



Ideology inserted in Enforcing the Law Supremacy Applied by the Indonesian Presidents Analyzed using Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis

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Citation: Tri Artanto, et al (2024), Ideology inserted in Enforcing the Law Supremacy Applied by the Indonesian Presidents Analyzed using Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis, Educational Administration: Theory and Practice, 30(6), 2812-2819

Doi: 10.53555/kuey.v30i6.5900

ARTICLE INFO

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to This research attempt to investigate ideological content inside the Indonesian presidents in ruling their government and the law-enforcement through the political speech texts. This paper focused on President Susilo Yudhoyono (henceforth, SBY) and President Jokowi Widodo (henceforth, Jokowi). This study aimed at providing knowledge how the Indonesian presidents disseminated their ideologies in the law enforcement through their official political speech conducted in the Indonesian anniversary in front of the Indonesian parliaments. The research method adopted a descriptive qualitative research type. The research data obtained from two selected prominent speeches of SBY and of Jokowi delivered on the occasion of the Indonesian independent day anniversary based on the socio-political issues in the presidential speech texts 2014 and 2019. The topic selected was about the law enforcement in ruling the Indonesian government. The strong ideological content of SBY and Jokowi manifested in their political speeches. The findings shows that both presidents mostly highlighted about their government to emphasizes that they are good administrators to rule the state and also enforce the law, in contrast both presidents gave small portion in describing the law enforcement. The Presidents shows the government due to explain that their capability then the positive response from the audience needed to strengthen their power position. SBY gave more portion in the law enforcement that Jokowi did showed that SBY had more focus in this case, while the law enforcement was not their main priority of Jokowi in ruling his government.

Keywords – Ideology, Law Supremacy, Indonesian presidents, lexicogrammar, political speech texts, Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis.

Introduction

The law enforcement in Indonesia has greatly advanced after the down of Soeharto as 'voice' of the reformation demand. The fall of the new order many people hope for democratization in Indonesia runs high, especially among political area (Hadiwinata, 2003). Moreover, Law is manifested inside the ideology used by a country to explain the ideas or values in the legal products (Hangabei et al., 2020; Firdaus et al., 2023). Indonesian political games and law enforcement are still actual issue since after the fall of President Soeharto. It has been more than last three decades, Indonesia has changed political view from a tied authoritarian government to be democratic state (Santosa et al, 2014). The collapse of the New Order has greatly paved path for deviations in many aspects of Indonesian politics, including those affecting to the character of intelligentsias (Kusman, 2019). Review to the down of the Soeharto's era or new order era as the effect of student marchers' petition in 1998 has created a variation of speech as liberty of speech, which was unbearable completed in the Soeharto 's era. This reformation era which is historically noticeable out as the post's Soeharto era. This era open admittance for Indonesian to their socio-political face via talking independence.

Political freedom and law enforcement are as main issue in Indonesia after the fall of Soeharto to build good and clean government. Thus, the law enforcement and political change are expected to enforce the law to all people. The politicians take their political aims logically and emotionally to affect the people through political speech (Abdulameer, 2019). The main agenda in political reformation is the law enforcement to protect the people. The protection of public order can be manifested through the law enforcement to the citizens to ensure social security (Pausin et al., 2022, p.2). Further, the lack of law enforcement may cause injustice in social life (Kumar & Dwivedi, 2023). Therefore, political speech is very important for political leaders, for instance a president. This show has created in freer political broad speech. Political speeches can be grasped via spoken or written texts. President as political main ruler convey 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 and Matthiessen (2014), when people say or write, they produce text.

Speech is a vigorous technique to allocate ideas, thoughts, desires, and ideology. Speech is spoken written texts, which is carried by important persons; example, a president will meaningfully effect people and the world because it makes a policy documented by either nationally or internationally (Mustafa, 2014). A speech usually operates speech as to tool and the text is influenced by a context (Halliday, 1999). Language is used to express semiotic reality, a relationship with text and context (Matthiessen, 1995; Halliday & Martin, 1993; Halliday, 1999). The language function a great role in the 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 trails for Indonesian presidents to include social actors' representation to achieve ideological power. In addition, Abdulameer et al (2019) recently detected that all politicians, including the president, have attempted to impact the people via political speech as an actual way to find political speech's reactions related to the words distributed. In terms of presidential speeches' texts, these affect the great effect and also distribute and mystify ideological contents when one listens or reads the texts. Those outcomes to find the ideological content inside the texts, which pulls it to create policies in a period of his national service. In this situation, a president may manipulate and use language to result in hegemony. Gramsci (1971) initiated this idea of hegemony to view on language can be facilitated to appear political hegemony since politics is considered an effort to achieve for hegemony. Jalali and Sadeghi (2014) believed that hegemony drives how power is affected by achieving consent and the ideology holds crucial part for sustaining power relations. The correlation between ideology and law can affect the legal system (Gumbira & Wiwoho, 2019).

The objective of this research shelters three parts. First, it examines ideological content of President SBY and President Jokowi via political speech texts. Second, it identifies which social actors are represented as the powerful and the powerless in the political speech text. Third, it discovers which social actors are used most favorably by SBY and Jokowi.

Discourse

It has been studied hundred previous research about Discourse Analysis (DA), but it is still interesting field to be explored. DA is a path to define and study actual talk and talk in communicative events. DA inclines to be concerned about the text's internal structures (Fitch & Sanders, 2004; Noor, 2015). Recently, political speeches of presidents is an effective way to maintain the power of Indonesian presidents, since it may express politics, power, and hegemony toward social actors involved in the speech texts, hence Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is more appropriate as the framework in this current study. Analyzing power abuse, dominance, injustice, and inequality produced in the social and political context (Van Dijk, 2006). On the other side, Fairclough (1995) sights CDA permeates languages to study language and social theory to notice ideology's power. Although many previous researches have been carried out in the field 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 ideology through how reality can be construed and social actors represented. Therefore, this critical discourse helps uncover ideology via how speech construes the president's political power. As an ideology is a social value that becomes important for a group of people to be believed. Van Dijk (2006) adds that ideology socially represents groups' beliefs as their basic attitudes and beliefs. In this way, Indonesian presidents are taking benefits to distribute ideologies via political speeches texts on the Independence Day of Indonesia. It is similar to Abdulameer (2019) political discourse is able create a certain ideology via social actors represented in the speech texts to get influence from the audiences to strengthen their political aims.

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

In SFL language cannot be separated from its social concern, since language is not separated from social theory as stated by Halliday (1978), who announced SFL to public, that grammar and social functions cannot be separated. The Systemic functional linguistics (SFL) tool to investigate human language has broken down into three generalized meanings: ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings (Eggins, 2004; Hao, 2020; Schwarz & Hamman-Ortiz, 2020). While Fairclough (1995) focuses on investigating text structure to explore power and ideologies. Thus, it is clear that the CDA of Fairclough and van Leeuwen's social actor-network incorporates SFL in doing CDA to analyze text structure (Noor, 2015). This study pays attention an analytical utensil of the transitivity aspect of SFL to analyze the ideational meaning of the text, which uses social actors represented in the political speech texts of the presidents of Indonesia. To ease in understanding the above items as explanation right below.

Transitivity

One of the basic grammatical function of the ideation is called as Transitivity (Cavallaro & Sembiente, 2020; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Noor (2017) says in opening a certain ideology by using the transitivity system as an effective analytical utensil for how speakers represent in the texts. It is relevant to Yujie and Fengjie (2018) adopting systemic functional linguistics, particularly transitivity as an analytical tool to analyze political speech. Zhang (2017) explains that using transitivity analysis may examine different types of texts since Halliday applied it to analyze William Golding's *The Inheritors* in 1971. Further (Haig, 2012) highlights that Transitivity is an ideational meaning to represent various objects (including people, things and mental phenomena) of grammatical roles that a text is used. Thus, Transitivity is one of the important parts of the SFL with three main components as an analytical utensil to examine speech texts of the politician's speeches. Moreover, Transitivity is understanding to make up in processes, which consists of the process associated with verb, participants related with person and things, and circumstances connected with the process. (Halliday, 2007).

The transitivity outline purposes to understand our experience via three main elements of the transitivity system, such as process, participants, and circumstance. Those components are semantically classified to explain how the world around represented in the text structure. Thus, the process is the main element in the transitivity system, which can link one or participants and circumstances (Zhang, 2017).

In understanding the transitivity system has six processes: Material, Mental and Verbal processes as major and Relational, Behavioral, and Existential as a minor process. These processes have the participants, which help different roles in the clause (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The processes create action that can be understood in the main verb. Material process is regarded as the process of doing. It represents events and actions and consists of an actor the doer of the action and the goal" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Mental processes aim to express the verb of feeling, perceiving, thinking, and desiderative. Further, Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) state that Verbal processes constitute verbs of saying such as (say, tell, speak, criticize, explain, repeat, and declare). The verbal process is related to three participants: Sayer, Verbiage, and Target. Behavioral processes combine psychological and physiological behavior, with the main participant being the behavior, a conscious being (Noor, 2015). Relational process refers to what is realized in clauses by 'being' and 'having'. It has two types, Attributive (Anton is good) and Identifying (Anton is a boy) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The Relational attributive process is used to describe. It aims to attribute to some entity (Bloor & Bloor, 2004). There are two Participants in the Attributive Relational Carrier and Attribute. Further, Bloor and Bloor (2013) state that Attributive process points to attribute possession or ownership so is known as a Possessive process. Thus, the participants are the Possessor and the possessed. Existential processes are represented by expression of something existed. The existential process has one participant of 'existence that is realized of 'there is' or 'there are' in the clauses. The clause as representation is considered to incorporate with social actors represented in the political speech texts. Noor (2015) adds that the pattern of representation in relation to van Leeuwen's activation and passivation.

Social Actors Represented in the Political Speeches -

Van Leeuwen (2008) introduces how actors are represented explicitly or implicitly in the texts by SBY and Jokowi in term of political perspective. Social actors can be considered in an analytical discursive type in which they can be included or excluded as used by van Leeuwen's (2005) model. Then Asad (2019) adds

that the social actors can be chosen as their categories of their role in context i.e. Individualization, Activation and Passivation, Nomination, Personalization, and Functionalization. Noor (2015) scrutinizes that this theory is advanced as an analytical way to analyze of CDA, which is mentioned the socio-semantic inventory, in which social actors are involved.

Using the representation of social actors to connect with SFL to examine grammatical roles in the speech texts. Van Leeuwen (2008) reallocate of social actors can be got through activation and passivation. Activation is when social actors represented as the active, dynamic forces and identified as 'doers' (van Leeuwen, 2005). Realization of activated social actors, such as Actor in the material process, Sayer in verbal process, senser in mental process, or assigner in relational process (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Van Leeuwen (2008) states that activation can manifested through circumtalization using preposition of 'by' and 'from'. Passivation is when social actors are represented as 'undergoing' the activity. Passivation can be categorized into two types, subjected social actors, when they are subjected as represented objects, while beneficialized social actors, when they are placed as the third party to be beneficialized either positively or negatively from the activity (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

Methodology

This research is created using a descriptive-qualitative research type. Using mixed method of qualitative and quantitative type to add the strength of the findings. According to Santosa (2017) using the descriptive qualitative research type to be used to examine the texts' lexical utterance. Further, Geissler (2016) explained that qualitative research is highly regarded a social knowledge that can explain research questions that quantitative unable to do, such as how and why. Thus, using mixed method to describe the transitivity analysis's qualitative research to explore ideological content via social actors represented in this research.

This current research used the data got from political speeches delivered by SBY and JKW on the occasion of the Indonesian Independence Day. The data were retrieved from the official website of 'Setkab' (secretary of the cabinet) of President Jokowi while from the official website of 'Sekneg' ('Sekretaris negara' or Secretary of the state) in 2014 for SBY, and 'Setkab' ('Sekretaris kabinet' or Secretary of the cabinets) in 2019 for Jokowi, since the selected years as the final year of SBY's period term, while the last year of his first term of state service.

Data collection techniques were conducted utilizing library research and carrying out with indirect interviews with informants in the *Sekneg* and *Setkab* Office in Jakarta. Due to the difficulties to meet the presidents, therefore, the interview was conducted with the presidential archive officers.

The data analyzed using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Fairclough (1995) within Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), particularly transitivity analysis of Halliday& Matthiessen (2014). The first stage was the texts analyzed descriptively based on linguistic features. The second stage was interpretation of discursive practice where texts were produced and consumed by the audiences to be interpreted. The last stage focused on relation between texts and the reality in Indonesia to explained in this stage. Then the data were broken down into clauses, and embedded clauses are identified for Transitivity Analysis based on the theory of Halliday and Matthiessen, (2014). The data was divided into clauses since the clause is considered as representation in the transitivity analytical types of the selected social actors. They were government and law-enforcer.

Findings

The findings shows that SBY represents social actors comes to 139, the Government comes with 135 times, and the grammatical role of Actor is most involved 55 times, while the least occurrences come to law-enforcer only 7 times with the most occurrences come to Actor 3 times. While Jokowi represents both social actors come to 67 times with mostly the government as more favoured actor compared to the law-enforcer with number only 6 times.

The findings is used to answer research questions to ideological contents of SBY and Jokowi distributed via their political speeches. This research uses clauses in the speech texts of selected social actors in the transitivity analytical system to examine ideological content inside the political speech texts. By using the transitivity analysis based on social semiotics analysis of van Leeuwen's (2005) two categories role allocation of social actors, activation and passivation in accordance with Haig's (2012) level of power strength. The findings will be clearer as following description and discussion right below.

Discussion

To find ideological content of SBY and Jokowi in enforcing of the Indonesian law through selected social actors (the government and law-enforcer) represented based on the grammatical roles of transitivity analysis of social actors. Then the use of Haig Hierarchy's level to identify the power level between the selected social actors.

This part goes to analyze the selected social actors involved used to in to answer the research questions how ideological content of SBY and Jokowi via their speech texts. The findings show that the government mostly

represented, whereas the law -enforcer as least represented by SBY and Jokowi. The selected social actors analyzed based on the transitivity analytical system will be discussed as following part below.

The Government

As explained in the findings that the government as the social actors were most frequently represented by SBY and Jokowi. The government is mostly represented in the speeches using the grammatical role of an Actor to be highlighted by both presidents. This shows how the government establishes ideological content positively taken by SBY and Jokowi. Thus, both presidents have leanings as the acting taker as an ideological strength disseminated to the audiences by both presidents by representing the government as the activated actor based on the theory of van Leeuwen's (2008) and as the powerful actor as mentioned by Haig's theory (2012). It connects to Zhang (2017) both presidents to show his hardships to take any action as the material processes are processes of 'doing', giving the audience a feeling that both presidents strong power to rule the government.

As the discussion above that the government as the Actor, so the government is represented by using the pronoun of 'we' refers to the government officers. The samples of the data obtained examples show how the government is represented by both presidents as Actor can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. The Government as the social actor

SBY :9	We have conducted three honest and fair elections
SBY :18	government divides support programs for poor people into four clusters.
Jokowi:52	The Government has also developed centres of new economic growth
Jokowi:53	We make the most of this favorable ecosystem to strengthen the stability of our macro economy and improvement of growth quality

Source (Presidential speeches of SBY in 2014 and Jokowi in 2019)

As shown in table 1, SBY represented the government as the social actors in the grammatical roles realized by 'we', . The Actors as to be created as 'do-er', they do as the social action doer. As sample, 9 SBY's speech uses the pronoun 'we' as the representation of the government to carry out fair elections. While the sample 9 shows how SBY uses the government represented as doing programs for clustering the poor people into four clusters. Then the Actors here have the discursive role to invent the action in conducting the general election more fairly, then the government is doing to help poor people. Therefore, the government is represented as an actor, in which the government is classified as the activated participant of van Leeuwen's (2008) theory and the powerful participant according to Haig's (2012). Ideological content of SBY shows that the government as the powerful acting taker to represent his government. In relation with SBY, on the other side, Jokowi also uses the government represented in the grammatical role as the Actor. It can be displayed in samples 52 and 53.

Thus, those samples of the data represent the government as social actors taken by Jokowi. The social actors are manifested by 'the government' and 'we'. As the sample 52, Jokowi describes that the government represented as do-er by developing new economic growth. On the other one, as shown in the sample 53, the government is manifested by 'we'. Jokowi uses the term of the government to do strengthening economic macro. To summarize that both presidents have leanings to show them 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 Jokowi tends to strengthen the economic side in their ruling government.

The Social Actors

Law enforcement is hot issue in the Indonesian government; therefore, it is one priority by Indonesian presidents. The law enforcement in the ruling the government is represented by social actor of law-enforcers. 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 sample in table 2 right below.

Table 2. The Law-enforcer as the social actor

SBY:54	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
JKW:24	We hope to have the reliable KPK leaders capable of making the anti-corruption institution work effectively

Source (Presidential speeches of SBY in 2014 and Jokowi in 2019)

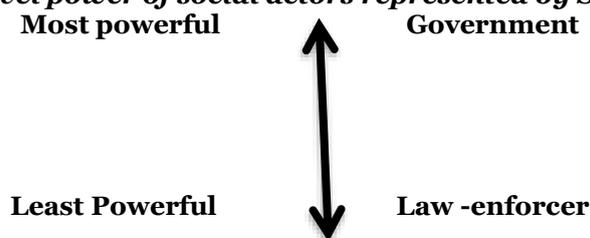
As shown in table 2, both presidents concern on the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) which is why corruption as the main concern in Indonesia since corruption becomes 'chronic diseases' as the demand for reformation rally to eradicate the corruption. Therefore, the KPK is as one of the law-enforcer institutions in Indonesia has main duty eradicate corruption, but both presidents ironically give small portions in focusing on this entity in ruling the government. As shown in the Example 54, SBY shows the

law-enforcer represented as the grammatical role of Actor. This can be understood that SBY has a focus on strengthening the law-enforcement. Therefore, the law-enforcer represented as the strongly-activated social actor based on van Leeuwen's (2008) and a Haig's (2012) theory. This indicates that SBY tends to disseminate ideological content to strengthen the law supremacy via supporting the role of KPK. He has shown how his own political members have been sentenced because of corruption. On the other hand, Jokowi shows the law enforcer represented as the social actor in the grammatical roles of Goal in material process and Phenomenon in mental process. Those participants are affected and evaluated by others (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014) when the social actors are taken as a Goal and a Phenomenon they are considered as subjected social actors. While the grammatical roles of a Goal and a Phenomenon categorized as the passivated grammatical participant roles by Leeuwen's (2008) and Haig's (2012) theory. Thus, Jokowi does not strongly focus on the law-enforcement, he has not arrested his political members to court as what SBY did. It is relevant with Fariz (2019, p.19) there is no strong struggle to uphold the law enforcement, i.e the case of how the KPK member has been attacked without any serious effort to reveal who is 'an intellectual actor' behind the attack by Jokowi. This shows how Jokowi has little concern to uphold the law-enforcement in Indonesia.

The power level of social actors

The power level of social actor actors represented by SBY and Jokowi aims to answer inclination of ideological stance of both presidents via representing the selected social actors (the government and the law-enforcer). The government is represented as the most powerful social actors by SBY and Jokowi. Whereas the law-enforcer is considered as the powerless social actor inside the political speeches of SBY and Jokowi. Top ease in understanding, it must be better to show the power level which is adopted from Noor, 2015 and Megah, 2022 as in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: The level power of social actors represented by SBY and Jokowi



Source (Noor, 2015 and Megah, 2022)

As shown in the Figure 1 that SBY and Jokowi tend to highlight the government more portion compared to the law-enforcer as the social actors represented in their political speech texts: Those allocate that the government is the most powerful and included social actor in the speeches of both president. The government is represented as the main social actors of SBY and Jokowi. These findings describe how both presidents overpoweringly show the government has the main grammatical actor role by SBY and Jokowi. They represent the government as a capable job. Both presidents have certain ideologies regarded as the acting taker positively. This describes how social actors are represented in the texts since it enables to distribute string ideology, and power structures as in texts (Dashti, 2017) . Representing of social actors understood to examine ideological contents. how social actors represented in a variety of media; (Sofyan & Zifana, 2019). Thus, both presidents show that they rule the government as the great doer to show their capability in ruling the state.

Conclusion

This study can be concluded that by utilizing of transitivity analysis to uncover ideological content of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) through representing of social actors involved in their political speech texts. Applying the descriptive qualitative method to support the transitivity analytical device within systemic functional linguistics (SFL) considered as appropriate way to open ideological behind Indonesian president's speeches. The findings result that both presidents portray the government as the most frequent occurrences which is indicated as the Actor main grammatical role as in Material process. The government is regarded as the activated and powerful actor positively by both presidents. SBY and Jokowi show their government's ideological tendencies to be known as greatly working president in order to get sympathy from the audiences. This enables both presidents able to rule the government smoothly. On the other hand, the law-enforcer is represented as the least number by both presidents. This indicates that they do not have much concern to highlight the law-enforcement in Indonesia. In contrast, both presidents have lesser portion to represent the law-enforcer in their speeches but SBY has more portion than Jokowi has. Besides, SBY has committed to conduct to uphold the law enforcement in the real action, as he has sent his own political members the jail as their consequence in

committing corruption. Whereas Jokowi oppositely has low concern in upholding the law supremacy represented the law enforcer in the Goal in material process and Phenomenon in the mental process. The law-enforcer is considered as the passivated and powerless actor. This shows that the ideological stance of Jokowi tends to ignore the law supremacy. Then, another proof when he weakens the law-enforcer; i.e, KPK eradicating the corruption still massively occurred in Indonesia without any political member sent to the court. Fariz (2019) stated that Jokowi has strong support for KPK to eradicate corruption in Indonesia officially. This is contrast with the real action how the KPK member was attacked without any serious action in handling this case.

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