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Investigating Jokowi's Ideological Content Through the Representation of the People of Indonesia in His Political Speeches

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Abstract: This paper aimed to discover President Joko Widodo (Jokowi)´s ideology via his political speeches delivered on the occasion of the Indonesian Independence Day every August 16, in 2015-219. The main objective of this study is to investigate Jokowi's ideology by using the patterns of transitivity. This paper adopts Norman Fairclough (1995) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which is analyzed with Halliday and Matthiessen (2014)'s Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) based on van Leeuwen's theory of socio semiotics (2008). The political goal is realized through the representation of social actors in the political speech text. This study adopted three primary analytical tools of transitivity system, types of process, the grammatical participant roles, and the role allocation of social actors. The results showed that Jokowi represented the government in the grammatical participant role of the Actor in the material process. Moreover, Jokowi allocated the government as the most frequently represented in the activation role. His ideological content is embedded in his political speech text to build a positive image of his administration, considered as the acting taker to entrust that he and his staff worked hard. This was done to convince the audiences that his government is a working institution to gain support from his constituents. This study can be studied from another perspective in term of socio-economic perspective to unpack the ideological content behind his speeches. Therefore, it will be obtained wider understanding of his ideological stances inside his speeches.

1. Introduction

Political speech is used to channel political interest by politicians to achieve a certain power. The political interes covered by political speech may load an ideology for political leaders (Shodikin, 2018; Mushtaq et al, 2020). Political speech is delivered by influential figures, for instance, a president can influence the people and the world because it makes a policy recognized either nationally or internationally (Bayram, 2010; Mustafa,2014; Musthaq et al, 2020). A political speech employed language realized and represented in the clause the text influenced by its context of situation and culture (Halliday, 1985). President Joko Widodo is the seventh president of the Republic of Indonesia is popularly called 'Jokowi', a phenomenon since he comes from the ordinary class unlike the other Indonesian presidents who come from the Indonesian elite (Burhanuddin&Sumarlam, 2014). He has no political background to jump into the political world started from the major of Surakarta. He is not a good orator to awake the audience. How Jokowi deploys his ideologies can be realized via his political speech text delivered on the occasion of the Indonesian Independence Day.

Through political speech, Jokowi attempts to build his power relation to specific intended audiences. In the Indonesian political system, a president is regarded as a political leader who leads a fundamental institution as the state and government leader. According to the Indonesian constitution (UUD 45) a president is mandated by the Indonesian parliament to lead for five years. Therefore, the Indonesian president struggles to deploy political interests using interesting words or sentences to attract people's attention since the people of Indonesia who vote for the president directly using the system of 'one man one vote. The usage of interesting words and sentences may bring positively plant a particular ideology (Fowler, 1986, Nejad et al, 2013; Mcclay, 2017; Mushtag et al, 2020).

In the political world, political leader communicates to the audiences via political speech to disseminate their certain ideology (Asad et al, 2019a; Abdulameer et al, 2019). Therefore, this political speech may bring the politicians to construe their political goals logically and emotionally to influence the people through political speech (Abdulameer et al, 2019). The political speech delivered by state leader may load ideological inclination (Nejad et al, 2013; Hampl, 2014; Musthag et la, 2020). Thus, it is crucial for a president to transfer their political goals through their political speech as a political leader. It is relevant to (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, 2014) when a man or woman speaks or writes, they produce a text. Therefore, a good orator can produce political language to influence their political intention, preconceptions, ambitions, and even fears of audiences in public (Fairclough, 1989;1995; 2001; 2003). Thus, the ideological inclination can be realized through how a president as a political leader conveys his ideologies via state speech or presidential delivered officially. The political view can be portrayed via political texts to influences their constituents (Asad et al, 2019c; Abdulameer et al, 2019).

To find out ideological construction transitivity analysis can be utilized to focus on three main elements: the process, the participants, and the circumstances (Zhang, 2017) as well as achieving a certain political goal via the medium of the language of the Actor represented in the text (Asad et al, 2019a). The transitivity system gives an analytical tool for the researchers to investigate certain ideologies through the process types and participant roles particularly clausal form (Asad et al, 2019b). This study seeks the ideological inclination of Jokowi through delivering pollical speeches to represent the selected social actors such as the president, government, and people of Indonesia as the social actors in the clausal forms of the grammatical participant roles and process types of the transitivity analytical system. Leaving the circumstances, they consist of prepositional phrases and adverbs peripheral to the transitivity structure with an obligatory process and participants (Noor, 2015). This study focuses on the use of transitivity incorporates with critical discourse analysis (CDA) and the social actors' representation used by Jokowi in his speech.

1.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is a theory introduced by Michael Alexander Kirkwood in 1978. SFL introduces an analytical tool to discriminate each word within a clausal form by its lexical and grammatical meaning to grab with CDA (Asad et al, 2019a). CDA is an approach to unmask the hidden ideologies behind texts. CDA is used to open the certain social expressions in which language has taken the molded form based on its context/circumstances (Noor&Megah, 2020, p.73). Thus, the texts constitute social spaces in which social interaction and cognition are two fundamental social processes. Therefore, the systemic functional study is found in the analysis of CDA in the work of van Dijk (1993), Wodak et al (2005), and Fairclough (1995). Halliday's thoughts of SFL that grammar cannot be separated from its social functions. This study adopts the CDA of Fairclough's models (1995), which concerns discourse analysis, including a linguistic description of the text, interpretation of how text is invented, distributed, and consumed, and explanation linked to the discursive and social processes.It alsoconnects language and social reality in social life through critical discourse analysis (CDA), which is the language used to analyze inequality, imbalance, and injustice in social life. Presidential or political speech exemplifies language abuse considered as inequality and imbalance (Nejad et al, 2013). This study analyzes the political speech text via transitivity since " transitivity analysis is significant for spoken texts (Zhang, 2017, p.65).This study combines SFL, particularly transitivity analysis, to unpack the ideological content realized by the representations of the selected social actors in the political speech texts of Jokowi.

1.2 Social actor representation

In this current study, the representations of social actors by Fairclough (1995) and by Van Leeuwen (2008) will be adopted as the underpinning of SFL in their framework. The representation of social Actor will employ Van Leeuwen's theory (2008) scrutinizing the social Actor allocated as the performer of action considered as the active, dynamic forces in an activity. However, passivation happens when the social Actor is the recipient action or is shown as undergoing the activity (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.32-33). Further Noor (2017, p.52) employs the approach of Systemic Functional Linguistics, and transitivity analysis incorporates with socio semiotic approach to identify social actors' representation in the speech texts. The social actors can be selected based on the categories as per their role in context as Activation and Passivation (Asad, 2019c). The selected social actors in this study comprise the president, the government, and the people (the people of Indonesia) since the Indonesian presidents are mandated as the state leader, The government leader and people's representation in the Indonesian constitution.

1.3 Ideology

Ideology constitutes an important element for political leaders to maintain their power. Ideology is "a set of beliefs to be used to maintain power relation" (Beard, 2000, p.118). Ideology can be planted through the use of language such as political speech delivered by politicians. Ideology is viewed as coding angles which permeate through the use of language (Martin, 1992). The Indonesian presidents maximize their presidential speeches to deploy their intentional ideologies to the audiences. Ideology constitutes a societal and national phenomenon trusted by an individual and a group of people. Ideologies can be realized in the language use,and how it may contribute to maintaining power, domination, and exploitation (Fairclough, 2003). The manifestation of ideology can be disseminated through vocabularies, grammar, and text structure (Santoso, 2012). This study applies transitivity analysis to unpack the ideological stances of Jokowi inserted in his political speech text via the representation of the selected social actors.

2. Materials and Methods

This study adopted a qualitative descriptive research approach, using quantitative data analysis to identify the speaker's ideological inclination. (Nejad et al, 2013). The study was framed using the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Fairclough (1995) incorporated with the Systematic Functional Linguistic (SFL) of Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 2014). The theoretical framework was applied as analytical tools to unpack Jokowi's ideology hidden inside the political speech texts. This is done to

identify how Jokowi's ideological inclinations toward the selected social actors adopting the socio semiotic inventory of Leeuwen (2008) in terms of activation and passivation.

2.1 Data sets

Data sets obtained from online websites retrieved from the www.setkab.go.id had been downsized based on the selected social actors in 2015 as the first presidential speech. The total word count was 3.226 words. This speech was a prominent speech of Jokowi since it was the first speech used to determine the political direction of Jokowi. The Indonesian Independence Day's presidential speech was regarded as the most prominent speech for Indonesian presidents (Suharto, 2016). Ideology can be traced via the representation of the selected social actors (the president, government, and people) in their grammatical participant roles and process types.

2.2 Analytical procedures

The data sets were downloaded to be copied and pasted into prepared word processing of windows 2010 (MS word 2016). The data sets were then divided into phrases and sentences and lastly into clauses. The clauses were pasted into a widely available spreadsheet software package for each specific analysis (MS Excel) to be analyzed (Noor, 2017; Abdulameer et al, 2019).

3. Results and Discussion

The results focuses on the political speech text of Jokowi to unpack his ideologies. This study concerns three major analytical categories; the process types, participants' grammatical roles, and the roles' allocation in terms of activation and passivation of the selected social actors. This study will discuss the most frequency of the occurrences to indicate ideological inclination (Nejad et al, 2013). Therefore, the most frequent representation will be a guide to identify Jokowi's ideological tendencies.

3.1 Results

The results can be presented through the types of processes, the grammatical participant roles, and the role allocation of the selected social actors respectively. The types of the process can be seen in table 1.

Table 1: Transitivity results of social actors in Jokowi's speech

Process	President	Government	People	Total
Material	7 (6.3%)	32 (28.8%)	14 (12.6%)	35 (31.5%)
Behavioural	0 (0%)	1 (0.9%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.9%)
Mental	4 (3.6%)	12 (10.8%)	9 (8.1%)	26 (23.4%)
Verbal	3 (2.6%)	1 (0.9%)	0 (0%)	4 (3.6%)
Relational	0 (0%)	8 (7.2%)	17 (15.3%)	25 (22.5%)
Existential	0 (0%)	2 (1,8%)	1 (0.9%)	3 (2.6%)
	14 (12.6%)	56 (50.4%)	41 (36.9%)	111(100%)

As can be seen in Table 1 that the material process came as the most frequently represented by Jokowi with 35 occurrences (31.5%) exceeded the five other processes. The social actors are mostly represented came to the government with 56 occurrences (50.4%). This indicates that Jokowi has a tendency to represent the government exceeded the two other social actors (the president and the people). The government mainly was represented as Jokowi's favor in focusing on the government.

Table 2: Participant role of social actors in Jokowi's speech

	President	Government	People	Total
Actor	6 (5.4%)	28 (25.2%)	8 (7.2%)	42 (37.4%)
Sayer	3 (2.6%)	1 (0.9%)		4 (3.6%)

Behaver		1 (0.9%)		1 (0.9%)
Senser	4 (3.6%)	11 (9.8%)	9 (8.1%)	24 (21.4%)
Carrier		6 (5.4%)	13 (11.7%)	19 (17.1%)
Token		1 (0.9%)	1 (0.9%)	2 (1.8%)
Existent		2 (1.8%)	1 (0.9%)	3 (2.6%)
Goal	1 (0.9%)	4 (3.6%)	6 (5.4%)	11 (9.8%)
Phenomenon		1 (0.9%)		1 (0.9%)
Attribute		1 (0.9%)	1 (0.9%)	4 (3.6%)
Value			1 (0.9%)	1 (0.9%)
	14 (12.6%)	56 (50.4%)	41 (36.9%)	111(100%)

Table 2 presents that Jokowi mostly represented the government by using the grammatical participant role of the Actor with 28 occurrences (25.2%) exceeded the other participants' roles. The second place was occupied by the grammatical participant role of the Carrier with 13 occurrences (11.7%) of the people. In comparison, the third position came to Senser with 9 occurrences of the grammatical participant role of people. Thus, the social actors have mostly represented came to the government with the grammatical participant role of the Actor. This shows that Jokowi represented the government using the material process with the grammatical role of Actor.

Table 3: Role allocation roles of Social Actors in Jokowi's speeches

	President	Government	People	Total
Activation	13	50 (50.1%)	22	85 (76.5%)
Passivation	1	6	19	26 (23.5%)
	14 (%)	56 (%)	41 (%)	111(100%)

As shown in table 3, the results it has been found in Jokowi's speech as the most active 'doer' in activation with the total number of 85 occurrences (76.5%) compared to passivation only 26 occurrences (23.5%)., Jokowi has portrayed the government as 50 occurrences (50.1%) in activation role allocation while only 6 occurrences (5.4%) in the passivation role. It has been seen that Jokowi inclined to allocate the government as 'the active doer'.

3.2 Discussions

As already displayed in the previous part the grammatical role of the political speech delivered by Jokowi that government was construed favourably by Jokowi. This showed that Jokowi tended to incline the government as the most favourable Actor in his political representation since it had a very important role in the political speech texts.

Transitivity process types mostly came to the Material process with the grammatical participant role of Actor. Apart from activation or passivation of the way Jokowi represented the government based on the role allocation mostly came to the government in activation role. Thus, Jokowi represented the government as the active doer to indicate that the government is active institution. His statement emphasized the government represented as the active doer by Jokowi to give a positive view from the intended audiences. This has given that his government is considered as the working cabinets, it was similar to his cabinets' name the working cabinets.

The material process was most frequently used in the speech of Jokowi. Jokowi attempted to convince the audience by presenting what has done in conducting his obligation as the government leader. The material process is the clause of "doing and happening" (Halliday&Matthiessen, 2014, p.224). Noor (2017) augmented that the material process was used to indicate that the government as the action taker. Abdulameer et al (2019) agreed that as a politician, doing action is essential to gainive

trust from his audience to strengthen his power and to present that he is doing his job. Mardion (2021) emphasized that Jokowi convinced his audiences as the trustful and influential person to manage his government. Jokowi has shown that he has focused on his effort realized in his speech that his effort would be accepted and understood by the audiences.

In addition, the usage of the prominent process showed that Jokowi made some effort to handle the government, as provided in his speech (Supadmi et al, 2020). It links to Siddiq et al (2021) that Jokowi had a great lesson to give his audiences understood what he had done to focus his work as his main priorityin front of the audience. Thus, the ideological content behind his political speech text to build a positive image of his administration was considered as the acting taker to entrust that he and his staff worked hard.

4. Conclusion

Jokowipresidential speech delivered on the Indonesian Independence Day revealed that President, government, and people are the main selected social actors represented. Through three major analytical tools of the transitivity analysis, the results showed that the social actors are mostly represented came to the government with 56 occurrences (50.4%) of the material process, while the grammatical participant role of Actor with 28 occurrences (25.2%). Jokowi has portrayed the government as with 50 occurrences (50.1%) in activation role. Thus, the ideological content behind his political speech text to build a positive image of his administration is considered the acting taker to entrust that he and his staff worked hard. It indicates that his speech has ideological content to convince the audience that his government is the working government to obtain a positive image from his constituents.

Jokowi has contributed to giving significant contribution to improving the Indonesia government through a different type of his leadership by using simple words in speeches. Jokowi did in order to give easier understanding to all audiences. It was influenced by his social background who came from ordinary family, which it enabled to have simple speeches to deliver his political intentions. In Makmur (2016), Jokowi has different speech styles such as impression, open, dominant, friendly, and quite animated. These made him different from the Indonesian former presidents from the Javanese-Indonesian elites who tended to speak more indirectly and formally.

Limitation of the Study

The paper is limited to the presidential speech delivered by President Jokowi, only his first term of presidential period. It enables to study more deeply via other analytical tools to get more understanding in linguistics and politics. By the adoption of Transitivity analysis of the Systemic Functional Linguistics to construe ideological inclination of the grammatical choices in the speech texts.

Application of the Study

The paper can be used in linguistics and political studies in uncovering ideological inclination of the state speech delivered by a president. Furthermore, it covers the political impact and ideological intention. For further researchers may study ideological content inside the presidential speech via another perspective.

Acknowledgment

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