigning President Soeharto in 1998, it was seen that Indonesian politicians changed their political aims

for changing their positions (Fuad, 2014; Ahlstrand, 2018). This new era is historically marked as the reformation era of the Soeharto post era. This reformation era provided Indonesians with socio-political expression through speech. By the freedom in expressing ideas, criticism and thoughts is delivered to the Indonesian people. According to Abdulameer et al. (2019), these two eras have provided politicians to modify their political ways to influence people emotionally and logically by freedom of speech. Hence, free speech is a vital medium for disseminating thoughts, ideology and ideas. There is relevant relation between politics, ideology and the government (Fairclough, 1989; Hudson, 1978; van Dijk, 1997). As the government leader, a president may transfer his policies and political position via political speeches (Zhu&Wang, 2020).

Furthermore, the reformation movement has changed the Indonesian political direction from an authoritarian government to a democratic country. Consequently, it has significantly affected public discourse patterns, particularly in free political expressions in public space that is not strictly prohibited nowadays. Such freedom of political speech has enacted the courage to deliver political desire for more than three decades quickly. In the past, Indonesian people were banned from expressing their political ideas the authoritarian government. It had 'killed' socio-political development, and political language was not able to expand widely. It was not merely in the development of the political area but also affected the linguistic perspective because of strict control. Political speech delivered by a political leader such as president is regarded as 'the voice of the nation' (Rehman, 2020).

This study deals with the Indonesian Presidents in the reformation era or Post Soeharto New Era, especially SBY and Jokowi employ language as a political tool to garner public interest in their political ideologies. Thus, language is viewed as functioning as an effective way to transfer political messages to their people. The political speech texts of SBY and Jokowi, the sixth and seventh presidents of Indonesia has become of interest to political analysts and linguistic researchers to enlarge the body of knowledge to give a better understanding, thinking, manner, and judgments of the political situation in Indonesia.

Ideology is essential for Indonesian presidents. The national ideology is institutionalized through a political speech delivered by a president to maintain of his power (Zhu & Wang, 2020). Unfortunately, nowadays, some Indonesian people attempt to ruin the Indonesian Ideology, *Pancasila* and change it with certain Ideology

(Mohammed, 2010; Jones, 2015; Galamas, 2015; Latupeirissa et al, 2019) to convey Ideology in society realized through a political speech delivered by national leaders, for instances Indonesian presidents. Thus, modern society regards language as a device to communicate and is used to deliver an ideology used by its user. Santoso (2012) adds that every language user uses in public space can be categorized as ideological dissemination.

Further, language is not free value, but it has a vested interest in its language producer. Hence, the politician uses language as a medium for his political aims through language. The interest of politics is about the power to control people, resources, and human's beliefs mainly mediated by language (Suharto, 2016; Mcclay, 2017; Abdulameer et al, 2019; Zhu & Wang, 2020; Mushtag et al, 2020). A politician has two ways to achieve his political goals. Fairclough (1989) stated two ways to maintain and gain power through coercion and consent. The first way is easier because of the great struggle with the fight and higher risk due to resistance and encounter violence. Leaders or politicians should avoid this frontal way to achieve their political aims. The second way is consent; it is a very effective way to achieve political aims. This way can be manifested into the leader or politician's speech, such as presidential speech.

There are some reasons to use the political speeches of the Indonesia Presidents in the reformation era. Mcclay (2017) emphasized that political leaders' Ideology can be mediated through a political speech. Therefore, the use of political speech is a very effective and efficient way to deliver Ideology. What had happened to President Soekarno was also experienced by President Habibie when most Parliament members rejected his state speech of accountability (Firdausi, 2020). Consequently, he was not allowed to propose himself as a presidential candidate for the next presidential election. Then, the state speech is a parameter to look at the successful parameter of the incumbent President. Further, the state speaker or the state leaders (Presidents) directly or indirectly impact the people whether politically or economically, for instance, the additional salary for civil servants or the army is usually announced during the state speech that is the main cause of rising prices in all sectors. Moreover, a presidential state speech draws the ideas, thoughts, and beliefs of a country's ruler because it manifests leadership, particularly in politics (Kweldju, 2006). More specifically, a state speech is an interesting topic to be analyzed in terms of political language's perspective because it has various linguistic features (Suharto, 2016). Thus, Presidential or political speech constitutes the annual duties of the Indonesian presidents is to deliver a speech in the

annual session of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) to present various issues, including their performance during the past year (Muqoffa et al., 2019).

Socio-political issues are very vital in the presidential speech texts of the Indonesian presidents. Since the Presidents' speeches always present public policy, what the Presidents say are considered an important issue by the government. Besides, political speech is for the struggle to maintain power (Burhanuddin&Sumarlam, 2015; Sharndharma, 2015; Suharto, 2016; Noermanzah, 2017). The Presidents' speeches as political speeches are motivated by the desire to persuade and convince the nation or society and familiarize listeners with the government's policies, plans, and socioeconomic actions. The presidential speeches occupy a vital position as the main medium in delivering and implementing government programs based on people's aspirations. Presidential speeches also influence how society thinks about existing socio-political realities (Eriyanto, 2011, Zhu&Wang, 2020)..

Further, a president's political speeches are the process of embodying power to put specific political, economic, and social issues (Sharndama, 2015). Mustafa (2014) adds that influential figures address the political speeches; for instance, state leaders are crucial to discuss national interest, economic policy, and political issues internationally recognized, which will impact the political the people and governmental policymaking. Kusumaningrum (2014) emphasized that presidential speech focused on politics and the economy. Besides, Indonesia has embraced active and passive foreign policy. Therefore, this present study will cover all the elements in the presidential speeches as the political speeches are significant because they should cover specific topics such as politics, economy, legal, social life, and international issues. Those issues are fundamental to be identified to understand to whom the president addresses the topics.

Why only SBY and Jokowi's speeches are selected to be investigated in this study? There have been five presidents during the reformation era that govern the Republic of Indonesia. They are Habibie, Gus Dur, Megawati, SBY, and Jokowi. Habibie, Gus Dur and Megawati never finished ruling the nation in one period; they are in the transitional era from the military ruling government to a more democratic government (Makhasuci et al, 2007). After the fall of Suharto more than two decades ago, the specific time period of democratic Presidential Election transformed the succession of power from the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono(SBY) presidency to the Joko Widodo (Jokowi) presidency (Ahlstrand, 2018). Besides, SBY or Jokowi are elected fairly and directly for two periods each by Indonesian people by having different

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