

Investigation of Ideological stance of President Jokowi toward the People in the Presidential speech text

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Abstract

This study investigates President Jokowi's ideological stance behind his political speech delivered firstly in the occasion of the Indonesian Independence Day. Besides, this paper also identifies the reason of Jokowi to prioritize the people of Indonesia as the main concern in his program. Data were collected from the first official speech text of the President Jokowi delivered in the August 16th, 2015. By using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this paper also utilizes Appraisal Analysis (AA) within Attitudinal systems in the discourse-semantic appraisal mode within Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). The paper resulted that Judgement of the sub-type of the attitudinal category rather than the two others; Affect and Appreciation. The Judgmental categories dominated by the sub-type of Capacity has exceeded other judgmental subtypes. Jokowi mostly evaluated the people of Indonesia using the positive capacity to show that the People of Indonesia as the capable people to overcome their own problems. The reason behind the political inclination toward the people of Indonesia is Jokowi is supported by the people-base political party, Struggle-Indonesian Democratic Party (PDIP). This due to Jokowi to show that he is able to handle the Bureaucratic leadership in public institutions based the power of the people support. It is very important that the people of Indonesia are the main goal of Jokowi as the Indonesian president to focus on their work as the public service.

Keywords: Ideological stance, appraisal analysis, the People of Indonesia.

Introduction

Speech of Indonesian presidents in the occasion of the Indonesian Independence Day is considered as the most important speech for Indonesian people since it makes public-policy and having attention of all people (Noermanzah, Emzir, & Lustyantie, 2017; Tri, 2016). On the other side, people is the main priority for presidential program. Through political speech, a president may disseminate his ideology toward his people. In other words, Presidential speech is worth disseminating of ideology toward the people. Furthermore, the presidential speech presentation will disseminate ideological stance to the audiences, in this case is the people of Indonesia generally and politicians in particular. Through language in the president as a

political leader transfer his ideologies or political message realized in political speech texts. Therefore, a study on how language is used for such purposes is very beneficial to researchers who would like to have a deeper understanding of how language is used but also its functions as a communication tool. Previous studies focused on the structure of language extensively, but language function has not been thoroughly explored. Language is not only used to fulfill inferential and interpersonal meaning, it has a useful function as well (Sumarsih, 2009). Why political speeches texts of Indonesian Presidents? (Noermanzah et al., 2017) notes the president's speeches always present public policy, so what the president says is considered a crucial important issue.

In the Indonesian constitution that President is the Mandataris MPR. (People Consultative Assembly) It means that an Indonesian President has responsibility and accountability toward the people of Indonesia. The people is a must to be prioritized by Indonesian presidents to fulfill the people mandate. Why President Jokowi Widodo (henceforth, Jokowi) is chosen in this research, because after the fall of Soeharto freedom speech is allocated to express their political side freely. Jokowi who has basic supporters from the wong cilik (the grassroot or ordinary people), does Jokowi have an interest to align the people? This can be realized through ideology in his presidential speech texts. As the people base supporters, Jokowi mostly disseminates his ideology realized in the state speech texts will be the concern particularly by the people of Indonesia since his speech texts are viewed as leadership parameter. Mostly the texts analyzed through structural perspective, research of the political speech explored.

The paper aims to discover ideological stance of Jokowi through his political speech by exploring the occurrences of the judgmental categories of the appraisal system and give reasonable justifications in the state speech of Jokowi toward the people of Indonesia. By using the Fairclough's model of (Fairclough, 1995) and Appraisal Analysis (Martin & White, 2005) to unmask the hidden ideology inside the five state speech texts of Jokowi. Attitude is the most important element in the appraisal system to evaluate the align of the speaker toward social actor (Alsanafi, Noor, & Kadir, 2019). Choosing judgmental category of the subsystem is attitude to explore ideological stance toward the people of Indonesia to find the gap with the previous researches of the political speech texts conducted in CDA. The judgment category aims to evaluate the people's character. Therefore, this research is interested to investigate ideology of Jokowi inside his presidential speeches.

This study deals with the research questions as follows:

1. How to explore the occurrences of the judgmental categories of the appraisal system and give reasonable justifications of the findings?
2. How Jokowi realizes his justification toward the people of Indonesia?
3. How to uncover the ideology and its reason behind the political speech of Jokowi?

Literature review

Ideology in political speech texts

To label political speech is generally based on thematic and functional criteria. Fairclough (1995) stated that the speeches were historically and culturally determined. Political speeches are often delivered to the public (Liu, 2007; Mazlum & Afshin, 2016). The study of political speech involves close scrutiny of how linguistic behavior and political behavior relate to each other. This research can be done in two ways: Micro-level analysis that requires

investigation of linguistic features (e.g. lexical and syntax properties) first; and, a macro-level analysis at which the overall communicative function is defined as the first step followed by determining linguistic constituents (Schäffner & Adab, 1997). Speech is a form of power-raising through the mass media by utilizing linguist-tick features. Through speeches in the mass media, politicians try to persuade the public with their persuasion. Politicians' speeches are also a means of shaping perception and gaining public sympathy. Tri (2016) suggested that power-raising and enforcement of political beliefs could be failed in two ways: (1) seeking power through violence, and (2) persuading people to obey voluntarily. Discourse in speeches including speeches

State or political speech is synonymous with the charge of power. The reader or viewer becomes the person who is dominated by theorizing party. They are easily controlled ideologically. Ideology construes a social belief to shared values in groups of people. Van Dijk and De Cremer (2006) more specifically, emphasized that ideology represent of social value in a certain "are the basis of group attitudes and other beliefs". Thus, ideology can be applied influence the social group of people to practice the ideological stance disseminated via political discourse. Ideology can be determined through a state speech by a president (Sharndama, 2015). Noor and Fazelah (2017) augmented Ideology can be found in a text. Therefore, the study of the text of the president's speech can be complicated by social conditions, where there is a relationship of power and ideological content loaded in a text can be analyzed with the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis's (CDA) and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) Analysis tool (Kusumaningrum, 2014; Noor & Fazelah, 2017).

CDA incorporates with SFL

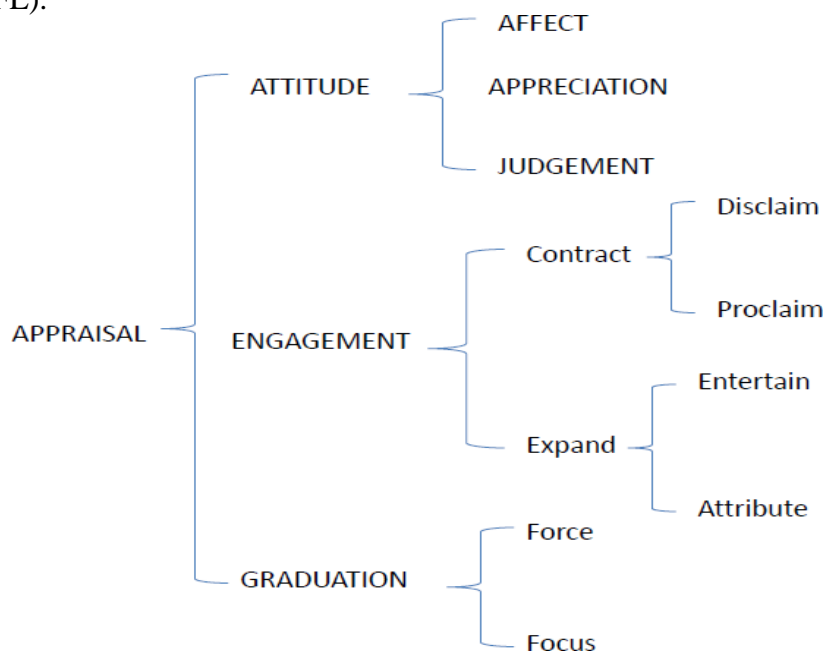
Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) view language as a social activity so that language is embraced from social context. According to Fairclough (1995) CDA consists of three things, namely: 1) textual analysis, 2) analysis of discourse practices or analysis of the process of production, distribution and consumption of text, and 3) analysis of social practices i.e., analysis of the socio-cultural environment in which the practice of discourse takes place. The three analyses are called three stages of analysis, namely: 1) the textual analysis stage, 2) the interpretation of the text, and 3) the explanation (Fairclough, 1995). SFL and CDA see language as a social activity so that language is learned in the social context in which it is located. Linking the SFL and CDA is not to combine these two types of research, but more to a working relationship between the two Young and Harrison (2004). SFL is used as an analysis knife, then the findings of the SFL are interpreted so as to be a critical analysis. Therefore, to investigate the linguistic elements of the text in political speech and investigate the arrangement of propositions and combinations and sorting between CDA and SFL. Appraisal Analysis (AA) at the CDA has been used as a tool to better understand public discourse on a range of social issues (Fairclough, 1995). Thus, politics may empower language to dominate as so to emerge unbalancing power in society. Thus, Critical Discourse Analysis concentrates on inequalities in society and the ways in which the text is structured, to explore power and ideology (Fairclough, 1989, 1995).

The present study applying CDA framework and SFL are also related to previous studies to identify Jokowi's speeches. Burhanuddin and Sumarlam (2015) Language decency strategy used by President Joko Widodo using the concept of Brown, Levinson, and Levinson (1987) politeness strategies, it resulted that President Joko Widodo's speech almost contained some politeness strategies, so that the speech contained a strong enough need to understand the characteristic of the nation's social and political issues and can be used as a basis to understand the pattern of character of a head of state in solving the socio-political problems of the nation.,

Asmara and Kusumaningrum (2020) examines President Jokowi's linguistic strategy in instilling ideology and government manifestos using analysis of critical discourse van Dijk model. As a result of the pronoun strategy, Jokowi tried to disrupt the structure and obscure the pronominal meaning to evoke the greatness without confirming himself (glorification). Savitri and Sudarisman (2018) examined comparisons between President Joko Widodo's 2016 State Speech and 2017 based on political communication perspectives and development communications. The results show that the text of the 2017 state speech was more nuanced political communication both microstructures, mesostructure and macrostructure with the dominance of the use of political language symbols related to the current political situation. Mufliharsi and Pratiwi (2019) examines President Joko Widodo's remarks as president of Indonesia with a vlogger, the results show both vlogs of President Joko Widodo applying a strategy of decency even in the informal situation of both vlogs. Yuniawan, Amirin, and Mardikantoro (2022) examine the deixis contained in the text of President Joko Widodo's speech at the presidential inauguration. The results of this study are the first, persona deixis found, namely (a) the first single deixis persona, i.e. I, (b) the first persona plural deixis, i.e. us and us. Second, where deixis is found is this, that, there. Third, deixis time was found now, per year, per month, five years ahead, five years ago. As already stated in the introduction that this study and the previous studies gap to find novelty by exploring ideological stance using Appraisal Analysis (AA), particularly the Judgmental category in the political speech of Jokowi in the state speech texts.

Appraisal Framework.

Attitude is one of the most important categories of Appraisal framework. This system is broadly traced back from (Alsanafi et al., 2019; Martin & White, 2005). Appraisal Theory (AT). Appraisal is a recently developed analytical form derived from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL).



Attitude

This category is "concerned with our feelings, including emotional reactions, judgments of behaviour and evaluation of things" (Martin & White, 2005). Attitude is probably considered as the most studied and important subsystem within Appraisal Theory (Alsanafi et al., 2019). It is the essence and major category of the Appraisal Theory. This category is our principal tool in this study. It is the umbrella term for evaluative language in attitudinal positioning in any written or spoken texts.

Affect

This category deals with passionate and emotional responses. This kind expresses the Attitudinal cases for presenting certain sentiments and emotions (Alsanafi et al., 2019). Affect is also sub divided into three other types, which concerned with: „Un/happiness“, which is connected with the heart’s affairs such as love, hate. In/security“, is connected to human beings“ self-confidence and well-being such as trust, horror, fear. Finally, Dis/satisfaction“, that is dealt with the pursuit of aims and goals such as please, satisfied, and so on (Frazier, 2012).

Appreciation

The last type of Attitude system is called Appreciation. This relates to object valuation (Alsanafi et al., 2019). However, this kind of attitude is unlike the other two previous influencing and assessment, due to the fact that this category does not care about people's descriptions, their emotions as well as their behavior. It is very connected to the aesthetic quality of the object (Copenhaver, 2002). Appreciation is also further divided into three important types: Reaction, valuation, Composition.

Judgment

This Judgmental category shows human evaluation as well as their behavior. While the Affect category is strongly associated with feelings, category of evaluation toward people’s characters (Copenhaver, 2002). It indicates an emoter’s attitudes forward the description of others as well as their behavior. judgment is also divided into two types of (Social Sanctions) and (Social Esteem) (Noor & Fazelah, 2015). Social awards show criticism or admiration with no formal implications, and are further divided into three systems, named: Normality, Capacity, Tenacity. The second type of Judgment is ‘Social Sanction’.. This category includes judge by showing the problem of legality / illegality, morality / immorality, or decency / disobedience. further divided into two systems, named: Propriety, Veracity.

This approach focuses on political discourse to uncover how Jokowi can express their emotions towards the Indonesian people in order to know his ideological stance in the text of his political speech. Analysts plan to recognize the Indonesian people.

Method Research design

This paper is designed to adopt a mixed method approach. The main method in this study is the qualitative one. Qualitative research design boils down to "human: interpersonal relationships, personal values, meanings, beliefs, thoughts, and feelings. Qualitative researchers strive to achieve rich, tangible, deep, and valid data and from a rational point of view, this approach is inductive" (Louis, 2013). In addition, quantitative ways of analyzing the frequency of themes that occur in the selected data set are also performed. Quantitative design is achieved by calculating and tabulating all the attitudinal elements we will get in the analyze spreadsheet. The assessment aims to describe various ways of introducing linguistic interpersonal meanings in the use of language

Data

The source of the data in the study is a transcript of president Jokowi's political speech in order to celebrate Independence Day. The data set comprises of state speeches conveyed on 16thth of August, 2015 with a total number of 3,981words. This state speech is the most prominent speech as the first speech after he was inaugurated as the seventh president of the Republic of Indonesia.

Procedure

This procedure adopted Noor's (2015) framework. In the first step, Jokowi's firstly official state delivered in 2015 is transcribed and then their words and sentences are counted and downloaded. To study insecurely intended speech, Martin and White's (2005) Assessment System was adopted so that emotional features (as extra-linguistic factors) and positions could be investigated. Analysis of discourse based on assessment theory guides the current study to explore the speaker's attitude (especially affecting) to different national and international phenomena. It should be noted that the explicit way in which it affects is explored is analyzed; However, the attitudes/influences expressed implicitly are not within the scope of this study. After presenting qualitative analysis and identifying explicit influence preferences and positions in speeches made by Jokowi' speech sentences are calculated each frequency in the chart.

The data set of Jokowi's five speech texts were analyzed using the SFL analysis tool combined with CDA Fairclough (1995) consisting of:

- linguistic description of the formal nature of the text;
- interpretation of the relationship between the discursive process / interaction and the text, in which the text is the final product of the production of process text and resources in the process of interpretation of the text;
- explanation of the relationship between discourse and social and cultural realities.

The text is downloaded and then copied and copied pasted into a widely available word processing software package (WORD). They are then divided into clauses, and embedded clauses. Then, the data instances paste into a widely available spreadsheet software package for each specific analysis (EXCEL). The following analysis procedure adopted from Alsanafi et al. (2019) and (Noor & Fazelah, 2015, 2017) framework can be seen in table 2.

Table 2: Examples of the worksheet applied in this current study

Speech text	Instances	Attitudinal Analysis				
		Appraised	Appraiser	App	Aff	Jud
the education of the people is becoming increasingly progressive	<u>increasingly progressive</u>	Jokowi	People		+Sat;inv	
are we ghouls? children of horror we have become one of most spectacular examples in the world?	we have become one of <u>most spectacular examples</u>	Jokowi	People	+Val;ins		
We also have critical young voters who have <u>strong motivation</u>	strong motivation	Jokowi	People			+Cap;inv
The people are easily trapped in 'public hysteria'	<u>easily trapped in 'public hysteria'</u>	Jokowi	People			-Cap;inv

Data analysis

This paper deals with the selected instances for each words tallied and tabulated to obtain an insight into the occurrences of attitudinal numbers and types of occurrences of attitudinal choices made by Jokowi in his political speech texts. The quantitative method gives support to the qualitative research design of the attitudinal elements. The qualitative design of the data sets is created to obtain the nature of the contents in terms of the ideological contents inside the political speech texts.

Research result

Attitudinal types

In this section deals with result. This present study results the data analysis findings via analyzes the sub-system of judgmental analysis as toolkit to investigate ideological stance of Jokowi toward the people of Indonesia. This study builds a site interaction from the leader and his people. in any spoken texts of the political speeches by which is delivered by the president Jokowi to build mutual trusts between the president and the people. The president usually direct alignment and agreement with targeted people in his political speech texts. Attitudes constitutes the most vital important evaluative toolkits to recognize the social actor realized by the people. This theory is very important as the cover that includes the most important of attitudinal analysis.

As we already mentioned, Attitude has three sub-systems, Judgment, and Appreciation. The essence of the attitude is to explore the semiotic and linguistic units by examining all attitudinal propositions in order to analyze successively (Alsanafi et al., 2019). This part, we concern to select data set from attitudinal items. All the data findings is shown in the results obtained are shown below in the form of quantity Numbers or Percentages and Tables, which covers all description of all occurrences and portions correspondingly therefore construe comparisons between all judgmental categories. We can then have a clear value of the ways that Jokowi evaluate the people of Indonesia and what are the reasons behind it are. The result is reemphasized some quotations taken from the speech texts with the description to draw the main intention of this study.

Table 3 Comparison of attitudinal types based on the speech texts.

Kinds	Appreciation	Affect	Judgement	Total
Recurrences	14	18	32	64
Percentages	21,8%	28,2%	50%	100%

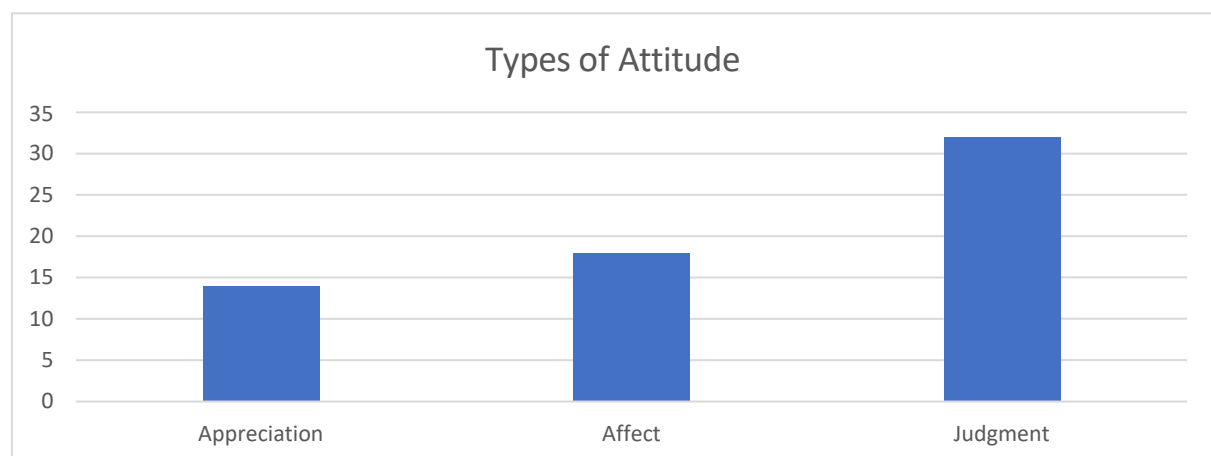


Figure 1. Type of Attitude resources

As can be seen in Table 3 describes significant results, that judgement category has as the most portion exceeded the other two attitudinal categories with large occurrences in the whole speech text delivered by Jokowi toward the people of Indonesia. The number of the occurrences is the half of the total number in whole data found. It 50% of all the text's Attitudinal propositions appraised using the appraisal subsystem of Judgement. The Table pinpoints the affect placed the second position after the judgment with lace of *analysis* to almost 18 occurrences (28,2%) of all Attitudinal analysis in the whole speech text. Appreciation is at the least occurrences of Lastly, Appreciation has adopted the final position with only 14 (21,8%) of all Attitudinal choices in this present study. Attitudinal categories can be more detailed description for each of examples as follows.

- (1) ... *the world's most predominantly Moslem country*,... Appreciation
- (2) ... *we have to stay united*... Judgment
- (3) ... *our gratitude to God*...Affect

The examples above is noticeable that the occurrences of judgement been more recurrent employed in this study. Therefore, Judgement has been dominantly in this study over the twoothertypesoftheattitudes;(Affect and Appreciation). Affect has the next portion in this analysis process in this study, the last comes to the Appreciation resources which have been at the least portion in the analysis process. Regarding to the political speech text of Jokowi how he evaluates the people of Indonesia realized in his lexical choices. The judgmental category is prioritized in the initial place in the spreadsheet (Alsanafi et al., 2019). The sub-system of judgment is mainly realized to evaluate the people's character to indicate Jokowi's judgment toward the people of Indonesia with various kinds of the judgmental categories to value the Indonesian people's character being appraised (50 %). It makes sense that Jokowi tends to appraise the people of Indonesia with the largest portion compared two other types of the attitudinal types since Jokowi has political party base as the people's party or known as '*wong cilik*' means the grassroots. It is reasonable that is why Jokowi concentrate the people of Indonesia.

Table 4 Types of judgment resources in the speech texts

Kinds	Prop.	Ten.	Cap.	Norm.	Ver.	Total
Occurrences	6	9	13	2	2	32
Percentages	18,75%	28,12%	40,63%	6,25%	6,25%	100%

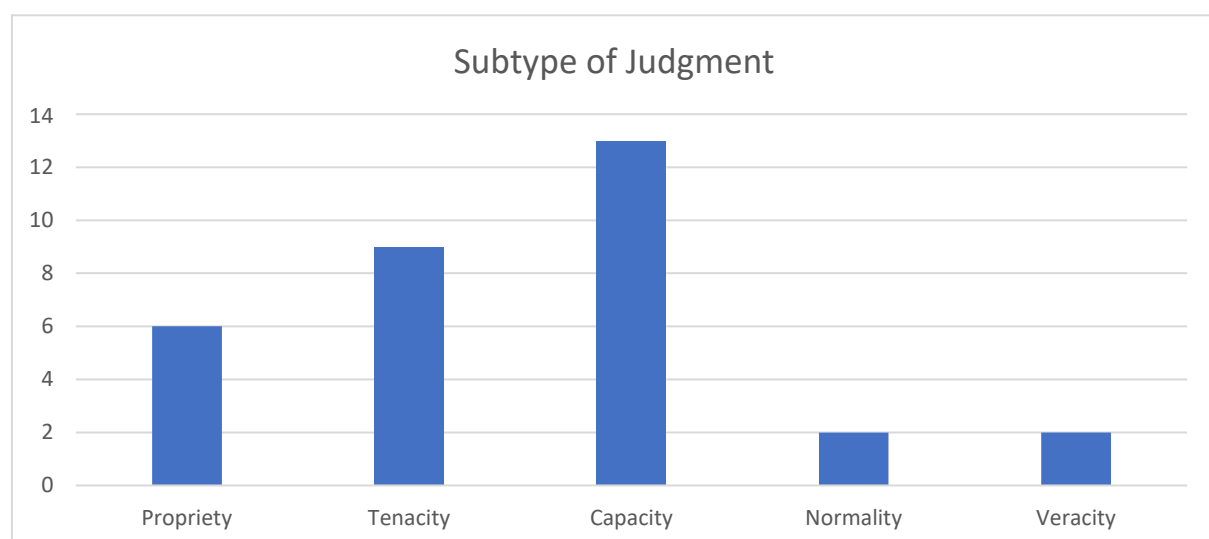


Figure 2. Subtype of Judgment

As can be seen in Table 4 which display the Judgmental subsystem more than the two other Attitudinal kinds. In this part, the analysis comes to the Judgmental categories to identify which sub-systems that the characters in the speech texts most frequently is directed to the audiences/ the Indonesian people to understand how Jokowi has a concern toward the Indonesian people. Table 4 indicates how Jokowi mostly appraises the people of Indonesia most frequently evaluated the people via positive Capacity since Jokowi evaluates using capacity has exceeded other sub-kinds within Judgement category. It was Jokowi's most interest toward the people of Indonesia to strengthen his position via language as medium to disseminate ideological inclination inside the political speech text. The most occurrences are categorized below (Social Esteem) Capacity resources have exceeded the other Judgmental categories. Following examples of Capacity resources are as follows to give a clear portrait how Jokowi evaluated the people of Indonesia as the capable people who are able to solve their own problems without any other help. It is more detailed description and explanation can be seen in examples as follows.

- (1) *We also have critical young voters who have strong motivation to safeguard the running of democracy and governance..*
- (2) *Many social assistance programs for the underprivileged could be freed up to help them escape from the shackles of poverty.*

As can be seen in the Example 4 that the people of Indonesia who are represented by 'young voters have strong motivation'. 'The strong motivation' constitutes the categorization of social judgment since the young voters is associated with the capability to uphold the democracy in Indonesia by choosing their own choice without any other influence. Jokowi said implicitly toward the people of Indonesia stated to refers that the young voters are the capable people of Indonesia. Therefore, the lexical utterance of 'the strong motivation' indicates that the people of Indonesia who are represented as the young voters have the strength in term of their motivation. This can be interpreted that the people of Indonesia, more specifically the young generations have capability to choose the right political position to vote who is the best leader. It is categorized as the subtype of Judgment, more precisely invoked positive Capacity. It explains that Jokowi evaluates the young Indonesian people is the capable people.

While the Example no. 5 that President Jokowi is represented by the government as the presidential system, president is the government leader. Jokowi describe that the government has distributed social assistant programs to help them. The pronoun of 'them' constitutes the people of Indonesia. The modulation of 'could' indicates the Capacity. Thus, the modulation of "could" is the direct statement towards to help the poverty. It can be interpreted that the people of Indonesia are capable to escape from the shackle's poverty. Jokowi appraised the people of Indonesia using the Capacity of the subtype of Judgment. Jokowi expresses his evaluation toward the people of Indonesia positively. directly and indirectly. The way of delivering of Jokowi in delivering his political speech indirectly and invoked rather than directly. There are two motivations why Jokowi appraises the people highly via judgment category. There are two reasons based socio-cultural practiced by Jokowi how he disseminates his ideological stance toward the people of Indonesia. Firstly, Jokowi is motivated by his cultural background, as the Javanese who tend to express indirectly (Magnis-Suseno, 1984). Secondly, his political background as the people base party (PDI-P, Struggle Indonesian Democratic Party) or pro-people party motivates him to focuses on the people. It is relevant Petra, May, and Ida (2016) Jokowi's ideology tends to pro-the people. Those motivates Jokowi has political inclination by appraising highly toward the people of Indonesia. In short, Jokowi judges the people of Indonesia as the capable people. It is similar with Rosadi, Debora, and

Silalahi (2019) as the presidents that bureaucratic leadership in public institutions is greatly needed to handle the government and to lead the people of Indonesia as the main goal of Jokowi. Jokowi acts as the Indonesian president is to focus on his work to serve the public service.

Limitations

The research covered only one president of the Republic of Indonesia with presidential speech texts delivered in the occasion of the Indonesian Independence Day, besides the appraisal theory applied only in term of judgmental categories of the occurrences of the words spoken by President Jokowi. Further research is kindly needed with another theoretical perspectives.

Conclusion

In order to have clear description and understanding the ideological inclination of Jokowi in motivating his leadership. It examines how Jokowi has tendency to evaluate the people of Indonesia realized through lexical utterances. The subtype of Judgement enabled to evaluate how the character of the people of Indonesia. As the president who has the grassroots base enabled Jokowi prioritize the people as his motivation to rule the nation. Ideological stance reflects it in the occurrences of the lexical utterances. The largest portion of the certain judgmental category show his motivation and ideological inclination inside his presidential speech. Jokowi mostly evaluated the people of Indonesia using the subtype of Judgment, more specifically positive Capacity. It indicates that Jokowi's ideology is pictured in his speech how Jokowi mostly evaluated the people of Indonesia using the positive capacity. It expresses that Jokowi regards the People of Indonesia as the capable people to overcome their own problems. It is proper to Jokowi to align the people; it is relevant to his 'working' cabinet name. In short, there are two socio-political reasons behind his tendencies toward the people of Indonesia. The first is his cultural background as the Javanese who tends to express his feeling implicitly as he realized via his political speech text. The second is his political party which has pro-people political party or the grassroots political party.

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