

Ideology and Power in Presidential Speech: A Critical Analysis of Jokowi's International Speeches

Gatot Hadi Waluyo¹, Failasofah^{2*}, Delita Sartika³

¹UIN Sultan Thaha Syaifuddin Jambi, ²Universitas Jambi
gatothadi117@gmail.com, failasofah@unja.ac.id, delita.sartika@unja.ac.id

Article Information

History

Accept: 17
November 2024
Revised: 07
December 2024
Approved: 1
January 2025

Keywords

Critical analysis,
Presidential
speech,
Ideology,
Pancasila,
Power

ABSTRACT

The relationship between language, ideology, and power has garnered the interest of numerous academics in the discipline of linguistics. Persuasive speech is a potent instrument employed by the government to govern and firmly establish its ideology. The objective of this study was to analyze Joko Widodo's international speeches in 2015 and 2022 to identify the Indonesian ideology values conveyed in his speeches and examine the expressions of these values that could serve as representations of the Indonesian ideology. The researcher employed qualitative research as the chosen research design, specifically emphasizing critical discourse analysis. This investigation employed Van Dijk's textual methodology, which specifically examined the macrostructure and microstructure of the text. The research revealed that in both addresses, Joko Widodo articulated 8 principles that signified four concepts of Pancasila. The ideological ideals encompass care, unity, diligence, egalitarianism, justice, resourcefulness, courage, self-assurance, attention, thoughtfulness, sincerity, kindness, and politeness. President Joko Widodo effectively communicated the attributes of the four concepts of Pancasila in his speeches presented in both English and Indonesian. These speeches successfully conveyed the virtues of the four principles of Pancasila.



Copyright (c) 2025 Gatot Hadi Waluyo, Failasofah, Delita Sartika

1. Introduction

Jokowi, also known as President Ir. H. Joko Widodo, is the 7th president of Indonesia. He has been in office for two consecutive terms, from 2014 until 2024. Jokowi, in his role as a leader, maintains the Pancasila ideology as the fundamental principle of the Indonesian government. He has transformed Indonesia into a globally competitive nation actively engaging in international development and competition. The government of Joko Widodo is remarkable due to its leadership in transforming Indonesia into the third-largest developing country globally (McCawley, 2014). President Joko Widodo has participated in numerous domestic and international events over his two-year tenure. He has delivered numerous state speeches to both the citizens of Indonesia and international audiences. President Joko Widodo exhibits the qualities befitting a president and ambassador of Indonesia during his speech. President Joko Widodo delivered his first English speech on October 26th, 2015, marking one year since his inauguration as the president of Indonesia. President Joko Widodo delivered an address at a global conference hosted by USINDO, US Chamber, and USABC. The focus of this summit was on international

collaboration across different countries, specifically the Trans-Pacific Partnership. President Joko Widodo delivered a speech that embodied the idea of Indonesia, despite his weak proficiency in English. The manifestation of Indonesian philosophy was evident in President Joko Widodo's address during the 2nd Covid-19 Global Summit on May 12, 2022, in Washington DC. He spoke in Indonesian about the COVID-19 pandemic using clear and engaging language. As the president of Indonesia and a concerned Indonesian, he expressed his worry on the global repercussions of the COVID-19 outbreak. The researchers were intrigued by the content of President Joko Widodo's address since they hypothesized that there might be an underlying message rooted in Indonesian ideology. This message was not explicitly stated, but they believed it was subtly communicated to the public through the two speeches. Hence, the content of President Joko Widodo's remarks proved to be captivating for scholarly examination and scrutiny. This study analyzed the speech by the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Ir. H. Joko Widodo. However, what distinguished this study from previous ones was its utilization of Van Dijk's (2005) critical discourse analysis framework, which encompassed the macrostructure, supra-structure, and micro-structure, specifically emphasizing analyzing Indonesian ideology.

Discourse analysis was explained in a lot of academic books to inform the meaning of it. Instead of looking at a sentence as it is spoken or written, discourse tries to convey the relationship among sentences, such as the words produced or the phrases (Johnstone, 2002). Koriba (2018) states that an analysis of discourse produces a set of meanings from a group of people who discuss a specific topic. The analysis of language, however, cannot be separated from its function. So, according to the functionalist paradigm, discourse analysis is perceived as a way of speaking affected by culture and social life (Brown & Yule, 1983). Foucault describes discourse analysis as a topic with a meaningful reason to discuss (cited from Hall, 1992). If a topic is relevant and essential to talk about, it assumes to be able to influence ideas to the hearers, and then they are put into practice.

Those definitions of discourse have the same thing in common. Whether written or spoken, language is the primary tool people use. They also agree that language is not as simply looking like a sentence. The meaning is larger than the sentences produced because it creates powerful meanings. By seeing this, language can be a reason for certain people to do something. It is because the language can influence people. Having this meaning, the perspective of language as actions and social traits is an emphasised point in Critical Discourse Analysis that values discourse as a set of spoken and/ or written language because of social practice. Discourse analysis aims to find the meaning deeply and accurately in which points can gain support or get some people against it. People who support an idea will agree and believe it as their values. On the contrary, people who are against the idea will look for its disadvantages.

There are some descriptions of critical discourse analysis and how it relates to people's lives. Critical discourse analysis, known as CDA, is mainly used as a linguistic approach to reveal power relations, ideology, and

hegemony (Rahimi & Sahragard, 2007). CDA is an approach and a method to investigate the language used by certain people or institutions. By seeing the language, CDA aims to draw the meaning behind it as it will address social phenomena, including power and ideology. According to Van Dijk, CDA is a critical approach to conveying the relationship between language and power (Schiffrin et al., 2001). Brown and Yule support that CDA is a method based on a language created to deliver ideas and act about them (Ghazali, 2007). Thus, CDA is a critical approach to language that analyses language as a form of social practice (Janks, 1993).

CDA cannot be separated from analyzing language, ideology, and power to dominate a text. The language produced can be spoken or written, called a text. Examples of the texts are videos, articles, the news, or speeches. The text is not merely value-free. Analyzing the text can expose the hidden meaning in language, which has substantial powers to influence people daily. Most social practices are connected to historical contexts that make a group, or a community have an ideology toward something. Language has the power to control people's thoughts about something. Therefore, CDA is an essential way to point out the function of the language, primarily when a person uses it as a speaker. The language he delivers may contain passions, influence, or challenge. The significant elements in CDA that cannot be split are the concepts of language, hegemony, power, and ideology. It can be stated that power and ideology are very attached to language as a social practice.

Furthermore, Van Dijk also points out that CDA is not merely a specific direction or a complete theoretical framework (Dijk, 1998). Moreover, it includes broader approaches. There are many prominent figures regarding critical discourse analysis. They are Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, and Teun Van Dijk (Amerian & Esmaili, 2015). However, they have different aims in conducting CDA analysis even though they present the same theoretical framework. In this research, Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis is applied, and it will focus on the textual approach.

Van Dijk perceives CDA from a socio-psychological point of view (Amerian & Esmaili, 2015). He delivers a connection between discourse, cognition, and society. This perspective mainly focuses on explaining how the text is produced by looking at the structures and processes of the produced text. There are three dimensions in this approach: text dimension, socio-cognition dimension, and social context dimension (*ibid*). Since this study will focus on the text dimension, there will be three levels in conducting the textual approach. They are macrostructure, microstructure, and superstructure.

Halliday says that a basic understanding that makes human beings able to create a picture of reality and imagine the concepts of experiences around them is through language (cited in Janks, 1993). Language and social structures cannot be divorced because they are related. Fairclough argues that language cannot be as powerful on its own because it is created by influential people (Fairclough, 2010). This statement explains why critical discourse analysis is chosen to analyse language because it looks at the perspective of social relations, people as the audiences, and those who have power as the

leaders. Power is not from language, yet language is applied to imprint power. Power is seen and felt through the words that convey rules and meaning. The ideology spread through language is more powerful because when the listeners believe that it is true, it means true to them. That is why some people can gain more trust by making the listeners believe them. Speech is the perfect way for leaders to spread their thoughts and ideology to the listeners.

There are some definitions of how researchers define and understand the meaning of ideology. Ideology is a set of values or beliefs perceived to be accurate by several people or groups (Janks, 1993). Ideology is a relatively formal and articulate system of meaning, values, and beliefs, or something like that which is abstracted as a "world view" or "class view" (Williams, 1977). Ideologies are patterned clusters of normatively inspired ideas and concepts, including representations of power relations.

Based on those definitions above, ideology is simply the beliefs of people who believe it. It also consists of values towards various organizations and processes of society. Ideology gives believers a picture of the world and provides an understanding or values of it as it should be. Ideology can also be a symbol system related to social life and politics. According to their beliefs, it guides the believers in what rights or wrongs are. Unconsciously, ideology controls people's thoughts and manners naturally. Ideology is essential for a group or a nation because ideology is guidance. It clarifies a country's identity, inspires aspirations, and drives society's goals.

Some previous related studies discuss similar topics, methods, and theories in the speech of the powerful leader of a country. Koriba (2018) focused on Jokowi's speech state address and used the qualitative method. She analyzed the speech in the whole text and the structure of sentences. The research found that Jokowi's speech conveyed information but was less obvious. The use of modality here showed Jokowi's power because the words had a substantial degree of certainty. Sarah (2019) analyzed three of Donald Trump's speeches to find the element of power he holds. This research used a qualitative method and focused on the speech text. Her research revealed that Trump's speech used linguistic features to persuade and direct the listeners. He consistently used irony and repetition of the words to build emotions in the listeners.

Adrefiza, Alek, Hidayat, and Siddiq (2021) conducted another study. They analyzed Jokowi's speech on Independence Day. They used the descriptive qualitative method to analyze their object. They found that Jokowi used simple language in the speech to show how superior Indonesia is. Jokowi succeeded in showing themes, schemes, and semantics. Besides, he could maintain his natural style and Javanese accent when he spoke.

The current research attempts to analyze Jokowi's speeches which he did in 2015 when he had just started leading the country, and the other one recently, in 2022, when Indonesia joined the Global Summit conference (G20). This research applies Van Dijk's textual analysis approach to Critical Discourse Analysis. The writer combined two speeches of Jokowi to analyze in more detail the meaning of the words in Jokowi's speeches.

2. Research Method

This study used a qualitative method to analyse the speech of Indonesia's president, Joko Widodo. According to Creswell (2009), there are some characteristics of research using the qualitative method. First, the research aims to explore and develop an understanding of a situation. Second, the research can indicate the problem and state the research question's objective. Third, the research interprets the findings' meaning to justify the data. Besides, qualitative research is very suitable for research with no variables but needs to be elaborated (Creswell, 2009).

A qualitative method was needed to conduct this research because it suited what Creswell stated about the qualitative research criteria. This research had no variables to conduct, yet it needed to explain deeper to find the hidden messages of the object discussed. In this case, the writer conducted the discourse analysis of Joko Widodo's speeches in 2015 and 2022. This research was examined by using Van Dijk's textual approach. The purpose of the findings was also relevant since Creswell said it was to explore and develop an understanding of a situation in a particular place. In this case, it was about the situation related to Joko Widodo's speeches about the economic sector and health issues. Therefore, qualitative research was best suited for doing this research.

This research analysed two subjects in which the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, gave speeches. Speech 1 was recorded officially on October 26th, 2015, at GALA, hosted by USINDO US Chamber and USABC. This video took around 6 minutes and 30 seconds. The audience of this event was representatives from many countries. President Joko Widodo announced that Indonesia would join the Trans-Pacific Partnership during this event. He also said that Indonesia reformed deregulation.

Speech 2 was chosen on May 12th, 2022, where he gave a speech about the impact of Covid-19 and how countries should act. It was in Washington DC. This video took around 3 minutes and 50 seconds. The audience of this event was people from Indonesia and abroad. The speech was about the action to overcome the pandemic and Indonesia's readiness to act.

The first speech used as the data source was the presidential speech on October 26th, 2015, held by USINDO. The second speech was President Joko Widodo's speech about COVID-19 on May 12th, 2022, at the Global Summit in Washington, DC. After finding the objects, the next step was finding the speech texts of President Joko Widodo's speeches. The official webpage of USINDO had already posted the video of speech 1 in a complete package with sound and script. The video took 7 minutes and 3 seconds. The second video of speech 2 was also uploaded by the Republic of Indonesia's secretariat cabinet, complete with the sound and the script. This video took around 3 minutes and 50 seconds. The next step in collecting the data was downloading the video and copying the script. After that, the writer chose data suitable for Van Dijk's textual approach, which focused on macrostructure.

The researcher used three ways of examining the themes based on Van Dijk's approach to textual analysis. They were the deletion rule, generalization rule, and construction rule. The researcher only focused on macrostructure analysis to find speech 1 and 2 themes. In this part, the themes in speeches 1 and 2 were analysed based on the indicators of Indonesian Pancasila ideology. The indicators were based on five values in Pancasila: divinity, unity, humanity and equality, democracy, and justice. The indicators were used to find the ideology values that were implicitly stated in the themes of speech 1 and speech 2.

The microstructure of speech 1 and speech 2 were also investigated. The microstructure of the text concentrates on semantics, syntax, stylistics, and rhetoric. Then, the findings in both speech 1 and speech 2 were described and interpreted based on Van Dijk's theory and associated with previous studies with similar interpretations. The researcher discussed whether both 2 speeches had the same pattern or not in textual dimension. With the five values of Pancasila, the researcher revealed what ideology values of President Joko Widodo were expressed and how the expressions represent Indonesian ideology. The researchers ensured that this study used valid data. This study used theoretical triangulation, credibility, and dependability to validate the data.

4. Results and Discussion

Macrostructure

The macrostructure of the text concentrates on its central theme. The speech's core idea or point can also be referred to as the topic. The data shows four themes in speech 1 on 26 October 2015 and six in speech 2 on 12 May 2022. Van Dijk determined the themes in both speeches through textual analysis. The analysis of the findings was through deletion (D), generalisation (G), construction (C), and selection (S). The researcher found twenty-eight propositions in President Joko Widodo's speech. The twenty-eight propositions are then analysed through deletion, generalisation, construction, and selection. First, the researcher analyses that ten propositions must be deleted because those propositions are unrelated to the speech's theme.

Next, three propositions are converted into the same proposition that produces the central theme. The generalized propositions are then selected and determined as the central theme of Deregulation in the Economic Sector. Then, twelve propositions can be constructed as three kinds of propositions and produce three main themes. The first four propositions are replaced by a new proposition denoting the implicit theme of Equality and Fairness. The second four propositions are replaced by a new proposition that denotes the implicit central theme of Hard work in Economic Reform. Then, the third four propositions are replaced by a new proposition that denotes the implicit theme of Grateful of Togetherness. Lastly, two propositions are directly selected because the two propositions are considered to have the central theme of the speech. The propositions produce two main themes: Economy Cooperation and Economy Sector Improvement. In the conclusion of the themes analysis of speech 1, the researcher found six themes. They are deregulating the economic

sector, equality and fairness, economic reform, and being grateful for togetherness, economic cooperation, and economic sector improvement.

Eight themes were found in the text of speech 2. There were six themes categorized as the same themes. The themes were global health facts, global health and economy facts, acceleration of vaccination, collaboration for vaccination collaboration, solutions for facing the COVID-19 pandemic, and equal health treatment. Those themes referred to the same purpose, though they had different phrases to be explained. Therefore, the central theme of speech 2 was health concerns. The researcher found fourteen propositions in President Joko Widodo's speech. The fourteen propositions are then analyzed through deletion, generalization, construction, and selection. First, the researcher analyses that three propositions must be deleted because those propositions are unrelated to the speech's theme.

Next, four propositions can be constructed to be one proposition. Replacing the whole proposition with a proposition denotes the implicit meaning. The constructed proposition produces a main theme of Solutions for facing the Covid-19 pandemic. Last, six propositions are directly selected because the six propositions are considered to have the main theme of the speech. The six propositions produce six main themes: economic cooperation and economic sector Improvement. In the conclusion of the themes analysis of speech 1, the researcher found six themes. They are global health, economic factors, international collaboration, vaccination acceleration, equal health treatment, and encouragement.

Based on the analysis above, six themes have been found in the text of speech 1. Among the six themes, four are categorized as the same theme of the Economic sector. Those themes are economic cooperation, economic sector improvement, Deregulation in the Economic Sector, and Hard work in economic reform. Those are the same, even though they are stated in different phrases. Hence, the global theme of speech 1 is about the economic sector.

Eight themes have been found in the text of speech 2. There are six themes categorized as the same theme. The themes are global health facts, global health and economy facts, acceleration of vaccination, collaboration for vaccination collaboration, solutions for facing the COVID-19 pandemic, and equal health treatment. Those themes refer to the same purpose, though they have different phrases to explain. Therefore, the central theme of speech 2 is health concerns.

Two global themes are found in both speeches of President Joko Widodo. They are the economic sector theme and health concern theme. Even though those 2 speeches have different themes and are delivered at different times and locations, the researcher found that the Indonesian ideology values are implicitly conveyed in each of his speeches.

Microstructure

The microstructure of the text concentrates on semantics, syntax, stylistics, and rhetoric. The meaning of a text can be observed from the choice

of words, sentences and the style used in a text. The analysis of the microstructure of both speeches is explained in the following:

Background: He used words that were related to the economic sector. Jokowi declared that:

"It is the right time to free up our domestic and foreign private sectors from poorly conceived policies, excessive permitting and licensing, and misguided protectionism. We serve our companies and industries to suffer for too long".

Joko Widodo's speech is mainly about the plan to join the TPP and how he, as the president, handles the issue in the economic sector. He shows his friendliness to the audience and talks confidently about how they have become friends of Indonesia as they have invested in this country for many years. He gives a direct background to his speech by using the words *invested* and *many years*. He tells the audience that he has been a businessman for 22 years, which means that he knows about the rules of business and economics. He also adds that he likes to be treated fairly. Thus, he wants to give a solution to Indonesia's problem. Saying he likes to be treated also implies that he wants everybody equally. By seeing this background, Joko Widodo depicts the image of a leader who can be a problem solver and wants to treat his citizens equally.

Presupposition: One statement supports the theme of the economic sector.

"Economic reform takes time. Economic reform is a process. We may not get it completely correct right away, but we shall continue reforming and improving until we get it right".

This is a supported sentence of Joko Widodo's explanation of economic reform, where he explained more deeply that economic reform requires a long process. Though it does not consistently achieve maximum results, as long as there is maximum intention and effort, there will be a way to realize that goal. This statement shows that Jokowi is a hardworking leader. He is a person who does not give up easily. The leader who can provide positive enthusiasm to provide hope for a better future. These statements may not be so important that even if Joko Widodo takes them out, they will still not matter. However, using these premises strengthens his topic about the economic sector and clarifies every paragraph's background.

Additive conjunction: And

- a) Distinguished guests, ladies, *and* gentlemen.
- b) You have been a good *and* loyal friend of Indonesia for many years.
- c) Many happy *and* serious things like the South China Sea.
- d) It is time to free up our domestic and foreign private sector from poorly conceived policies, permitting licensing and misguided protectionism, which have caused our companies *and* industries to suffer for too long.
- e) We are now on deregulation package number 5, *and* we are preparing deregulation package number 6.
- f) Making things simple *and* efficient is hard.
- g) We shall continue reforming *and* improving until we get it right.

And is used primarily to convey information about one thing followed by another. Using the word *and* gives the impression that he delivers the speech logically and orderly.

Adversative conjunction: But

- a) There are many happy and serious things, like the South China Sea, but I have a surprise for you today.
- b) We are now on deregulation package number 5 and preparing deregulation package number 6, but making things complicated is easy; making things simple and efficient is hard.
- c) We may not get it completely correct right away, but we shall continue reforming and improving until we do.
- d) There is much volatility in the markets, *but* as a wise man once said, be fearful when others are greedy and when others are fearful.
- e) Maybe you have not seen enough of us lately, *but* we are here now.

First, *but* expressed in this statement, it shows that he delivers something new. Second, *but* in the speech, it contrasts the statement that he has said before. Third, *but* that Joko Widodo uses is as a promise.

Causal conjunction: Therefore, so

- a) Some of you have been in Indonesia for decades. *Therefore*, you have been a good and loyal friend of Indonesia for many years.
- b) *Therefore*, I would like to address you as old friends.
- c) Again, Indonesia intends to join the Trans-Pacific Partnership. *So*, it has been a pretty good day so far.
- d) The genius of Apple's founder, Steve Jobs, was making sophisticated electronic devices simple and easy to use. *Therefore*, if things seem to go slow, please wait for us.

Therefore, and *so* are mostly at the end of the part before he moves to other discussions to conclude the situation that he has told. *Therefore* and *so* can also be meant to inform about the result of what he has said previously.

Temporal conjunction: Now, today, at this time

- a) Good evening; it is an honour for me to be here *today*.
- b) I saved a surprise for you today; by now, you may know I told President Obama, and we announced today that Indonesia intends to join the TPP.
- c) *At this time*, to free up our private sector. It is time to free up our private sector, both domestic and foreign . . .
- d) We are *now* on deregulation package number 5 and preparing deregulation package number 6.
- e) Maybe you have not seen enough of us lately but we are here *now*.

The use of temporal conjunctions is to make the audience focus on the "now" or "today" era. As he was the president of Indonesia at that time, he wanted the audience to focus on him, know him, and recognize him.

Subject pronoun: I

- a) *I* know that many, even most of you, have invested in Indonesia for many years.

- b) *I* would like to address you as old friends.
- c) *I am* happy to report that earlier this afternoon, I had a perfect meeting with President Obama.
- d) But *I* saved a surprise for you today; by now, you may know that I told President Obama, and we announced today that Indonesia intends to join the TPP.
- e) *I* was a businessman for 22 years.
- f) *I* do not like filling out forms.
- g) *I* do not like things to be complicated.
- h) *I* like things to be simple and efficient.
- i) *I* do not like to be bullied.
- j) *I* like to be treated fairly.
- k) About 7 weeks ago, *I* launched a huge and very serious deregulation drive.
- l) Ladies and gentlemen, as the president of the Republic of Indonesia, I cannot tell you to be greedy.
- m) *I* will let my trade minister do that for me.
- n) Dear old friend, *I* would like to take this opportunity to thank all of you here tonight very sincerely.

The use of *I* in these statements means Joko Widodo tends to make the audience only see him because he is the new President of the Republic of Indonesia.

Subject pronoun: We

- a) *We* talked about many things. Many happy and serious things like the South China Sea.
- b) *We* announced today that Indonesia intends to join the TPP.
- c) *We* are now on deregulation package number 5, and *we* are preparing deregulation package number 6.
- d) *We* may not get it entirely correct right away, but *we* shall continue reforming and improving until *we* get it right.
- e) Dear old friend. *We* meet this week during challenging times.
- f) Maybe you have not seen enough of us lately, but *we* are here now.
- g) Not only *we* are here, *but we are also* here for you.
- h) *We* will be there for you.

The pronouns *we* mostly show that Joko Widodo shares the same feeling with the audience so that the listeners feel that he is there with them.

Subject pronoun: You

- a) Some of *you* have been in Indonesia for decades.
- b) Therefore, *you* have been a good and loyal friend of Indonesia for many years.
- c) by now, *you* may know,
- d) Maybe *you have not seen enough of us lately*, but we are here now.

The word *you* to all of the listeners in the room. He implicitly builds chemistry with the people in the room so that they can feel his ideas and understand him.

Object pronouns: Me, you, us

- a) Good evening; it is an honour for me to be here today.
- b) Therefore, I would like to address you as old friends.
- c) But I save a surprise for you today.
- d) As the president of the Republic of Indonesia, I cannot tell you to be greedy.
- e) Dear old friend, I would like to take this opportunity to thank all of you here tonight very sincerely.
- f) We are here for you.
- g) We will be there for you.
- h) Maybe you have not seen enough of us lately.

The object pronouns used in the speech create a togetherness vibe. He uses me to make sure the audiences know him as the speaker. He uses you to make sure that he also recognizes the audience; he uses us to show that Jokowi and the audience share the same feelings so that the speech can be perceived intensely.

Stylistics:**Lexical Choices:** Old friends

He shows his kindness and sincerity in his speech as he has created those images in Indonesia. The phrase *old friends* is continually repeated to emphasize that he is kind towards others.

Repetition: old friends

The echoing phrase of *old friends* can lead the audience to think that they are friends to each other. It is a way to show that they have known each other for a long time.

Microstructure Analysis Speech 2, the researcher could explain as follows:

Background: In the opening, Joko Widodo states that the pandemic makes many people *suffer* and even *lose their lives*. He understands the situation of many countries regarding the covid-19, and hence, he gives the actual impacts of the pandemic for all countries in the world. By providing precise background details, he proposes three actions that countries need to take to end this matter. He later explains that the actions he proposes are for everyone, regardless of their location and status. He strongly points out collaboration among countries and equality in every step of the action. Therefore, the notion of togetherness and fairness appears in this speech.

Presuppositions:

"Di tingkat global, setiap negara besar maupun kecil, kaya maupun miskin, harus memiliki akses yang setara terhadap solusi kesehatan."

(At the global level, every country, be it the big ones or the small ones, the rich ones or the poor ones, must have equal access to health solutions)

For health concerns, he emphasizes the statement of making it equal and fair.

"Dukungan pembiayaan kesehatan harus dilihat sebagai sebuah investasi dan tanggung jawab bersama mencegah pandemi."

(Health funding support must be perceived as an investment and a shared responsibility in order to prevent the pandemic)

This sentence makes it clear that talking about financing is a sensitive matter. Therefore, there is a need for more attention and caution in the process. His concern for the sensitive matter strengthens his main points.

"Diversifikasi pusat produksi obat, vaksin, alat diagnostik dan terapeutik harus dilakukan. Dengan kapasitasnya, Indonesia siap menjadi hub produksi dan distribusi vaksin di kawasan."

(Diversification of production centre of medicines, vaccines, diagnostic and therapeutic devices should be done. With its capacity, Indonesia is ready to become a region's vaccine production and distribution hub)

He informs that Indonesia is ready to actively participate in the global collaboration about health concerns regarding the pandemic. This supporting statement makes his points stand so that the COVID-19 problem in Indonesia and at the world level will be resolved.

Additive conjunction: And, or

The use of *and* is to add information in one sentence. Using two *and* in one sentence indicates a strong meaning that he emphasizes to his points. The conjunction *or* shows the contrast of one to another to illustrate how different each of the countries in the world are. Even though each of the countries is never the same, each must have equal access to health solutions.

Causal conjunction: Therefore, so, as a consequence

- a) Ketahanan kesehatan dan kesiapsiagaan dunia terhadap pandemi ternyata tidak cukup kuat. *Oleh karenanya*, kita harus bekerja sama mengatasi pandemi.
- b) Yang Mulia, Presidensi Indonesia di G20 memberikan perhatian besar terhadap kerja sama kesehatan secara inklusif. *Untuk itu*, diperlukan peran dan keterlibatan semua negara, WHO, dan multilateralisme harus terus diperkuat.
- c) *Akibatnya*, harga yang harus kita bayar sangatlah mahal.

Joko Widodo uses causal conjunction as the way he delivers why things happen. In this case is the suffering of many countries and how things work. It is about his suggestion to raise up against the pandemic Covid-19.

Temporal conjunction: Today

"Momentum turunnya jumlah kasus *saat ini* harus dimanfaatkan untuk meluncurkan pukulan terakhir terhadap covid-19."

Subject pronoun: I

"Presiden Biden, para pemimpin dunia yang *saya* hormati"

He addresses himself in the opening of the speech to strengthen his status as the president of the Republic of Indonesia.

Subject pronoun: We

- a) *Kita* harus bekerja sama mengatasi pandemi serta membangun arsitektur kesehatan dan kesiapsiagaan dunia yang lebih kuat.

b) *Kita* perlu mekanisme pembiayaan kesehatan baru yang melibatkan negara donor dan bank pembiayaan multilateral.

The subject pronoun *we* mostly show the same feeling of Joko Widodo and the audience. It is used to make the listeners feel that he is there with them. This can create a comfortable feeling for the audience because they may think they are not left behind.

Object pronoun: Us

'Pandemi Covid-19 memberikan pelajaran yang sangat berharga bagi *kita*.'

Joko Widodo uses the object pronoun *us*, meaning that he and the listeners have stronger bonds that even Jokowi refers to himself as same as the listeners.

Stylistics:

Lexical choice: Pelajaran yang sangat berharga, harga, bayar, mahal

He uses direct analogy words with cause-and-effect statements such as price, pay, and expensive to emphasize the meaning of how valuable the lesson is for people because of the covid-19. Thus, the lexical words supporting the main idea in the opening section can mean that Joko Widodo is concerned and focuses on the recent phenomenon.

Repetition: *Kuat* or strong

In political speech, strong can mean the power to influence that the leader owns. He uses this word to encourage the audience that they can always stand up after falling. Joko Widodo uses the word strong in some of his sentences as the point that he puts encouragement and spirit to the listeners. The word strong can also create positive energy for the listeners and himself.

Based on the analysis of macrostructure and microstructure elements above, the Indonesian ideology values that President Joko Widodo has conveyed are care, togetherness, hard work, equality and fairness, problem-solving, bravery and confidence, considerate and thoughtful, sincerity, kindness, and politeness. Based on the analysis of macrostructure and microstructure elements above, the Indonesian ideology values that President Joko Widodo conveyed are care, togetherness, hard work, equality and fairness, problem-solving, bravery and confidence, considerate and thoughtful, sincerity, kindness, and politeness.

There were mostly similarities between speech 1 and speech 2 on how President Joko Widodo represented the ideology in Indonesia. As stated in the previous discussion, Pancasila is the ideology in Indonesia. Having Pancasila as the fundamental ideology of Indonesia in speech 1 and speech 2, the findings showed that Joko Widodo expressed eight values in his speeches. There were mostly similarities between speech 1 and speech 2 on how President Joko Widodo represented the ideology in Indonesia. As stated in the previous discussion, Pancasila is the ideology in Indonesia. Having Pancasila as the fundamental ideology of Indonesia.

As stated in the previous discussion, Pancasila is Indonesia's ideology. Having Pancasila as the nation's fundamental ideology keeps the nation united. The emergence of the term ideology begins with Karl Marx's writings (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2010). Marx views ideology as closely related to power centred on the state or political society. Dominant ideology can be won through revolution or violence and hegemony through other institutions.

As the president, Joko Widodo holds a dominant ideology that reinforces the values of five principles in Pancasila. Van Dijk delivers ideology as the general system that organizes socially shared attitudes (Amerian & Esmaili, 2015). In Indonesia, Pancasila is the ideology that could systemize people's behaviours. Through its functions, Pancasila has basic values that organize people's behaviours. By having a president as the supreme leader, the values of Pancasila can be spread softly so that people will not feel forced to follow them. Through the speeches that President Joko Widodo conducted, four notions of the five principles of Pancasila were delivered smoothly.

Researchers indicated that the first and second values that President Joko Widodo shows in both speeches are care and togetherness. President Joko Widodo wants to improve the economic sector. He is portrayed as a leader who protects his citizens. He depicts the figure of a leader who can help and protect his country from suffering. He makes sure that everyone in the room hears his intention. He shows the audience that he cares about his country and its citizens. Thus, he wants Indonesia to join the TPP so that the issues in the economic sector can be solved. The statements that demonstrate the value of care and togetherness are as follows:

"It is time to free up our private sector, both domestic and foreign, from poorly conceived policies, excessive permitting and licensing and misguided protectionism. We serve our companies and industries to suffer for too long".

Since TPP focuses on the economic sectors such as investment and labour reform, he clearly states that it is time for Indonesia to *free up* both domestic and foreign sectors from many abusive rules which make the Indonesian industries suffer. Too many changes in one element affect the other elements in a system (Indrayani & Labolo, 2015). The changing elements include human resources, procedure and mechanism, and facilities and infrastructure. These changes change all of the aspects of bureaucracy as well. Hence, bureaucratic failure represents a poor government at any level. Therefore, he wants to improve the economic sector. Then, regarding the impact of the covid-19 pandemic. He shows his care to listeners as follows:

"Pandemi Covid-19 memberikan pelajaran yang sangat berharga bagi kita. Ketahanan kesehatan dan kesiapsiagaan dunia terhadap pandemi ternyata tidak cukup kuat. Akibatnya, harga yang harus kita bayar sangatlah mahal, jutaan orang yang kehilangan nyawanya dan perekonomian dunia pun mengalami keterpurukan".

(The COVID-19 pandemic has given the global community a precious lesson. The fact is that global health resilience and preparedness against the pandemic are not strong enough. As a consequence, the global community must pay the price;

millions of people have lost their lives, and the global economy has also experienced a slump)

He is more concerned about how most of the countries in the world have failed to handle the pandemic. He shows his sympathy about the impacts of COVID-19 that have suffered many countries. He gives a feeling to his speech by showing *some real consequences* that countries are currently facing, such as the loss of lives of many people and the global economy that has also experienced a slump. President Jokowi uses specific words to show his value of togetherness in facing the COVID-19 pandemic. The words are stated in his two statements below:

"Oleh karenanya, kita harus bekerja sama mengatasi pandemi serta membangun arsitektur kesehatan dan kesiapsiagaan dunia yang lebih kuat".

(Therefore, we must cooperate to overcome the pandemic and build a stronger global health architecture and preparedness)

"Kolaborasi kita harus menjembatani tantangan vaksinasi, mulai dari pembiayaan, logistik, dan sumber daya manusia".

(Our collaboration must bridge the challenges posed by vaccination, starting from funding, and logistics, to human resources)

The statement above shows that President Joko Widodo formally invites all leaders to solve the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic. The words *bekerja sama* or *cooperate* and *kolaborasi* or *collaboration*, emphasize his intention. He also uses the word *our* which refers to himself and the audience. Most of his speeches in this part are about collaboration and cooperation between countries. Thus, this part shows that he puts the value of togetherness. Care and togetherness refer to Pancasila number 3 Persatuan Indonesia, which means unity. In this notion, every person in Indonesia should be able to develop a sense of love for the nation and a sense of national pride. President Joko Widodo creates a feeling of love toward the nation, leading him to become a caring figure. Develop a sense of love towards the nation in Pancasila number 3 in points 3 and 4. Then, if they can build love and national pride, all people from Indonesia can be united even though they are from different places because they care for each other and value togetherness. In Pancasila number 3 in point 6, people develop unity in Indonesia based on Unity in diversity. President Joko Widodo puts two values perfectly in the instance that Indonesia is one, even though it has many cultures, ethnic groups, and races.

Adrefiza, Alek, Hidayat, and Siddiq (2021) have conducted the same research about President Joko Widodo's speech on Independence Day. They figured out that President Joko Widodo's speech invited people to work together to improve the nation in the future. (Siddiq, Hidayat, Alek, & Adrefiza, 2021). They interpret his speech as saying that as long as President Joko Widodo has the same view as others, Indonesia can achieve advanced progress. The word "together" mentioned by President Joko Widodo in his speech shows that he wants Indonesia to be together as a nation. (Siddiq, Hidayat, Alek, & Adrefiza, 2021).

The third value is a hard worker. President Joko Widodo tries to perfect economic sector regulation by deregulation and promises to continue reforming and improving. Making deregulation number 5 and number 6. The value of a hard worker, which is implicitly conveyed by President Joko Widodo, can be seen in his statements below:

"Economic reform takes time. Economic reform is a process. We may not get it completely correct right away but we shall continue reforming and improving until we get it right".

The intentional meaning of his statement above is that he shows his serious intention to improve Indonesia's economic sector by deregulation packages number 5 and number 6. The phrases *take time* and *process* are used by President Joko Widodo to emphasize that he is a hard worker to achieve something for the good of his nation. Then, concerning the world's health, President Joko Widodo shows the value of hard work in this following statement:

"Dengan kapasitasnya, Indonesia siap menjadi hub produksi dan distribusi vaksin di kawasan".

(With its capacity, Indonesia is ready to become a hub for vaccine production and distribution in the region)

At this point, he wants every country to help each other because this is how to end the health issues caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. President Joko Widodo said *that Siap Menjadi is ready* to propose Indonesia as a hub for vaccine production and distribution in the region. Syarif's research has analyzed President Joko Widodo's state speeches from 2015 – 2018. Syarif states that in President Joko Widodo's speech, he states that the government, under his leadership, has been working hard to develop Indonesia and its society (Syarif, 2018). As the proof, he shares the progress so far. Indonesia has built many infrastructure and public facilities and continues to accelerate infrastructure development. Indonesia has also provided many social assistance programs for the poor to help them escape poverty. Indonesia also provides *Kartu Indonesia Pintar*, *Kartu Indonesia Sehat*, and *Kartu Keluarga Sejahtera* to help society (Syarif, 2019). Syarif's research has the same thing in common: the value of hard work that President Joko Widodo shows.

The fourth value is equality and fairness. President Joko Widodo tells the listeners that he does not like *to be bullied*. He wants *to be treated fairly*.

"Ladies and gentlemen, I was a businessman for 22 years. I don't like filling out forms. I don't like things to be complicated. I like things to be simple and efficient. I don't like to be bullied. I like to be treated fairly."

These statements he delivered when he talked about improving the economic sector. The two statements show that he is a person who cares about fairness. Then, he talks about essential health services. He focuses on access to health and that regardless of their class, everybody has to be able to get health services.

"Seluruh masyarakat tanpa terkecuali harus memiliki akses terhadap layanan kesehatan dasar. Infrastruktur kesehatan dasar harus memadai dan siap menghadapi pandemi. Di tingkat global, setiap negara, besar maupun kecil, kaya maupun miskin, harus memiliki akses yang setara terhadap solusi kesehatan".

"All people, without exception, should have access to basic health services. Basic health infrastructure should be adequate and ready to handle the pandemic. At the global level, every country, be it the big or the small ones, the rich or the poor ones, must have equal access to health solutions".

Joko Widodo clearly states that vaccination should be distributed to everyone without exception, and all nations must have equal access to health services. This means that this part shows equality in handling the health services. The value of equality and fairness refers clearly to Pancasila number 5 keadilan sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia, which is about justice. In this notion, everyone must get the same treatment and develop a fair attitude toward others. This action matches point 2, which is about creating a fair attitude towards others. This notion also believes that people should help others who struggle to get their rights, point 5. By applying Pancasila number 5, people can have balanced lives and have the same chances and possibilities to do anything. President Joko Widodo applies this notion to his speech as it is the right thing a president should do to help others get their rights and the same treatment, regardless of their social class, gender, or race.

This finding is also detected in Koriba's research. President Joko Widodo stresses the word equality when he talks about the economic policy in Indonesia (Koriba, 2018). He states that equality is not merely a slogan, but rather, it is an action. The issue arises because people in Papua have to buy more expensive fuel than people in Java, even though they are citizens of Indonesia. Using an imperative sentence, he commands everyone to act fairly. The commands that he does show his power as the leader (Koriba, 2018).

The fifth value is a problem solver. President Joko Widodo shows his serious intention to improve Indonesia's economic sector by deregulation package number 5 and number 6. The value of a problem solver can be seen in the following statements:

"It is time to free up our private sector, both domestic and foreign, from poorly conceived policies, excessive permitting and licensing and misguided protectionism. We serve our companies and industries to suffer for too long."

"We are now on the deregulation package number 5, and we are preparing deregulation package number 6."

His speech implicitly resumes that the regulation is quite complex, not simple. Basically, deregulation is an effort to improve the existing policies or rules to simplify the services in bureaucracy so that the public services are more accessible and less complicated. This means that President Joko Widodo is trying to remake the rules about the economic situation in Indonesia as a solution so that it can be more accessible for people to develop their industries. Then, regarding the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, President Joko Widodo proposes 3 solutions to build more substantial global health architecture and preparedness. Those 3 solutions are *inclusive access to health, adequate funding access, and empowerment*. The solutions are stated in the following statements:

"Sementara itu, untuk membangun arsitektur kesehatan dan kesiapsiagaan dunia yang lebih kuat, paling tidak diperlukan tiga hal."

(Meanwhile, to build a more vital global health architecture and preparedness, at least three things are needed)

"Yang pertama, akses kesehatan yang inklusif."

(First, inclusive access to health)

"Yang kedua, akses pembiayaan yang memadai."

(Second, adequate funding access)

"Yang ketiga, pemberdayaan."

(Third, empowerment)

In both speeches, he delivers or proposes a solution to the problem. The value of being a problem solver is attached in Pancasila number 4 in point number 9. Point number 9 states that the decisions must uphold human dignity, value truth and justice, and prioritize unity for common concern. In this case, since President Joko Widodo has decided on the solution to the problem, thus his solution prioritizes the common good. Previous research about President Joko Widodo's speech by Agustina has also detected the similarity. In her research, it is found that Joko Widodo gave the solution in his speech about how to build trust between the press media and the government (Agustina, 2017). He states that press media do not have to force the government too much to ask about the following plans, especially construction. Both parties must give society positive images to support the government (Agustina, 2017).

The sixth value is bravery and confidence. President Joko Widodo shows his confidence by talking about being *a businessman for two decades* and then the president of the Republic of Indonesia. He says this so boldly that the audience listens and reacts positively to his speech.

"Ladies and gentlemen, I was a businessman for 22 years."

He tells the listeners confidently, even though he is the new president of Indonesia. Regardless of his accent in English, he speaks it in a very positive way. Then, regarding the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, he confidently commands the countries that it is the perfect time for them to end the pandemic with some of his proposed solutions. He also bravely asks for help, such as *WHO and even multilateral funding banks*, to help each other in need. The statements are as follows:

"Kita perlu mekanisme pembiayaan kesehatan baru yang melibatkan negara donor dan bank pembiayaan multilateral."

(We need a new health funding mechanism that includes donor countries and multilateral funding banks)

"Presidensi Indonesia di G20 memberikan perhatian besar terhadap kerja sama kesehatan secara inklusif. Untuk itu, diperlukan peran dan keterlibatan semua negara, WHO (World Health Organization), dan multilateralisme harus terus diperkuat."

(Indonesia's presidency in G20 is paying serious attention to inclusive cooperation in the health sector. Therefore, it takes all countries' roles and participation, the strengthening of the World Health Organization's role, and multilateralism)

He depicts the figure of a brave and confident president. This value matches Pancasila's number 2 point 8, which states that one must dare to defend truth and justice. In 62, in this context, Joko Widodo is confident in telling the audience about his moves and will. Besides, he strongly ensures that equality and justice are applied because he values those things highly. His bravery and confidence match this point.

In Koriba's research about President Joko Widodo's speech, she states that power is delivered through dictions expressing certainty or confidence (Koriba, 2018). When the speaker shows his confidence, he shows power. This is evident in President Joko Widodo's speech, in which he uses direct words such as "should" and "have to" to give orders to the Indonesian people (Koriba, 2018). In Madkur's research about President Joko Widodo's speech at the APEC CEO Summit Asian Pacific, he found that President Joko Widodo maintains his speech to be neutral with his style and confidence in his English and Javanese accent (Madkur, 2018). The point that Koriba and Madkur explained is similar to this research.

The seventh value is considerate and thoughtful. Joko Widodo puts the value of being a considerate and thoughtful figure in his speeches. He understands that every human has the same dignity. That is why he becomes kind and thoughtful even when he does his speeches. The statements are as follows:

"We are here now. Not only we are here. We are here for you. We will be there for you"

"Recover together, recover stronger."

President Joko Widodo's speech is very considerate and thoughtful because when he uses *We* and *Together*, he positions himself like the audience. He makes sure the listeners feel comfortable with him, and they can share the same feeling. This value refers to Pancasila number 2, which emphasizes humanity and equality. Points number 2 and 4 match this value. Point number 2 is about understanding the equality of every human being without discrimination against ethnicity, ancestry, religion, belief, gender, position, social status, or skin colour. Point number 4 is to develop an attitude of mutual tolerance. By holding this value, President Joko Widodo can place himself neutrally even though he does an international speech.

In Utomo and Sari's research about President Joko Widodo's speech related to coronavirus in 2020 (Sari & Utomo, 2020). In their research, he uses the word "ask" as a direct command to society. He becomes the figure who is attentive and considerate to citizens because he asks them to remain calm and to increase awareness so that the COVID-19 virus will not spread too much. He knows that society becomes worried after the virus reaches Indonesia. He ensures that governors, regents, and mayors keep monitoring the condition and examining it with medical experts so society can be less worried (Sari & Utomo, 2020).

The similarity is found in this research. President Joko Widodo is considerate and thoughtful because he shares the same feeling with the listeners. Nugraha's research states that the pronoun *we* use to indicate

intimacy gives the speaker and listener the same experience or feeling (Nugraha, 2014). President Joko Widodo also uses this pronoun to share the same feeling about the COVID-19 pandemic.

The eighth value is sincerity, kindness, and politeness. President Joko Widodo calls the audience *old friends*. This action makes him sound very kind, polite, and sincere as he addresses the listeners and friends instead of merely the audience. The statements are as follows:

"Therefore, I would like to address you as *old friends*."

"Dear *old friends*,...."

His speeches show the value of sincerity, kindness, and politeness. President Joko Widodo implied this value when he made his speeches. This value matches Pancasila number 2, point 10, which is about developing respect and cooperation with others. President Joko Widodo displays an attitude of sincerity, kindness, and politeness in showing his respect to listeners worldwide.

In Novianty's research that analysed President Joko Widodo's leadership style, she discovered that President Joko Widodo has strategies to win society (Novianty & Salamah, 2018). He uses the Alaskan method to build an interactive relationship between himself and society. In doing *blusukan*, He listens to people's issues sincerely and kindly to gain society's trust. When he handles the problem of flooding in Jakarta, he talks heart-to-heart with the street vendors in *Pasar Minggu* and *Pasar Tanah Abang*. He once said to the media that he would never expected that he could be the President. Salim states that President Joko Widodo has the image as someone who feels like the closest neighbour to ours, then decided to join politics and run for president (Novianty & Salamah, 2018). Being sincere, kind, and polite is President Joko Widodo's strategy that can be attached to his profile when people see him.

As the president, Joko Widodo holds a dominant ideology that reinforces the values of five principles in Pancasila. Van Dijk delivers ideology as the general system that organizes socially shared attitudes (Amerian & Esmaili, 2015). In Indonesia, Pancasila is the ideology that could systemize people's behaviours. Through its functions, Pancasila has basic values that organize people's behaviours. By having a president as the supreme leader, the values of Pancasila can be spread softly so that people will not feel that they are forced to follow them. Through the speeches that President Joko Widodo conducted, four notions of the five principles of Pancasila were delivered smoothly.

The implications of this study are multifaceted, particularly in understanding how political leaders use language to convey ideological values and assert national identity in an international context. The study highlights how Joko Widodo's speeches are not merely political rhetoric but a deliberate effort to embed and disseminate the principles of *Pancasila* (Indonesia's national ideology). This reinforces the role of political leaders as agents of ideological transmission. By articulating values such as care, unity, justice, and politeness, the speeches serve as representations of Indonesian identity on the global stage. This helps foster a positive image of Indonesia, showcasing its cultural and ideological uniqueness.

The analysis underscores how persuasive language in political discourse serves as a tool for governments to assert authority and align audiences with national ideologies. It demonstrates the connection between discourse, power, and ideological control. The use of Van Dijk's CDA framework exemplifies the potential of textual analysis in uncovering deeper ideological structures within political speeches. This contributes to broader academic discussions on how textual elements like macrostructure and microstructure reflect and reinforce ideology. The study demonstrates the importance of integrating cultural and ethical values into leadership discourse, promoting a model for ethical governance that could inspire leaders globally. Overall, the research underscores the intricate relationship between language, ideology, and power, showing how speeches can serve as a medium for promoting national values and fostering ideological coherence at both national and international levels.

5. Conclusion

There were 2 speeches in this research to be analyzed. Although the researcher took 2 different years of his speech, speech 1 was in 2015, and speech 2 was in 2022, the results of the research had the same things in common. There were 8 values found in both speeches, making a clear conclusion. In two of President Joko Widodo's speeches, it was found that he used 4 notions of Pancasila. The ideologies expressed in President Joko Widodo's international speeches were humanity and equality, unity, democracy, and justice. The absence of the first notion, divinity, in both of his international speeches, happened because of the related topic that he delivered. Speech 1 was about the economic sector, and speech 2 was about health concerns caused by the pandemic. Thus, the first notion of Pancasila could not be found. In both speeches, President Joko Widodo expressed 8 values that indicate four notions of Pancasila. President Joko Widodo successfully described the characteristics of four notions in Pancasila through his speeches. The values of bravery and confidence, considerate and thoughtful, sincere, kind, and polite referred to the second notion of Pancasila, which was about humanity and equality. The value of care and togetherness referred to the third notion of Pancasila, which was about unity. The value of problem solver referred to the fourth notion of Pancasila, which was about democracy and citizenship. Last, the values of equality, fairness and hard work referred to the fifth notion of Pancasila, which was about justice.

References

- Agustina, L. (2017). *Pemikiran Presiden Joko Widodo Dalam Pidato Sambutan (Thought the President Joko Widodo in a Greeting Speech)*. 80–94.
- Amerian, M., & Esmaili, F. (2015). A Brief Overview of Critical Discourse Analysis in Relation to Gender Studies in English Language Textbooks. *CORE*, pp. 1033–1043.
- Brown, G. dan George Yule. (1983). *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

- Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Educational Research: Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research*. Boston: Pearson.
- Fairclough, N. (2010). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. New York, USA: Routledge.
- Ghazali, F. A. (2007). Critical discourse analysis: How can awareness of CDA influence teaching techniques? *University of Salford Manchester*, 1-20.
- Hapsari, S. (2018). Gaya Kepemimpinan Presiden Joko Widodo Dalam Perspektif Sistem Pertahanan Negara Sebagai Upaya Menghadapi Ancaman Asimetrik Abad 21. *Jurnal Sosial & Budaya Syar-i*, 139-146.
- Janks, H. (1993). Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Tool. *University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa*, 10-14.
- Johnstone, B. (2002). *Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Jorgensen, M., & Phillips, L. (2010). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Koriba, H. (2018). *A Critical Discourse Analysis on State Address of President Jokowi*. Medan: Faculty of Sumatra Utara.
- Labolo, M. (2016). Bureaucratic Reform and the Challenge of Good Governance Implementation in Indonesia. *International Journal of Kybernology*, pp. 25-42.
- Madkur, A. (2018). A Text Analysis on President Joko Widodo's Speech at APEC CEO SUMMIT ASIAN PACIFIC. *Pedagogy Journal of English Language Teaching*, 11-22.
- Mc.Cawley, P. (2014). *Strategy: Joko Widodo's Indonesia Possible Future Paths*. Barton: The Australian Strategic Policy Institute.
- Novianty, S. M., & Salamah, U. (2018). Seeing Jokowi, The President of Indonesia's Leadership: Case Study of Goldhaber's The Charisma Factor in Leadership Theory. *Research Gate*, 364-369.
- Nugraha, R. (2014). *A Critical Discourse Analysis on Hillary Clinton's Speech "American for Marriage Equality"*. Jakarta: Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.
- Sari, D. N., & Utomo, A. P. (2020). Directive Act President Joko Widodo's Speech Related to Handling Coronavirus (Covid-19) in Indonesia. *Journal of Social Studies*, 35-50.
- Schiffrin, D., Tannen, D., & Hamilton, H. (2001). *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Inc.
- Siddiq, A. A., Hidayat, D. N., Alek, & Adrefiza. (2021). a Text Analysis on Joko Widodo's Speech Text on Indonesia Independence Day. *Linguistic, English Education and Art*, 270-284.
- Sulistiyono, S. (2018). *Analisis Wacana Tekstual dan Kontekstual*. Surakarta: Universitas Sebelas Maret.
- van Dijk, Teun A. (2005). *Racism and Discourse in Spain and Latin America*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.