

# Uncovering of ideological stances of the Indonesian Presidents through an amalgamation analysis of attitudinal analysis and critical discourse analysis

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## Uncovering of ideological stances of the Indonesian Presidents through an amalgamation analysis of attitudinal analysis and critical discourse analysis

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### Abstract

This present study attempts to identify the hidden ideology of the Indonesian Presidents' speeches in the post-new order. By using an amalgamation of analytical tools, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) incorporates with Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), especially Martin and White's (2005) The subtypes of Appraisal system, Attitudinal analysis (Abiog, E. B., & David, R. 2020) to uncover the ideological stance inside the presidential speech texts. This paper has two main objectives. Firstly, it is to identify the most frequent distribution of the social actor as being targeted in the speeches. Secondly, it is to uncover ideological stance realized through lexical choices of utterances toward social actors. The research data was selected from two prominent presidential speeches of President Susilo Yudhoyono (henceforth, SBY) 3386 words and President Jokowi Widodo (henceforth, Jokowi) 3386 words. This present research was designed qualitatively. The results showed judgmental subcategory surpassed the other two attitudinal categories by a large margin in the speeches of SBY and Jokowi with more than 54 % (81 instances) of attitudinal choices. The exceeding judgmental category was used to identify how SBY and Jokowi evaluated the selected actors (Government, People, and Politician). The exceeding of tenacity resources upon the other subtypes of Judgment by a small margin with 15 instances exceeded SBY by a split gap with 14 instances. The most frequent subtype of tenacity was to evaluate the social actors indicated someone is dependable to overcome their obstacles. Thus, SBY and Jokowi evaluated the people of Indonesia as the dependable actors positively inscribed evaluation of tenacity to give stress to the audiences since they delivered explicitly to avoid misunderstanding between the presidents with audiences. Real support from the people urgently needed to build good power relations. This study was concluded SBY and Jokowi evaluated the people of Indonesia using positively inscribed evaluation toward the people of Indonesia to describe their positive value toward the people of Indonesia as the dependable people to work hard with their strength. This was done by both presidents to obtain the public's trust to support their power.

**Keywords:** Appraisal; CDA; ideology; presidential speech; Indonesian Presidents

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## 1. Introduction

The political change in Indonesia (1998) has been observed, and Indonesia has greatly changed from an authoritarian country (Pietsch, 2015). This political change has been going to be more democratic that had impacted the climate of freedom resulted to a more various discursive patterns developed (Santosa, et al, 2014). It is evident from Indonesian political metamorphose as well the linguistic pattern of freedom speech. Speech is a form of power-raising through the mass media by utilizing linguist features (Santosa, et al, 2011). Thus, political speech contains an ideological stance to maintain the president's power. Language has an ideology that has certain strengths and is not neutral (Juprino, 2010). The use of vocabulary, and the structure of discourse is the ideology of language. Language can influence people's opinions about certain political discourses (Suharto, 2016, p.62). Politicians use political language to make people understand certain situations (Beard, 2000, p.2)

The Reformation era began in 1998 as already mentioned, Indonesia has seven Presidents. One of the renowned presidents in the reformation era is President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and President Joko Widodo. They are the presidents in the Post's Soeharto or reformation era who were elected for two-period terms. SBY came from the Javanese-Indonesian elites. But Jokowi is a phenomenon president ever in Indonesia. He is unlike the previous Presidents who came from the Indonesian elites, but he is from an ordinary-small wood seller. This has never existed in Indonesia before (Mas'udi, 2005). Second, President Jokowi's speech is considered a phenomenon because it does not come from a political background that influences his discourse. As stated by Mcclay (2017) the presidential speech may influence the audiences easily. Third, Nurpadillah (2017) looks at how Jokowi is unique in delivering his speech, it is contrasted with SBY who is more formal in conveying his speech. Fourth, both are Javanese. The Javanese is used to practice how they respect and live harmoniously to cultural norms since their childhood (Suseno, 1984; Giyoto, 2020).

The presidential speech texts are an attempt to investigate hidden ideologies by evaluating the social actors involved in the speeches of SBY and Jokowi. The presidential speech covers politics, the economy, legal, and social life (Kusumaningrum, 2014; Suharto, 2016; Kusumawardani, 2020). This study evaluates three main social actors as Government, politicians, and people. This is expected to contribute to a broader understanding of political discourse in Indonesia. President speech is worthy to be studied in terms of linguistic perspective.

### 1.1. Literature review

In the previous studies, the language structures is extensively studied, but not with language function that has not been thoroughly explored in analyzing political discourse. Language is not only used for infrequency and interpersonal meaning but as a function (Sumarsih, 2009:1). Engagement is most dominant in scientific texts, while attitudes are more often found in fictional texts. Santosa, (2010) studied conjunctive relation among six various magazines and found that the use of conjunction relation was a typical spoken style. Stubbs (1986) advocated that speakers express language functions through attitude and opinion. Hence, this study focuses on language function compared to structural analysis that lacks political speech texts of Indonesian president in terms of language function perspective.

The phenomenon of language use in Jokowi's speech as a president can be investigated critically with the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach. This is a concern and special highlight among the community because as a government official, the use of Jokowi's speech reflects the particular interests delivered to his people through the representation and ideology construed by Jokowi in his state speech. The representation is the way that Jokowi describes the socio-political condition in

Indonesia. In addition, speech is a discourse that reflects a certain ideology and forms social cognition, which is the relationship between discourse and Ideology (Fairclough, 2001).

Language plays an important role in showing a person's ideological attitude about the subject they are talking about (Warsono, 2012). Language can be used as an evaluation tool (Martin and Rose, 2003). Evaluation can be used as an assessment tool to be able to evaluate human or non-human objects. To review the important point where other scholars have done, this study attempts to have a look at the previous related studies to see the strength and weaknesses of previous studies. These previous related studies are urgently needed to find the gap from previous scholars' works (Alsanafi, 2019c).

In the review of previous studies of the presidential speech of SBY and Jokowi, Kusumaningrum (2014) and Suharto (2016) have researched the SBY's speech. Kusumaningrum (2014) focused on politics and economic perspectives, while Suharto focused on the linguistic features of SBY's speeches. Burhanuddin and Sumarlam (2015) studied Jokowi's speech in terms of politeness perspective. Presidential speech or state speech on the occasion of the Indonesian Independence Day is the most important speech since it was a parameter of the president's leadership (Suharto, 2016). SBY and Jokowi's speeches have been studied in terms of micro and macro elements, the result shows that both presidents wanted to improve the educational system in their speeches (Noermanzah et al (2017). The speech of the President was interesting to be studied in depth to observe formal, sociological, and critical approaches. Discourse concerns studying actual text and talk. While texts are critical to see inequality, social wrongs, and unbalancing through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA constitutes an understanding of discourse (verbal or written) as a form of social practice (Wodak, 2006; Renkema, 2004). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can be used to see the social development of a community or something that is developing in the community. Jorgensen and Philips (2010:114) say that this analysis provides theories and methods that can be used to conduct empirical studies on the relationships between discourse and social and cultural developments in different social domains. As a means of communication to convey a message of speakers, the meaning of language is determined by the communication process that occurs. And in CDA, Rogers (2005) also states that critical discourse Analysis emphasized language as a meaning-making process, complete with options.

A CDA's model of Norman Fairclough (1995) was chosen based on the ideology and stage found in the model as relevant to be the analytical model in this study. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Norman Fairclough mapped the research object into three things, namely (a) the text description, (b) Discourse Practice, and (c) the Socio-cultural Practice (Fairclough, 1995). In this study, the text description is attempted to delineate the text itself. It means to describe the origin of the presidential speech texts. The discourse practice how the text is produced and consumed. In this study, the presidential speech text is produced by the president then consumed by all Indonesian people particularly and the international world generally. The socio-cultural practice means that the text is related to the culture of the socio-cultural background of the president. The research by Asad et al. (2019a) on the Malaysian election 2018 shows also that the context of the situation affects the text as The New Straits Times (NST) as a mainstream newspaper depicted the negative issues of Barisan Nasional in the government of Pakatan Harapan. NST avoided the representation of such issues under the government of BN as a government-influenced newspaper that led to biased representation. In another study of Asad et al. (2019b) on Pakistani alternative and mainstream newspaper, it was found that mainstream newspaper, 'The News' represented well social actor (Imran Khan) in the new government of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI) for its private and political interest for its survival comparing to its previous role. Thus, it could be said that context leaves effects on the text that can be determined visually as well as analytically.

### *1.1.1. Theoretical Framework*

Why is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)? Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL) is introduced by Halliday (1978) to study that grammar is not separated from social function. SFL is a tool kit to analyze CDA. This study employed systemic functional Linguistics (SFL) as an analytical tool kit to study discourse analysis. Systemic functional linguistics has been widely used to analyze CDA (Noor, 2015). The data analysis was analyzed based on Appraisal Analysis through in three phases which is based on Critical Discourse Analysis (Noor, 2015). SFL concentrates on language as the inventing of meaning as a resource rather than grammatical roles to form the language structure (Halliday, 1978; Halliday&Matthiessen, 2014; Martin, 1992). Language is considered as a social semiotic that is influenced by social functions to convey meaning. SFL imposes several theoretical dimensions of language related to meaning making in social contexts. These dimensions are known as stratification, scale rating, metafunction, and axes (see Halliday&Matthiessen, 2009, 2014; Martin, 1992, 2015). It is for more details on theoretical dimensions in SFL.

In SFL, a meaning category is realized in the term of Metafunctions of which consist of ideational, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions (Eggs, 2004; Eggs & Slade, 1997; Halliday&Matthiessen, 2014; Martin & Rose, 2008). Ideational metafunction describes experiences, either in inner consciousness and outer of the world surround (Martin, 1992). Interpersonal metafunction functions to social relationships, as well as evaluations between speaker and hearer via language use (Bangga and Lukmana, 2019). Textual metafunction functions to combine the ideational and interpersonal meanings into a text. This study concerns interpersonal metafunctions. Thus, this research utilizes discourse semantics and lexicogrammar system that is realized in the Appraisal system.

#### *1.1.1.1. An overview of Appraisal*

The appraisal is one of the main discourses of semantic resources to enact interpersonal meanings, particularly those relating to the making of feelings, evaluation toward a person's act, evaluation towards things or phenomena (Martin & White, 2005). Alsanafi (2020) looks at attitude as a description of the way of feeling. Attitude contains three sub-divisions, namely Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation (Noor, 2015).

Besides, Appraisal focuses on social sharing between speakers with their potential hearer. There are three main elements in Appraisal: attitude, engagement, and graduation. This research only focuses on the attitude system. Attitudes are divided into three types of evaluations of attitudes, namely affect (human's feelings), judgment (Human's characters), and appreciation (Things' value). Attitude is the most important type of Appraisal system (Ailan, 2017; Alsanafi, 2019c).

#### *1.1.1.2. Attitude*

Attitude evaluates people, character, and things. The type of attitude in the evaluation of the text is divided into three, namely influencing, evaluating and appreciating (Alsanafi, 2019a). According to Martin and Rose (2007), affect evaluates our feelings connected to sadness/happiness, satisfaction/dissatisfaction, security/insecurity, etc. Judgment refers to the evaluation of the human character including social and personal judgment. Appreciation deals with the evaluation of things or phenomena. This evaluation is categorized into three parts, i.e. reaction, composition, and value. All those evaluations can be recognized based on attitudinal meaning and polarization. The attitudinal meaning can be recognized either directly or implicitly (inscribed) and indirectly (invoke). The other is polarization that attitudinal meaning can be polarized into two, i.e positive and negative polarities (Alsanafi, 2019a).

### 1.1.1.3. Attitudinal polarity and strategy

In the evaluation, four important things connected to the discourse consist of an appraiser, appraised, appraising, and evaluation types. An appraiser is a person who appraises, the appraised is the person who is evaluated. Types of evaluation can be positively or negatively polarized and the way of strategy to appraise explicitly (inscribed) or implicitly (invoked) toward the social actors being appraised. Implicitness is to evaluate without using attitudinal words (lexis). Bangga & Lukmana, (2019) augmented that Evaluation can be realized in the selected ideational meaning to address potential hearers to share what they feel respective.

## 2.1. Research questions

Regarding the above background in the introduction, literature review, and theoretical framework, this study will find a gap in the novelty of this research. This current paper aims to have two main questions:

1.2.1 What are the most frequencies of the distribution of social actors involved in the presidential speech texts of SBY and Jokowi regarding attitudinal categories (Judgment, Affect, and Appreciation)?

1.2.1.1. How Ideological stance of SBY and Jokowi realized in lexical utterances toward social actors?

## 2. Method

### 2.1. Sample / Participants

The sample of the data was selected from two of the ten prominent speech texts. State speech text of the Indonesian presidents was the most important speech rather than other speech text of president (Suharto, 2016). Therefore, this study used two of the ten-state speech texts during 2010-2019. The selection of the speech since in 2010 is the first state of SBY in his second term of the presidential period, 2015 was delivered by Jokowi in his period of the state speech. As already mentioned in the introduction, choosing SBY and Jokowi since they were voted directly by the people of Indonesia, and they have a completely first period (five years per period) was enough to evaluate the nation leader (Jaes, 2016).

### 2.2. Instrument(s)

The instruments in which the researcher prepare is a set of laptop and internet connection. Software windows 10 was applied to ease in retrieving the file from the official website of the State Secretary ([www.sekneg.go.id](http://www.sekneg.go.id)) for SBY speech text and Cabinet secretary ([www.setkab.go.id](http://www.setkab.go.id)) for Jokowi's speech text. Taking the benefits of internet devices to obtain the data. Operating MS windows and EXCEL make this research works smoothly.

### 2.3. Data collection procedures

The data collected from two important speeches of the ten-state speeches had been delivered during 2010-2019 of the two prominent presidents, SBY, and Jokowi. The researcher utilized the laptop and internet online to search through official websites of the State Secretary of SBY ([www.sekneg.go.id](http://www.sekneg.go.id)) and the Cabinet secretary website ([www.setkab.go.id](http://www.setkab.go.id)) of Jokowi. The researcher selected the most important speeches available on the official websites. The two selected speech files were downloaded then the file

was copied into a Word processor in windows 2010. The data were already copied to the worksheet to be analyzed.

#### 2.4. Data analysis

In the analysis Procedures, firstly, two speeches delivered by SBY and Jokowi in the state speech downloaded then words, phrases, clauses, and sentences were counted to analyze discursive political speech. Instantiations (instances) were used in the text analysis (Martin, 1992). Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal analysis were employed to investigate hidden ideology inside the speech texts. Critical discourse analysis of Fairclough (1995) as an approach to explore SBY and Jokowi's attitudinal meaning toward social actors mentioned in the speech texts. Secondly, after the data separated into words, phrases, clauses, and sentences, then the data were identified in the worksheets using in EXCEL. The presidents as the appraisers and social actors as the Appraised (or target of appraisal). The Appraiser was identified based on their positions as a person, government leader, and state leader social actor categories. The attitudinal types urged on the selected social actors (Government, People, and Politicians) as the social actors being targeted in this study, whether positive/negative and invoked/inscribed, were also identified. Thirdly, after categorized and classified the data analyzed qualitatively based on the text description, then the data interpreted. The last is the data explained via tables to ease the frequency of the most instances and favorably attitudinal items used by SBY and Jokowi.

The term of instantiation is initiated by Martin (1992) to give a better design to explore how texts used social context. This study used the term 'instance' instate of words, clauses, and sentences in the speeches. The most frequent of the distribution of instances will indicate certain ideological inclinations of the speakers (Nejad et al, 2013). Ideological tendencies of SBY's and Jokowi's speeches can be realized through how many instances are distributed in their speeches based on attitudinal types and the types of evaluation used.

### 3. Results

This section deals with results refer to how SBY and Jokowi evaluate the social actors involved in the two prominent speech texts. The State speech texts have attitudinal meanings via Appraisal Analysis to investigate how both presidents evaluate social actors involved in the speeches to examine the ideological stance of both presidents. This analysis employs three types of attitude, affect, judgment, and appreciation (Martin & Rose, 2007).

This part deals with an attempt to answer the research question in the previous part. The first part is to identify what are the most frequencies of social actors involved in the presidential speech texts of SBY and Jokowi regarding attitudinal categories (Judgment, Affect, and Appreciation). All the results will be seen in table 1 that include a complete report of all the attitudinal categories ;( Judgement, Affect, Appreciation) to give a rational explanation. Attitude is the main essence of the appraisal system and the main analytical tool as well (Alsanafi, 2020, p.108). this study may figure out how SBY and Jokowi realize their ideologies realized through evaluating the selected social actors (Government, people, and politicians). The results present the distribution of attitudinal choices of SBY and Jokowi as in table 1.

**Table 1.** Distribution of attitudinal choices based on their types in the speeches

Types	SBY	Jokowi	Total
	Instances	Instances	Instances
Affect	18 (12.6%)	13 (8.9%)	31 (21.5%)
Judgment	39 (25.7%)	42 (28.7%)	81 (54.4%)
Appreciation	19 (13.3%)	17 (11.7%)	34 (25.1%)
	76 (51.7%)	72 (49.3%)	146 (100%)

Table 1 shows that the judgmental subcategory exceeded the other two attitudinal categories by a large margin in the speeches of SBY and Jokowi. The Judgmental category has more than 54 % (81 instances) of attitudinal choices. The second position comes to Appreciation with 34 instances (25.1%), has a split margin with Affect which occupied in the last position with 31 instances (21.5%). It is true proof that the judgmental category has the largest portion utilized by both presidents in evaluating the social actors. The results have shown ideological tendencies of SBY and Jokowi. The judgment subsystem has the largest portion with various reasons of both presidents. Judgment is considered the medium to evaluate the social actors' behaviour. The exceeding judgmental category was used to identify how SBY and Jokowi evaluate the selected actors (Government, People, and Politicians) as in table 2.

**Table 2.** Distribution of judgmental categories based on their subtypes in the speeches

Subtypes	SBY	Jokowi	Total
	Instances	Instances	Instances
Capacity	9 (11.1%)	17 (20.9%)	26 (32.1%)
Normality	4 (4.9%)	2 (2.4%)	6 (7.4%)
Tenacity	14 (17.1%)	15 (18.7%)	29 (35.8%)
Propriety	13 (16.3%)	4 (4.9%)	17(20.9%)
Veracity	2 (2.4%)	1 (1.3%)	3 (3.7%)
	42 (51.7)	39 (48.2%)	81 (100%)

As can be seen in Table 2 presents that the subcategory of tenacity exceeded the other four subtypes. The table 2 showed that the exceeding of tenacity resources upon the other subtypes of Judgment by a small margin in the speeches. Jokowi had bit more instances with 15 instances exceeded SBY by a split gap. The use of tenacity which was to evaluate the social actors indicated someone is dependable (Alsanafi & Noor, 2018). SBY and Jokowi evaluated the social actors as dependable actors in their speeches. How social actors were evaluated by SBY and Jokowi through the distribution of attitudinal polarity and strategy applied by both presidents as in table 3.

**Table 3.** Distribution of the attitudinal polarity and strategy of the judgmental choices

Appraisers	Polarity		Strategy	
	Positive	Negative	Inscribed	Invoked
SBY	34 (42.2%)	2 (2.6%)	36 (44.4%)	16 (18.6%)
Jokowi	38 (46.7%)	7 (8.8%)	21 (29.9%)	9 (11.15%)
	72 (88.9%)	9 (11.1%)	57 (70.3%)	25 (29.7%)



Table 3 illustrates how the social actors are being appraised by SBY and Jokowi. The table 4 showed a split difference in the number of instances of polarity; (positive or negative) in the speeches. SBY had 34 instances (42.2%) resources held in positive connotations, while only 2 instances (2.6%) organized negative values concerning how the social actors appraised. These results produced this study to uncover the ideological tendencies of SBY and Jokowi that both presidents positively valued the social actors being appraised. Then, the way of strategy realized to appraise the social actors. In terms of the way attitudinal choice is expressed explicitly (inscribed) and implicitly (invoked instances). The results indicated that the attitudinal frequencies of strategies in SBY' had 36 instances (44.4%) rather than invoked strategy was only 16 instances (18.6%). On the other side, Jokowi had 21 instances (29.9%) of attitudinal resources presented explicitly (Inscribed instances), while the rest of the attitudinal resources which were 9 instances (11.1%) expressed implicitly (Invoked instances). Those instances were shreds of evidence of how SBY and Jokowi had tendencies to evaluated the social actors positively, and they also expressed explicitly (Inscribed instances). To indicate how ideological tendencies of SBY and Jokowi via evaluating the social actors being appraised as in table 4.

**Table 4.** Distribution of the Evaluation of social actors based on Judgmental choices

Appraisers	Appraised			
	Government	People	Politicians	Total
SBY	15 (18.2%)	19 (23.4%)	4(4.8%)	38 (46.7%)
Jokowi	17 (20.9)	25 (30.8%)	1 (1.3%)	43(53.3%)
	31 (38.2%)	45 (55.5%)	5 (6.1%)	81 (100%)

Table 4 presents that SBY and Jokowi appraised the selected social actors (Government, People, and Politicians) based on judgmental choices. The results showed that People exceeded the other two social actors (Government and Politicians). Thus, the people ( of Indonesia) were mostly appraised in the number of instances by SBY and Jokowi. The people were as the main focus to be appraised via positively inscribed tenacity.

The number of evaluations showed how both presidents have an inclination toward certain social actors, and attitudinal categories would draw a positive portrait of the ideological tendencies of SBY and Jokowi. To identify an ideological stance can be seen in the following section.

#### 4. Discussion

This section attempts to answer the second question "How Ideological stances of SBY and Jokowi realized in lexical utterances toward social actors? As earlier mention in the previous part that the people of Indonesia are mostly involved in the speech texts of SBY and Jokowi. This part will investigate via social actors' evaluation to investigate the ideological stance of SBY and Jokowi.

##### 4.1 Evaluation of the People of Indonesia

As the prominent social actors, the people of Indonesia are mostly evaluated by both presidents. It is relevant to the 1945 constitution (Indonesian constitution) that the president is as 'madataris' (entrusted with mandate) of MPR ( People's Representative Assembly ). This means that the president should prioritize the people as the main duty. Comparison of the evaluation toward the people of Indonesia SBY and Jokowi as the target of evaluation, SBY prioritizes the people of Indonesia more than Jokowi does. The most frequent comes to people being appraised by SBY 40 instances (54,6%)

compared to 34 instances (45,5%) by Jokowi. Surprisingly, Jokowi comes from PDIP (Indonesia Democratic Party of Struggle) in which has a base for 'wong cilik' or the grassroots. The most category of the evaluation comes to judgment by Jokowi with 24 instances of the distributions, while SBY bit has a smaller portion compared to Jokowi with 23 instances of the distribution of Jokowi appraised. Jokowi evaluates the people mostly through judgment. tenacity 7 instances (10,71%), Propriety 3 instances (4,59%), Capacity 11 instances (16,83%), Normality 2 instances (3,06%). The most occurrences of the Judgmental categories to Capacity, as the most favourable types utilized by Jokowi. The subtype of Capacity of the people is most favourable to evaluate the people by Jokowi. This shows the inclination of the ideological stance toward the social actor represented by the people of Indonesia. It is can be seen in the examples follow in table 5.

**Table 5.** Examples of appraising of the People of Indonesia

NO	Sentence	Instances	Appraised	Appraised: Social Actor	Appraiser	appraiser: Social Actor	Analysis
<u>1</u>	We also have critical young voters who have strong motivation to safeguard the running of democracy and governance	who have a strong motivation	Young voters	People	President	Jokowi	Tenacity, Inscribed, positive
<u>2</u>	Besides, currently, Indonesia also has a significant number of middle-class people that will continue to increase along with demographic bonuses.	a significant number of middle-class people	We	People	President	Jokowi	Capacity, Invoked, positive

As can be seen in the Table 5 above, Example no 1 shows that the lexical utterances of “critical” shows the condition of young voters nowadays, it indicates the people of Indonesia is represented by young voters as the capable people toward the general election. The capability, in this case, is represented by the young voters as the millennium generation who are familiar with the sophisticated technology and are not easily influenced by others to choose one of the candidates. Therefore, Jokowi evaluates the people of Indonesia as a dependable people. This is done to build the people’s interest to Jokowi as so to get public support from the people to strengthen his power.

Jokowi utilizes the inscribed tenacity of the subsystem of Judgement mostly applied to evaluate the people. Regarding Jokowi’s ideological stance as the people-oriented to place people as his first priority in his leadership. The inscribed tenacity as stated by Alsanafi (2020, p.51) “... inscribed assessment is instantiated in lexical items which carry particular attitudinal values”. This indicated that Jokowi directly appraised the Indonesian people as dependable people who can stand by their own

strength. This was expressed to give a positive outcome from the audiences to support his leadership to lead the nation.

#### 4.2 Evaluation of the Government

The government is one of the important social actors in the state speech of Indonesian presidents. As the government as the target social actors being appraised comprises of ministers, governors, and regional leaders. SBY and Jokowi appraise the government as the target of evaluation in their speeches. Utilizing the attitudinal categories as a tool to investigate the ideological stance of SBY and Jokowi through their lexical utterances in the speeches as in table 6.

**Table 6.** Examples of appraising of the Government

No	Sentence	Instances	Appraised	Appraised: Social Actor	Appraiser	appraiser: Social Actor	Analysis
3	We build a strong national defence	We will reduce dependence	We	Government	President	SBY	Tenacity, Inscribed, positive
4	We will reduce dependence on income from natural resources.	We will reduce dependence	We	Government	President	Jokowi	Tenacity, Inscribed, positive

As can be seen in the table 6 shows that example no 3 indicates the tenacity of the subsystem judgment since the tenacity is related to the lexicalized tenacity which showed dependable situation, positive statement leads to positive judgment in the statement. Both presidents presented that his government was very strong as the modulation of ‘will’ indicates that the government is dependable. They showed that their government were strong and very stable. While example no4. also shows the government is very dependable as he stated “ we build a strong national defence”. This indicates that the government in which is represented by the pronounce of ‘we’ shows that Indonesia does not depend on other countries to fulfil the national security defence system.

By using inscribed strategy to present that the government was noticed as a dependable and strong government. This attempts to show his power toward the government, it indicates his ideological stance that the government is very stable and strong to run it well.

#### 4.3 The Politician as the Target of Evaluation

Politicians as the target of evaluation, politicians have a very crucial position in the Indonesian government since the politicians are mostly represented by political party members as the check and balancer to control the president in managing the government. This study will evaluate the politicians by SBY and Jokowi to understand how the politicians are involved in the political speeches of the Indonesian presidents.

As can be seen the table 7 above shows politician as the target being appraised by both presidents indicates that SBY has more portion to evaluate the politician. The most frequent utterances of the attitudinal resources of SBY come under the judgmental category as in table 7.

**Table 7.** Examples of appraising of the Government

NO	Sentence	Instances	Appraised	Appraised : Social Actor	Appraiser	appraiser: Social Actor	Analysis
5	we can attend the Joint Session of the Republican House of Representatives Indonesia (DPR-RI), and the Regional Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia (DPD RI),	we can attend the Joint	the Republican House of Representatives Indonesia (DPR-RI)	Politician	We	SBY	Capacity, Invoked, positive
6	Today, before this honourable joint session, I am going to deliver my first State Address as the President of the Republic of Indonesia	this honourable joint session	DPR,DPD, and MPR members	Politician	I	Jokowi	Valuation, Invoked, Positive

As shown in the table 7 example 5 above shows how SBY utilizes the modulation of "can" indicates his inclination of Ideological stance via the lexicalized tenacity of judgment, particularly Capacity positively. This reason for utilizing invoked Judgment was to indicate strategy realized by SBY since SBY had the capability "to attend". Using invoked judgment because Jokowi conveyed indirectly "attend" means to have responsibility and accountability for his job as president. Example no.6 illustrates an instance of invoked valuation of the judgment subsystem because Jokowi has his perception to evaluate the politician by choosing 'honorable session'. It means that politicians who were represented by DPR-MPR members (Indonesian Parliament) are the honorable persons according to Jokowi's opinion. This valuation constitutes social values rather than an ethical perspective. This was aimed to indicate certain ideologies by SBY and Jokowi. They brought ideological content via evaluating the politicians by using positively inscribed capacity. These were aimed to give positive image from politicians that SBY and Jokowi had good appreciation toward the politicians to arise their political supports.

## 5. Conclusion

This study concludes that the presidential speech texts of the Indonesian president on the occasion of the Indonesia Independence Day are considered as the most important speech since the speech will be a parameter of Indonesian presidents' programs offered. Since the fall of Soeharto's new era in 1998 has produced various kinds of political discourse. It is urgent to investigate the ideological tendencies of the Indonesian presidents in the reformation era. The selected presidents, SBY and Jokowi since the presidents have finished the first term of the period successfully. By adopting amalgamation of Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Fairclough model (1995) and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), particularly Attitude of the Appraisal Analysis (AA) of Martin&White (2005) were expected to find the gap of this study with previous studies. Results showed that the judgmental subcategory exceeded the other two attitudinal categories by a large margin in the speeches of SBY and Jokowi with more than 54 % (81 instances) of attitudinal choices. The exceeding judgmental category was used to identify how SBY and Jokowi evaluated the selected actors (Government, People, and Politicians). The exceeding of tenacity resources upon the other

subtypes of Judgment by a small margin with 15 instances exceeded SBY by a split gap with 14 instances. The most frequent subtype of tenacity was to evaluate the social actors indicated someone is dependable to overcome their obstacles. Thus, SBY and Jokowi evaluated the people of Indonesia as the dependable actors positively inscribed evaluation of tenacity in order to give stress to the audiences since they delivered explicitly to avoid misunderstanding between the presidents with audiences. Real support from the people urgently needed to build public trust in order to create good power relations.

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# Uncovering of ideological stances of the Indonesian Presidents through an amalgamation analysis of attitudinal analysis and critical discourse analysis

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