



**A Mixed Analysis of investigating Ideological stances of SBY
and Jokowi through transitivity analysis of Social Actors
Represented in Their Political Speeches**

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Received: August 06, 2022; reviews: 2; accepted: November 17, 2022.

Abstract

This paper aims to investigate ideological stances of President Susilo Yudhoyono (henceforth, SBY) and President Jokowi Widodo (henceforth, Jokowi). By representing social actors mentioned their political speeches. It is used to open ideologies behind their speeches by representing the most favorable social actors. This study was designed qualitatively by using Fairclough's framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL), particularly transitivity system of Halliday and Matthiessen's (2014) theory as an analytical tool. Besides, by combining van Leeuwen's (2008) and Haig's (2012) participant level in order to identify the most powerful social actor mentioned in the speeches. The data obtained from ten selected speeches of SBY (29,675 words) and speeches of Jokowi (21,425 words) of the most important speeches conveyed in the occasion of the Indonesian Independence Day. The data collected during 2010 - 2019. The findings shows that both presidents represented the government as the mostly social actors mentioned in their speeches. By opting material process rather than the others that SBY and Jokowi show their ideological tendency toward the government. It means that they want

to show to the audiences that they are as acting takers. This was done to strengthen their ideologies as the hard-work government in order to get sympathy and support from their constituents. In contrast, the law-enforcer was represented the least representation by both presidents. SBY represented the law-enforcer as Actor, while Jokowi used as Goal of the material process. This indicates the law-enforcer is not main priority by both presidents. This showed that both presidents have no high interest to uphold law supremacy. Thus, both presidents want to be regarded as the hard worker presidents to have trust from the people.

Keywords

Ideological stances, transitivity, social actors and political speeches

I. Introduction

In the two three decades, Indonesia has experienced great change from a strong dictatorship regime to democratic nation (Santosa et al, 2014). Flashback to the fall of the new order era or Soeharto's era as the impact of student protesters' demand in 1998 has invented a variety of speech as freedom of speech, which was impossible done in the Soeharto 's era. This era which is historically marked out as the reformation era. This era open access for Indonesian to their socio-political expression via speech freedom. Therefore, this decade drives politicians construe their political goals logically and emotionally to influence the people through political speech (Abdulameer, 2019). This expression has resulted in freer political discursive speech. Political speeches can be realized via spoken or written texts. President as political leader covey his political goal through political speech. Speech is a written spoken text as a way to transfer message to influence people. It is relevant to (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, 2014) when person says or writes, they produce text.

Speech is a vital way to transfer ideas, thoughts, desires, and ideology. Speech is spoken written texts, which is delivered by influential figures, for instance, a president will significantly impact to people and the world due to it makes a policy recognized by either nationally or internationally (Mustafa,2014). In a speech is usually utilize language as to tool and the text is influenced by a context (Halliday, 1999). Language is used to express semiotic reality which is a relationship with text and context (Matthiessen,1995, Halliday&Martin,1993). Thus, language is a crucial medium used in political speeches for the president to impart their ideas, thoughts, programs, policies, etc. In line with (Schudson, 2002) and Aakhus (2007) language is a medium to arise a certain political goal for the president to make people understand what they deliver via political language. Political speeches are paths for presidents to involve social actors' representation to achieve ideological power. Besides, Abdulameer et al (2019) observed recently all politicians include the presidents have certain attempt to influence the people through their political speech as the effective way to make the people influenced of the speeches conveyed in terms of presidential speeches' texts, these affect the

great impact and which also disseminate and mystify ideological contents when one listens or reads the texts. Those results to find the ideological stance inside the texts, which pushes it to make policies in a period of his national service. In this situation, a president may manipulate and use of language to result in hegemony in the society. This idea of hegemony is firstly emerged by Gramsci to look at language can be mediated to emerge political hegemony since politics is considered as an effort to achieve for hegemony. Jalali (2014) augmented hegemony drives to preserve power by inserting an ideology inside the power.

As explanation above, it is very urgent to carry out this research so as to discover ideological stances of Indonesian presidents. The results of this research will be beneficial for further understanding of hidden ideology and political discourse. Based on the research problems. Therefore, this research has some aims to discover ideological stances of the Indonesian presidents in the reformation era. in more detailed formulation as follows.

II. Problem Of Statement

SFL, introduced by Halliday, is used to investigate SBY and Jokowi's state speech texts to find the Ideology behind them. Halliday (1994) regards grammar as a relation to its social function. As stated by Thahara et al. (2019) and Sharndama (2015), language and politics are inspirable, hence both work together. Politicians spread political and ideological goals mediated by language. Therefore, language is the most effective way to convey political goals such as power, domination, hegemony, and Ideology, whereas Ideology itself is a set of beliefs to be believed. According to Fairclough (2001), ideologies are closely related to power because ideologies are contingent on power relations embedded in a particular text. Besides, ideologies are closely associated with language since language is the most typical form of social behaviour. Contrary to the close relationship between these aspects, linguists have paid less attention to how Ideology is inspired by the discourse, which has limited linguistics.

Santoso (2002, 2012) stated that the 'Transitivity' process reveals the ideology. Therefore, this study focuses on state speech texts and ideology represented in their state speeches viewed in terms of language function, particularly CDA and SFL theory, to fill a gap in a study. This gap will be the novelty of this research. A president's political speech will influence some groups of people (Bayram, 2010 Nejad, 2013; Mcclay, 2017, Zhang, 2017; Rehman, 2020).

Ideology can be determined from the political speech texts (Nejad et al, 2013; Wang & Zhu, 2020, Mushtag et al, 2020). As Ideology is already associated with power, SFL is the most appropriate tool to explore the hidden Ideology in the speech texts of the Indonesian Presidents in the reformation era. In terms of interpersonal meanings, ideology can be traced by examining how the presidents represented social actors in their speeches through experiential utterances. Text analysis advocates Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), particularly Transitivity analysis and Attitude analysis, which aims

to uncover ideological stance behind their speeches. Hence, CDA explains how language facilitates ideology in its context by using SFL and makes a link between the event and social structure (Fairclough, 1995). By applying SFL, identifying of the hidden meaning behind the text representation was through the representational roles of social actors in the process and participants (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). In short, this study investigates the ideology by representing of social actors in their political speeches through 'Transitivity' analysis.

AS in the Introduction that this paper has some main objectives of this study. The objectives of the study can be shown as follows;

are to:

- i. Investigate hidden ideological contents of President SBY and Jokowi.
- ii. Identify which mostly social actors are represented as the powerful and the powerless in SBY and Jokowi's speeches.
- ii. To know which social actors are involved most favourably by SBY and Jokowi

III. Literature Review

The Conceptual Framework

This section deal with Critical discourse Analysis (CDA) incorporates with Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). CDA is as the framework of this study, while SFL is as toolkits to analyze the speech texts. This study concerns to analyze text which is related to social context. Besides, this study also examines hidden ideology inside the speech texts. Therefore, this study is regarded as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). SFL is most applicable tool to investigate CDA (Noor, 2015).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is initiated by Critical Linguistics (CL) and Discourse Analysis (DA) which concern to analyze actual talk and talk in communicative events. DA tends to concern about the internal structures of the text (Fitch&Sanders,2004; Noor,2015). In fact, political speeches of presidents may express politics, power, and hegemony to strengthen political position by mentioning some actors in the speech texts, hence Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is more appropriate as the framework in this current study. As stated by Van Dijk (2006) that CDA concerns to analyze misuse of authority, superiority, and unfairness produced in the social and political context. While Fairclough (1995) views CDA imbues languages to analyze language and social theory to discover the power of ideology. Although a myriad of studies has been done in the area of CDA, these topics are not dry to study further. Mcclay (2017) adds political discourse pushes discourse itself to inspire a power struggle to discover of ideology through in the ways that the reality can be construed and social actors represented. Therefore, this critical discourse assists to uncover ideology via how speech construes the political power of the president. As an ideology is a social value of

which it becomes important for a group of people to be believed. Van Dijk (2006) ideology socially represents beliefs of groups as the foundation of their attitudes and beliefs. In this way, Indonesian presidents are taking benefits to disseminate ideologies via political speeches texts on the occasion of the Independence Day of Indonesia. In line with Abdulameer (2019) political discourse may construe political sides via political texts to achieve their political goals.

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

Language is not separated from social theory as stated by Halliday (1978) who initiated to introduce Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) that grammar and social functions cannot be separated. While Fairclough (1995) focuses on investigating text structure to explore power and ideologies. Thus, Noor (2015) connects the CDA of Fairclough and van Leeuwen's actor structure incorporates SFL in doing CDA to analyze text structure. This study employs an analytical tool of the transitivity aspect of SFL to analyze the ideational meaning of the text, which involves some actors mentioned in the speech texts of the presidents of Indonesia in the reformation era or post Soeharto. As the above explanation, these research questions can be seen below.

Transitivity Analysis (TA)

To uncover ideological stance via Transitivity system as analytical tool how speaker represents in the texts (Noor,2017). It is relevant to Yujie and Fengjie (2018) applying systemic functional linguistics, particularly transitivity as an analytical tool to analyze political speech. Using transitivity analysis enables for analysis and investigating ideological inclination in the political texts (Zhang, 2017). Transitivity is an ideational meaning to represent various entities (including people, things and mental phenomena) of the es of grammatical roles which a text is involved (Haig, 2012). Therefore, Transitivity is one of the prominent aspects of the SFL with three main elements as an analytical tool to analyze political speech texts of the Indonesian presidents' speeches. Halliday (2007, p.107) Transitivity is realized made up in processes, which comprises. (i)The process associates with verb, (ii)Participants associated with person and things (iii) Circumstances comprises of location, time, manner (Halliday, 2004/2014)

The framework above aims to interpret our experience through three elements of the transitivity. Those elements are semantically categorized to describe how the world surround represented in the text structure. As stated by (Zhang, 2017) states that the process is the main component in the transitivity system, which can be relate one ore participants and circumstances.

The transitivity system has six processes of material, mental, verbal, behavioural, relational, and existential process.](Halliday &Matthiessen, 2014, p. 213-223). The processes constitute action that can be realized in the main verb. This verb is applied for doing something. This material uses the doer for the action

and the the goal (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). To show feeling expression as in the mental processes. Types of verbs in the mental process which consists of perception, emotion, thinking and desiderative. The participants of the mental process are Sayer and phenomenon. While the verbal process covers three types of participants who consists of Sayer, Verbiage, and Target Halliday and Matthiessen. Then the process of behavior constitutes incorporation between psychological and physiological processes, the behavior constitutes of a conscious being (Noor,2015). The process which describes things and belonging comes to Relational process. The relational process constitutes of 'being' and 'having '.The relational process has two types clause, Attributive, eg. "Anton is good" and Identifying, e.g "Anton is a boy"(Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The attributive clause is used to describe quality of things, while the identifying clause is used to describe things (Bloor & Bloor, 2004, p. 121). There are two Participants in the Attributive Relational Carrier and Attribute. Attributive process points to attribute possession or ownership so is known as a Possessive process. In this case, the participants are the Possessor and the possessed (Bloor & Bloor, 2013). Existential processes are represented by expression of something existed. The last is existential process shows of 'existed something. The existential process is realized of 'there is' or 'there are' in the clauses. Thus, in transitivity system that the clause as representation incorporates with social actors represented in the political speech texts. The pattern of representation in relation to van Leeuwen's activation and passivation and Haig's level (Noor, 2015).

Representation of social actors

This theory is introduced by van Leeuwen (2008) how actors are represented explicitly or implicitly in texts. imparted by SBY and Jokowi based on socio-political issues. Social actors can be categorized in an analytical discursive model. Van Leeuwen (2008) categorizes social actors using terms of inclusion and exclusion. Based on roles of social actors, they are taxonomized in a discursive context such as activation and passivation (Asad (2019). This theory is developed as an analytical method to study of CDA, which is called the socio-semantic inventory, in which social actors are represented (Noor,2015). Adopting the representation of social actors to incorporate with SFL to analyze grammatical roles in the speech texts. Van Leeuwen (2008) reallocate of social actors can be obtained through activate and passivate of the actors. Activation is when social actors represented as the active, energetic and vigorous power and identified as 'doers' (van Leeuwen, 2005). Realization of activated social actors as in Actor in the material process, Sayer realizes verbal process, while mental process is represented by Sayer then Assigner realizes relational process (Halliday&Matthiessen, 2004/2014). Van Leeuwen (2008) added that activation can realized via circumtalization using preposition of 'by' and 'from'. Passivation is realized by social actors when the actors are 'undertaken' or passivated the work. Passivation has two types of social actors. First is subjected actors, when they are

treated as in objects. Second is beneficialized social actors, when the actors placed in the third part positively or negatively from the event. For instances, the beneficialized actors can be realized as Recipient and client in the Material process and the verbal process has Receiver. Fairclough's and van Leeuwen frameworks are formed to investigate and describe between discourse and social action (Noor,2015). This current research employs those theoretical frameworks to investigate ideological stances using of social actors involved in the state speeches by Indonesian presidents in the post's new era. Noor (2017) augmented that CDA focuses on unbalancing in society, in which the texts are structured to investigate power and ideologies. Haig (2012) observed how youth crime reported on the radio broadcast was consumed as the media and political agenda in the UK. By combining van Leeuwen's (2008) category and Haig's (2012) level to represent various actors in this current research.

IV. Method

Research design

This study was designed for descriptive-qualitative research type. An amalgamation of qualitative and quantitative research supported the result of this study. As stated by Alsanafi(2019) employing both research types, the qualitative and quantitative enable to give diverse realizations for more contributive-dynamic multiplicity research. Since descriptive qualitative research type to be applied to analyze the lexical utterance of the texts (Santosa,2017). Further, Geissler (2016) added qualitative research was used for a social science to answer questions of 'how' and 'why'. Therefore, the quantitative research type underpins the qualitative research design of the transitivity analysis to investigate social actors align or disalign in this current study.

Data

The data set was obtained from ten (10) speeches on socio-political issues in the state speech texts which were delivered by SBY and Jokowi on the occasion of the Indonesian Independence Day. The data were downloaded were *setkab* (secretary of the cabinet) of President Jokowi while from the official website of *Sekneg* ('Sekretaris negara' or Secretary of the state) of President SBY by selecting of the English version only. The number of the total words of both presidents is 51,100 words which comprises of SBY speeches of 29,675 words, while Jokowi has 21,425 words.

Data analysis procedure

The data set which comprised 51,100 words from ten selected-prominent state speeches of SBY and JKW. Using Fairclough's (1995) Critical Discourse

Analysis within Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), particularly transitivity analysis of Halliday & Matthiessen (2014).

- a. Text Analysis: this analyzes descriptive linguistic features of the formal texts.
- b. Interpret of discursive practice by looking at broader social issues of discourse in where text is produced and consumed as the process of the text interpreted.
- c. Socio-cultural analysis which focuses on relation between discourse and society, institution, and culture, where text is explained.

The ten presidential speech texts were downloaded from *Sekneg* (State Secretary) and *Setkab's* (Cabinet secretary) official websites. Having a copy of the downloaded texts into a spreadsheet was done to ease the data analyzed. Then the data were broken down into clauses, and embedded clauses are identified for Transitivity Analysis. The data was divided into clauses since the clause is considered as representation in the transitivity system.

V. Findings And Discussion

Findings

By representing of social actors who are involved in the speech, 935 times with highest frequent occurrences come to Government with 435 times, and the grammatical role of Actor is most involved 205 times, while the least occurrences come to law-enforcer only 7 times with the most occurrences come to Actor 3 times. While JKW represents 588 times of social actors involved in his political speeches with the most occurrences come to government 261 times, whereas the least occurrences come to law-enforcer with number only 6 times with the most occurrences of the grammatical roles come to goal and phenomenon share 2 times of the occurrences.

The results are aimed to answer research questions to to uncover ideologies hidden inside the political speech texts. By employing the transitivity analysis collaborates with social actor's category, particularly activation and passivation incorporates with Haig's (2012) participant hierarchy of power. The results are more detailed description and discussion as following section.

Discussion

Referring to the selection of social actors involved in the PST, this part aims to answer the research questions how ideological stance of SBY and JKW through their political speech texts. The findings show that the government and people of Indonesia mostly represented, whereas international people and law -enforcer as least represented by SBY and JKW in their PST. The social actors categorized based on the political speech topics on socio-political issues which are.

- a) The Government

Based on the data findings that the government as the social actors are

most frequently represented by SBY and JKW. The government is mostly represented using the grammatical role of an Actor to reveal by both presidents. This shows how the government constitutes ideological stances favourably construed by SBY and JKW. Therefore, both presidents have tendencies or inclination as the acting taker as an ideological stance of both presidents by representing the government. In this study, the government is represented as the activated and powerful actor. It is relevant to Zhang (2017) both presidents to show his hardships to take any action as the material processes to show the strength of the government as the acting government. This shows inclination that SBY and Jokowi influence the audiences that their government is very good and capable to carry out its job in ruling the nation. As the Actor, the government is represented by the pronoun of 'we' and the government. Some examples of how the government is represented by SBY and JKW as Actor can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. The Government

SBY:39	<u>We</u> have conducted three honest and fair elections
SBY:318	<u>the government</u> divides support programs for poor people into four clusters.
JKW: 352	<u>the Government</u> has also developed centers of new economic growth
JKW: 453	<u>We</u> make the most of this favorable ecosystem to strengthen the stability of our macro economy and improvement of growth quality

As can be seen the table 1 above, SBY represented of social actors in the grammatical roles realized by 'we', and the government. Actors as to be invented as 'do-er', they do as the social action doer. As an example, 39 SBY's speech uses the pronoun 'we' as the representation of the government to conduct three and fair elections. While the example 319 shows how SBY represents the government is doing programs for clustering the poor people into four clusters. The Actors here have the discursive role to create the action in carrying out the general election more fairly, then the government is doing to support poor people. Thus, the government was represented as an actor, in which the government is categorized as the activated participant of van Leeuwen's (2008) framework and the powerful participant according to Haig's (2012). Ideological stance shows that SBY represents the government as the powerful acting taker. It is similar with SBY, Jokowi also represents the government in the grammatical role as the Actor. This can be seen in examples 352 and 453. Those examples are representation of the government as social actors construed by Jokowi. The social actors are realized by 'the government' and 'we'. As the example 352, JKW shows that the government represented as do-er by developing new economic growth. While the example 453 shows the government is realized by 'we'. JKW represents the government does strengthening economic macro. To sum, both presidents have tendencies to represent as the powerful acting doer. SBY has more concerned about the carrying of government programs such as general election and helping poor people via his program. While JKW tends to strengthen the economic side.

b) The People of Indonesia

As social actor, the people of Indonesia are very important for the president to involve them in the PST since according to Indonesian law, the president is directly elected by the people. therefore, the people should be paid attention by the Indonesian presidents. SBY mostly represents the people of Indonesia in the grammatical role as a Senser. Senser is an activated actor and the activated participant as in van Leeuwen's (2008) framework. Thus, SBY discursively treated the people of Indonesia using the way of his emotion. It is relevant to Zhang (2017) that Senser constitutes the process of emotional expression realized in the affective, cognitive and perceptive utterances to the subjects. On the hand, JKW represents the people of Indonesia mostly as a Carrier in the relational process. To look at more details as these examples below.

Table 2. The People of Indonesia

SBY:858	all Indonesian people from Sabang to Merauke will happily celebrate the proclamation of the independence of the Indonesian people
SBY:884	I believe this is [[what our <u>people</u> hope for the most right now]].
JKW:371	The protection of our <u>citizens</u> overseas also becomes our common commitment
JKW: 465	<u>they</u> can have legal certainty of asset ownership

As Table 2 above 858 and 884 SBY represents the people of Indonesia through the grammatical role Senser. Senser is classified as the activated social actor (van Leewun,2008) and a powerful actor by Haig's (2012) theory. Thus, it shows how ideological stance of SBY to the people of Indonesia as an activated social actor and the powerful social actor by using the transitivity in term of Mental process to show his empathy to treat the people of Indonesia. It means, he wants to get sympathy from the people. while the other hand, as can be seen examples no 371 and 465 the people of Indonesia mostly represented the grammatical role of a Carrier by JKW. The Carrier falls outside according to van Leeuwen's (2008) category, and outside of the classification of the power participant hierarchy (Haig, 2012). In this case, Carrier is classified as passivated and powerless actors. It is relevant to Noor (20015), Carrier can be passivated in a certain type. JKW represents the people of Indonesia in term of relational process to assign the attribute of 'having' that people have protection from the nation.

c) International people

International people are involved in the PST as the realization of Indonesia foreign policy. Therefore, they are important for Indonesian presidents to involve them in their PST. How SBY and JKW represent the international people as shown by SBY that the international people are represented in the grammatical role of the Goal. The International people are categorized as the passivated actor in van Leeuwen's (2008) framework, and the powerless participant as in Haig's (2012)

hierarchy. Interestingly JKW also represents the international people as the powerless and passivated social actors. It is similar to SBY in representing the international people as weak actor. In line with SBY, all Indonesian presidents' position as the active actors toward the international people due to it is relevant to the Indonesian foreign policy, that Indonesia always takes part in the international activities mainly initiated by UN, for instance, sending peacekeepers troops to the conflict countries. Those can be seen in table 3.

Table 3. The International people

SBY:325	We undertake all those efforts [[to ensure that << ASEAN cooperation can bring benefits to <u>its entire peoples</u> >>]]
SBY:318	we manage to prove <u>the world</u>
JKW: 370	Indonesian diplomacy took the necessary moves [[to defend <u>the Palestinian people</u>]]
JKW: 546	We must move faster and be better than <u>our neighboring countries</u>

Examples 325 and 318 as shown in the Table 3 SBY represent the international people represented by SBY passively as the grammatical role of Goal. This can be interpreted that Indonesian's role in the world activities actively. Therefore, SBY represented the International people as the active marker to the international people. This shows an inclination of an ideological stance of SBY as the active policymaker to assists the International people who need of the Indonesian government's help. This is done to show that Indonesia is a great country. While, JKW also places the international people represented as the grammatical role of Goal. As can be described in the Example 370 that Indonesia actively plays to support for gaining of Palestinian people to retrieve their independence. Example 548 shows how JKW represents other international people, for instance neighbouring countries or ASEAN countries that Indonesia moves faster than other ASEAN countries in all aspects as Indonesia is the biggest country in Southeast Asian. Thus, an inclination of an ideological stance of JKW that the international people as the passive participant according to van Leeuwen's (2008) category and the powerless actor by Haig's (2012) hierarchy., JKW has an ideological stance to the international people as the passive and powerless social actor to be subjected by Indonesia.

d) Law enforcer

Legal is one priority in the PST, the legal is represented by the social actor of the law-enforcer who is represented in the PST by SBY and JKW. The findings show that the law-enforcer is represented with a small portion by both presidents. The grammatical role of the law-enforcer represented as the most occurrences of an Actor as examples below.

Table 4. The Law-enforcer

SBY:554	The Indonesian National Police, the Attorney General's Office, and the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) as law enforcement institutions, must truly support and strengthen each other [aacc-asia.org 13] Internet Source
JKW:124	We hope to have <u>the reliable KPK leaders capable of making the anti-corruption institution work effectively</u>

As can be seen in The examples above that the focus of both presidents is the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) which is why corruption as the main concern since corruption becomes 'chronic diseases' as the demand for reformation rally to eradicate the corruption. Therefore, the KPK is law-enforcer institution for corruption eradication, but both presidents give small portions involved in their PST. As in the Example 554, SBY represented the law-enforcer as the grammatical role of Actor. This can be interpreted that SBY has a concern to strengthen the law-enforcement. Therefore, the law-enforcer represented as the activated social actor according to van Leeuwen's (2008) framework, and as the powerful actor according to Haig's (2012) hierarchy. This shows that SBY inclines ideological stance to uphold the law supremacy through upholding the role of KPK. He has proven how his political party members have been sent to the court due to the corruption committed.

On the other hand, JKW represents the law enforcer in the grammatical roles of Goal in material process and Phenomenon in mental process. Those participants are affected and evaluated by others (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) when the social actors are construed as a Goal and a Phenomenon they are regarded as subjected social actors. While the grammatical roles of a Goal and a Phenomenon classified as the passivated and powerless participants by Leeuwen's (2008) theory and Haig's (2012) power level. In fact, during the reign of JKW, the law-enforcer relatively slows down, proven little corruption cases hit to JKW's political party members. Fariz (2019, p.19) augmented that there is no strong support for KPK from the president how the KPK member has been attacked without any serious effort to reveal who is 'an intellectual actor' behind the attack. There is to strengthen political attack on KPK. It constitutes a proof how the weakness of JKW in upholding the law-enforcement.

Inclination of the power Hierarchy

The part deals with answering the question of how inclination or inclusion of the Indonesian presidents toward the social actors involved in the PST as presented questions already presented in the background. The government is represented as the most included and the most powerful social actors by SBY and JKW. Whereas the law-enforcer is represented as the powerless and the least included in the PST. The ten political speech texts of SBY and JKW, we can draw an inclination of power in representation' in the political discourse on socio-political issues in the PST, as can be shown in Figure 1.

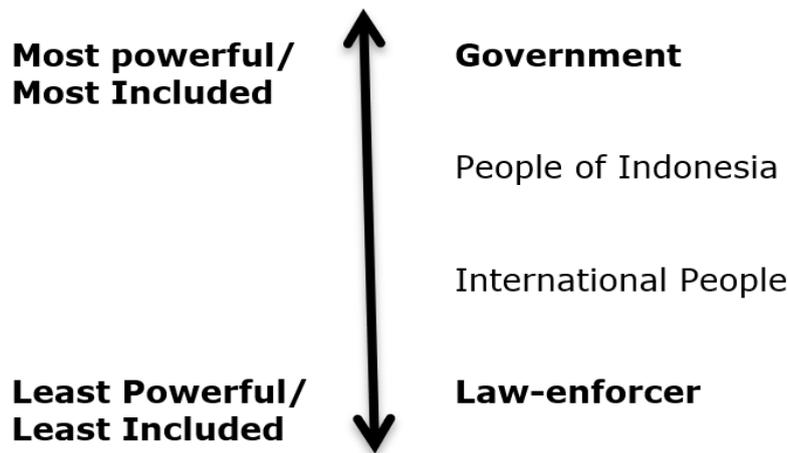


Figure 1: Inclination and Inclusion of representation in the presidential speech discourse

As in the Figure 1 shows cline of power what SBY and JKW show to include and incline of the power hierarchy of a group of actors based on their involvement in the state speeches of the Indonesian Presidents in the Posts' new era. The Figure 1 shows that SBY and Jokowi mostly include the Government as the activated and powerful social actor. In contrast, the law-enforcer has small portion in involvement in the speech texts. The law-enforcer is represented as the least included and the powerless actor. By representing the government as the most favourbaly actor compared the other actors show that both presidents have ideological stance toward the government as the good government to show that the government in their ruling as the acting actor. This shows that both presidents are as actively capable government under their ruling.

The government as the main social actors included in the socio-political content of the ten selected political speeches of SBY and JKW. These findings expose how both presidents overwhelmingly show the government has the main role of the grammatical roles as the most powerful in the grammatical role of Actor by SBY and JKW represent the government as a capable job. Both presidents have an inclination of the ideological stance as the acting taker positively. Representing government as the activated and powerful actor in the texts since it enables to spread ideology, identity, and power structures as their reflection in particular texts (Dashti, 2017) . Representing of social actors realized to investigate ideological stances. how social actors are discursively represented in a variety of media[vm36.upi.edu 16]; (Sofyan & Zifana, 2019). Whereas, the law-enforcer is represented as the least included with smallest portion indicate that both presidents have no interest toward the law-enforcement. The grammatical roles of the law-enforcement is represented as Actor by SBY, and Goal and phenomenon by JKW. SBY has tendency to uphold the law-enforcement by using acting taker to represent the law-enforcer. SBY has proven by sending his own political party member to jail. In contrast, Jokowi has no concern toward the law-enforcement, Jokowi shows the law-enforcer is represented as the passivated and powerless participant of the law-enforcement.

VI. Conclusion

This present paper concludes that the selected data of the ten prominent speeches delivered by SBY and Jokowi in the occasion of the Indonesian Independence Day during reformation era in the 2010-2019 analyzed by using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Fairclough's framework incorporates with Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) of Halliday & Matthiessen (2004). Adopting Van Leeuwen's (2008) theory and Haig's (2012) participant's level to investigate the ideological stances of SBY and Jokowi by representing chosen social actors involved in the PST. This study results both presidents portray the government as the most frequent occurrences involved using the grammatical role of Actor in Material process. The government is viewed as the activated and powerful actor positively by both presidents. This means ideological stance and inclination of SBY and JKW shown that their government in the grammatical role as Actor, it means that the government as the powerful actor and acting takers so as the government main duty to execute to regulate the government to achieve prosperity on the nation. On the other side, the law-enforcer is represented with smallest portion to prove that both presidents have more concern toward the law-enforcement. SBY represent the law-enforcer as the Actor in the grammatical role, it opposites to Jokowi who represent by using Goal in the material process and Phenomenon in the Mental process. These show that SBY and JKW, SBY have different view to represent the law-enforcer. SBY commits to carry out the law enforcement in the real action, not just a talk, SBY proves his commitments to uphold the law-enforcement by sending his political party members in the jail. In contrast, JKW represented the law enforcer with the smallest number of the grammatical roles of Goal and Phenomenon. Jokowi represents the law-enforcer as the passivated and powerless actor. This is a proof to show the ideological stance of JKW that he has no high priority to uphold the law-enforcement. It is proven how JKW weakens the law-enforcer, for instance, KPK in eradicating the corruption still massively occurred in Indonesia without any his political member sent to the court. As stated by Fariz (2019) that Jokowi has strong support for KPK to eradicate corruption in Indonesia. This concludes that the ideological stance of SBY and Jokowi toward social actors is shown how they represent the government as the most represented and favorable actors as the Actor in the grammatical roles, it means that the government is an acting taker. While both presidents have no more concern toward the law-enforcement shown they represented the law-enforcement with least portion. This shows how the ideological contents of both presidents to give strong influences that they are hard-working presidents in order to get sympathy from their constituents. Sympathy to the audiences to create democratic situation to shorten the distance to the people (Putra et al., 2022). Thus, both presidents need sympathy from their constituents to strengthen their ideologies.

Acknowledgement

We would like to acknowledge to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Siti Noor Fazelah Binti Mohd Noor and Prof. Dr. Giyoto for guiding in writing this paper, and University of Riau Kepulauan for financial support throughout this research project..

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