REALIZATION OF JOKOWI'S HIDDEN IDEOLOGY IN THE STATE SPEECH TEXT: A TRANSITIVITY ANALYSIS

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Abstract

This paper deals with the representation of the Indonesian people in Jokowi's state speech texts. This paper employed Transitivity Analysis (M. A. K. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014) and socio semiotic theory (Leeuwen, 2008). Those were framed to analyze the clauses based on the state speech of Jokowi. This paper was retrieved from the full-speech text, which was on Setkab.go.id (Secretary of cabinets). This paper found that the people are the highest frequency (55 occurrences or 49,1 %), then the government comes to the second position with (43 occurrences or 38 %), afterward the President with (10 occurrences or 8,9 %). The least occurrence comes to the politician with (4 occurrences or 3,6 %). The People is represented the most occurrences indicates Jokowi represents the people of Indonesia as the acting taker. On the other hand, the politician is the least occurrences represented by Jokowi shows how he tends to avoid conflict with the politicians. The paper concluded that Jokowi has an ideological stance to prioritize the people as the acting taker that the people is activated actor. It shows that Jokowi's ideological realization is an acting-taker in his state speech.

Keywords: ideology, state speech text, transitivity

INTRODUCTION

Speech is spoken text delivered to convey ideas, thoughts, and hope using language effectively. Therefore, the language's role is significant for a human being (Efendi et al., 2018). As an effective means of communication, language is realized via an informative, expressive, directive, aesthetic, and phatic functions. Language is very closed to our social and cognitive development from childhood to adult to show our identity (Bayram, 2010). Besides, the language conveys a message from a public figure such as a politician since language can quickly transfer their political goal through words aiming to persuade people. It is relevant to Latupeirissa (2019), who states that words can influence our attitudes; which word is chosen affects people's perception of others and themselves. Besides, language can steer people's thoughts and beliefs and control them (Zhang, 2017).

According to Bayram (2010), politics is an effort to gain the power to put specific political, economic, and social ideas into practice. In this case, language has a prominent role, for every politician to use and deploy their political goal via speech. This paper aims to study political speech discourse by President Joko Widodo (Jokowi, henceforth). As the seventh president of Indonesia, Jokowi, who has a political background grounded from the grassroots political party, undoubtedly has a serious concern to prioritize Indonesia's people. This paper investigates how Jokowi represents Indonesia's people as a social actor in his state speech.

Some researchers have conducted prior studies on political speech texts of Indonesian Presidents. Kusumaningrum(2014) and Suharto (2016) studied the Political speech texts of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono through critical discourse analysis. Noermanzah et al. (2017) examined an understanding of the range of rhetoric in the political speech of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo in the educational area. Then Asamara (2016) studied language strategies in Jokowi's political speech. He found that Jokowi's ideology is realized via various language strategies. Data analysis techniques are operated by connecting micro, meso, and macro elements in dimensions, such as (a) text, (b) discourse practice, and (b) socio-cultural practices. The result shows that the varieties of rhetoric used by both presidents in education include promises, wishes, or expectations to improve Indonesia's quality of education, especially in the reform era.

Suprihatin et al. (2020) studied Social Actor Exclusion on 2019's Presidential Election News Reporting in MediaIndonesia.com and iNews.id. The result showed that particular institutions representing the social actors by the backgrounding that is being shown. Meanwhile, in suppression, the ownership of the media is the one giving influence instead. Mediaindonesia.com shows its tendency to align with Joko Widodo because its owner, Surya Paloh, shows excellent support for Jokowi and his running-mate Ma'ruf Amin. On the other side, iNews.id shows its partisanship toward Prabowo Subianto, evidenced by the news frequencies in the last month.

As mentioned above, language is an effective means to persuade people. Language is a system of grammatical and lexical items, which have a relationship with its context (M. A. . Halliday, 2009). It is relevant to Asad et al. (2019), who assert that social actors are individuals being represented. in the 'Individualization' type, social actors were selected as individuals (Leeuwen, 2008). 'Activation' is the category where they were an as dynamic force and identify as 'doers' and, on the other hand, 'Passivation' categorized as a beneficiary 'doers' (Leeuwen, 2008). They commonly fall under goal, beneficiary, phenomena, and receiver roles in grammatical roles (Leeuwen, 2008). In the 'Nomination' process, social actors are represented with proper nouns (van Leeuwen, 2008). In 'Personalization,' the actor was an influential person involved and responsible for his actions (Leeuwen, 2008). The 'Functionalization' occurs on social actors' social activity in context by his performance(Leeuwen, 2008). Thus, the function of social Semiotics is initiated from Halliday's Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL), in which social actors were analyzed grammatically under the ideation function of language.

Certain social actors are crucial to study since Indonesia still embraces the presidential system, which focuses on the President as the central role in ruling the nation and the government. The main focus is on types of social actors and their grammatical and rhetorical realization in Indonesian public discourse. As stated by van Leeuwen (2008), social semiotics was adopted as the framework of analysis. Therefore, the social actors represented in this research consist of the government, President, and people.

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

Michael Alexander Kirkwood initiated systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) as the completion of his Thesis. Then Halliday(1978) as a linguistic analytical tool to study the English language. CDA is a way applied to explore the hidden ideologies behind texts, which is based on the notion that language is a crucial part of discourse.CDA has an objective to disclose the certain social expressions in which language has taken the molded form on its context/circumstances. As stated by Fairclough (1995) that texts are 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), Fairclough (1989), and Fowler (1986). Halliday's thoughts of SFL have been reviewed by (M. A. . and M. Halliday, 2004; M. A. K. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014); and Leeuwen (2008), a description of the relation between CDA and SFL.

This paper employs the CDA of Fairclough (1995), which focuses on discourse analysis as an analysis method that includes a linguistic description of the language text, interpretation of the relationship how text is produced and consumed, and the relationship between them the discursive processes and the social processes. The paper links between language and social reality in social life through critical discourse analysis (CDA), regarded as the language used inequality, imbalance, and injustice.

The model of Fairclough's CDA has been applied as linguistics approaches employed many times language can be formed as in social practice (Fairclough, 1989) and focuses on the ways social and power domination is reproduced by text talk. It enables the investigation of the social function in terms of linguistics. Thus, discourse can realize particular world views, particular social relations between people, and particular social identities based on its aims, context, and text addressees. The approach is shaped to review the connection between linguistic and social resources. Discourse and communicative events are an essential part of CDA. Besides, CDA is used to identify critically social imbalance that can be seen as stated, signaled, constituted, legitimized, and so on by language use (Wodak et al., 2009). Applying a Transitivity analysis (TA) in CDA has been used as an analytical tool to be correct to study public discourse on a wide range of social issues (Fairclough, 1989,1995). In brief, the connection between CDA and SFL is very crucial to study social actors represented in the political speech text.

According to Halliday's (Halliday&Matthiessen,2004,2014), systemic-functional linguistics shows how language is used and sheds light on the three meta-functions of

language: the ideational function is related to the representation of reality; the interpersonal function is concerned with establishing and maintaining the interaction between the hearer and speaker; and the textural function, is considered with the representation of ideational and interpersonal meanings as text. The three metafunctions are raising three strands of meaning in the clause:

This paper applies the 'transitivity process' (ideational function), which is from the nominal group, which denotes a broader class of phenomenon than other groups (Asad et al., 2019). She then augmented that the nominal group included nouns, determiners, adjectives, and numerals, which come in one description and experiential function. In the transitivity, the clauses are the main channel in grammar, located under their metafunction context(Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The material clause construes a change in the event by showing the actor in a participant role – the Actor (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014), e.g., 'Hasan' started 'eating.' In this Hasan is an 'Actor' and his action 'eating' (verb) is associated with him. There are also other participants' roles of 'Actor,' which are associated with the process, and these are Scope, Client, Recipient, and Attribute. In the verbal process, one experiences dialogic passages as 'Sayer'(Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014), e.g., Tommy said that "he will complete the assignment. In this example, 'Tommy' acts as a 'Sayer.' There are three functions of a participant in the verbal process, i.e., Receiver, Verbiage, and Target. The mental clause is associated with our consciousness, which construes a change in the current events (Halliday &Matthiessen, 2004), e.g., Tetty heard a loud noise. In this example, 'heard' is a mental process, which is experienced mentally. Sensor and Phenomena are other roles, which are associated with mental processes. The relational clauses have the main verb as 'be' and 'have,' which bring change in a clause(Halliday& Matthiessen, 2004).

The Representation of Social Actors

The representation of social actors by Fairclough (1995) and Van Leeuwen (2008) will be employed, as they support the use of SFL in their framework. Fairclough (1995) probed the linguistic elements of media texts and investigated the structuring of propositions and their combination and sequencing. In short, Van Leeuwen (2008) explains that when a social actor is presented as the performer of action, that is considered as the active, dynamic force in an activity. However, passivation happens when the social actor is the recipient's action or is shown as undergoing the activity(van Leeuwen, 2008:32-33). Further, Noor (2017:52) applies Systemic Functional Linguistics, and transitivity analysis is utilized in identifying social actors; this framework is discussed in more detail in the following parts.

Social representations can reallocate roles or rearrange the social relations between the participants (van Leeuwen, 2008). The role allocation of social actors can be achieved through the Activation and Passivation of social actors. Activation occurs when social actors are represented as active, dynamic forces in an activity. According to Halliday & Mathiessen (2004), activated social actors coded actor in the Material process, Sayer in

verbal process, Senser in mental process Assigner in relational process or 'participation.' Van Leeuwen (2008) adds that activation can also be realized through 'circumstantialization,' which is by prepositional circumstantials with 'by, and 'from.' passivation occurs when the social actors are represented as 'undergoing' the activity, or as being 'at the receiving end of it.' Passivation can also be realized through 'participation' when the passivated actor is Goal in a material process, Phenomenon in the mental process, or Carrier in an effective attributive process. It also necessitates a further distinction: the passivated social actors can be 'subjected' or 'beneficiaries.' 'Subjected' social actors are treated as objects in the representation. Beneficiaries social actors form a third party, which positively or negatively benefits from the action. It can also be realized by 'participation,' where the beneficiaries participant is Recipient or Client about a material process or Receiver about a verbal process (Noor, 2017).

METHODOLOGY

This paper was designed with a qualitative descriptive research approach. The paper framed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Fairclough (1995) incorporates with the Systematic Functional Linguistic (SFL) of (Halliday & Matthiessen,2004, 2014)Halliday & Matthiessen (2004, 2014) as analytical tools to reveal Jokowi's ideology inserted inside the political state of Joko Widodo. To identify how Jokowi's inclination toward the social actors using Leeuwen's social semiotic approach (2008). Data Collection obtained from online media in English versions retrieved from the setkab.go.id was downsized based on social actors. As already mentioned in the introduction, social actors can be represented in their grammatical and rhetorical realization in political speech. Leeuwen's (2008) social semiotics was adopted as the framework of analysis used to represent Indonesia's people involved in the state speech text. The procedure of the data collection, the authors, firstly selected several speeches. Then the selected speech came to state speech on the occasion of Independence Day in 2019. Then the data was downloaded to be copied and pasted into prepared word processing (MS word). The data was then divided into phrases and sentences. Then, the data was then divided into clauses and embedded clauses. The clauses were pasted into a widely available spreadsheet software package for each specific analysis (MS Excel) to be analyzed (Noor,2017; Abdulameer, 2019).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION
Findings

As in the research data, the analysis of the framework of CDA and transitivity, there are four social actors represented in the *setkab.go.id* of the state speech of Jokowi on the occasion of Independence Day in 2019. The inclination of Jokowi toward the social actors as presented in table 1 below;

Table 1: The Representation of Social Actors

Social Actors	Quantity	Percentage
People	55	49,1
President	10	8,9%
Government	43	38,4%
Politician	4	3,6%
Total	112	100%

As shown in Figure 1 above, the people and the government state speech on the Independence Day occasion in 2019. The data found that the people are the highest frequency (55 occurrences or 49,1 %), then the government comes to the second position with (43 occurrences or 38 %), afterward the President with (10 occurrences or 8,9 %). The least occurrence comes to the politician. (4 occurrences or 3,6 %). Based on the data findings, Jokowi tends to incline the people of Indonesia as his priority to be mentioned or involved in his political speech text the state speech of Jokowi in the occasion of the Independence Day in 2019. It is to identify the distribution of the grammatical roles can be seen in table 2.

Table 2: Distribution of the Grammatical roles

Process	Quantity	Percentage
Material	62	55,3%
Verbal	3	2,6%
Behavioral	2	1,7%
Mental	14	12,5%
Relational	39	34,8%
Existential	2	1,7%
Total	112	100%

As can be seen, Table 2 shows the distribution of the grammatical roles used by Jokowi, the state speech of Jokowi, on the occasion of Independence Day in 2019. The grammatical roles most used by Jokowi is the Material process with (62 occurrences or 55,3 %), then the Relational process with (39 occurrences or 34,8 %), afterward Mental Process (14 occurrences or 12,5 %). Then lesser occurrences come to the Verbal process (3 occurrences 2,6 %). The least occurrences come to Behavioural Process (2 occurrences or 1,7 %) and   Existential Process (2 occurrences or 1,7 %). Then the distribution of the participants of the grammatical roles can be seen in table 3.

Table 3: Participants of the Grammatical roles

	People	President	Government	Politician	Quantity	Percentage
Actor	25		27	1	53	47,3%
Sayer		3			3	2,6
Behaver	1		1		2	1,8
Senser	4	3	4	1	13	10,7

Carrier	16	1	5		22	19,6
Token	5		1		6	5,3
Existent					2	1,8
Goal	3		1	1	5	4,4
Beneficiary	2		1		3	2,6
Initiator						
Receiver	1		1	1	3	2,6
Phenomenon		1			1	0,9
Attribute	3	1	1		5	4,4
Value	1	1			2	1,8
	55	10	43	4	112	100%

As shown in Table 3 above, the participants' occurrences in the grammatical roles used by Jokowi. Jokowi represents the most occurrences of the participant come to Actor (Material process) with (53 occurrences or 49,1 %), then comes Carrier (22 occurrences or 19,6 %). Afterward is Senser (Mental process) with (13 occurrences or 10,7 %). Moreover, the rest are less than 10 % of occurrences.

To sum up the findings of Jokowi's representation of the social actors to explore Jokowi's ideology in the state speech. Jokowi represents the people of Indonesia as the highest frequency (55 occurrences or 47,5 %) rather than other social actors involved. Jokowi mostly uses Actor in the Material process to represents the people of Indonesia. The role of allocation is activated Jokowi mostly prefers social actors in representing his tendency toward the social actors.

Discussion

Based on the data findings, investigating Jokowi's ideology using Transitivity analysis incorporates with social semiotics analysis in two categories of van Leeuwen's (2008) framework and role allocation of social actors. To achieve the role allocation of social actors realized by identifying the activation and passivation of social actors.

As mentioned in the findings that that mostly come to Actor (Material process), then comes Carrier, afterward is Senser. While passivation occurs when the social actors are represented as 'undergoing' the activity or as being 'at the receiving end of it.' Passivation can also be realized through 'participation' when the passivated actor is Goal in a material process, Phenomenon in the mental process, or Carrier in an effective attributive process.

The role allocation of social actors

As can be seen in Table 1 that the social actors were represented in the state speech on the occasion of Independence Day by Jokowi comes to their different grammatical roles and the role allocations. The main social actors were people, government, President, and politician. The percentages' comparison verifies the results in their various roles and presentation, as presented in Table 1. It is a more detailed discussion as follows:

People

As stated in the findings, Jokowi represents the people (The people of Indonesia) has the most occurrences in his political speech text rather than the other social actors. Jokowi represents the people mostly uses the actor in the Material process. The people are considered the influential grammatical role and are the activated participant in van Leeuwen's (2008) framework. Thus, Jokowi discursively treated the people of Indonesia. Referring to the actor to be keeping mind that the actor in the Material process is the acting taker (Noor, 2015,2017). It is to give the public attention that Jokowi's inclination toward the people is the action taker rather than a policymaker.

The Government

Joko places the government in an important position, as stated in the findings. The government is essential in Jokowi's speech, showing how Jokowi mentions the government as the second most occurrences. It shows that the government has a significant role in his speech. The government is represented via the actor in the Material process, which shows his tendencies or inclination to be the acting taker. According to van Leeuwen's (2008) framework, an Actor is classified as an activated actor. Therefore, Jokowi has more inclination to show his ideological stance as the working government. It is relevant to his slogan cabinet as the working Cabinets. The actor is classified as any action as the material processes of 'doing' to portray audiences that the government is powerful (Zhang, 2017).

President

As mentioned in this research, the President is frequently represented using Sayer in the Material process and Senser in the Mental process with three occurrences for each process. It shows that Jokowi represents the President as activated Sayer of the President. The President is categorized as the Activated as stated van Leeuwen's (2008) indicates that the President indicates that President is the most potent grammatical role (Noor, 2017). At the same time, Abdulameer (2019) states that "Sayer" indicates to persuade the audiences that the President has authority to the people. On the other hand, the President is represented as the activated Senser; it indicates that the President considers feeling like the leader; the President must employ him a sense of feeling. The ideology which is built by Jokowi that he tends to use a sense of feeling or emotion as the powerful and kindly-hearted President with a high sense of feeling or emotion, 'respect' to the people.

Politician

As can be seen in the findings that the politician has the least portion represented by Jokowi. It shows that Jokowi has no great much attention to involve the politician in his speech as the politicians are susceptible persons, and they have the power to contribute his sustainability to rule the nation. This is very clear how Jokowi is very careful to involve

the politicians in his state speech Jokowi represents politicians only with once occurrences for each participant, such as Actor, Senser, Goal, and Receiver. The politicians are represented as activated and passivated social actors. This indicates that Jokowi has a particular inclination toward politicians. It is very noticeable that Jokowi tends to make the politicians as the Acting and feeling social actors. Thus, Jokowi's ideology was realized as the acting taker represented in the actor's grammatical role in the Material process.

CONCLUSION

This paper concludes that state of the speech on the occasion of the Indonesian Independence Day. Jokowi involves People, government, President, and politicians as the social actors to be represented to explore the ideological stance of Jokowi. The findings show the data found that the people are the highest frequency (55 occurrences or 49,1 %), then the government comes to the second position with (43 occurrences or 38 %), afterward the President with (10 occurrences or 8,9 %). The least occurrence comes to the politician. (4 occurrences or 3,6 %). People have represented the most frequently by Jokowi to show that the people of Indonesia.

Regarding the Actor is aimed to construe the public opinion that he represents the actor in the Material process is as the acting taker to enact policy. It indicates that Jokowi has an ideological tendency to the audience that his an acting taker toward the people. On the other side, Jokowi has no much attention to represents the politicians as he represents the least occurrences. The politician shared representation as to the Actor, Senser, Goal, and Receiver one occurrence for each. Jokowi does it to neutralize his position with the politicians to avoid open conflict with the politicians. Thus, Jokowi's ideology is realized through his representation of the People as an acting taker.

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