

## An Analysis of Ideological Construction of Soekarno's Twelve Good Expressions of The Selected Political Speeches

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### ABSTRACT

*This study attempted to investigate ideological construction of President Soekarno realized his good expressions in selected speeches during his rule. This study was to identify what kinds of Jokowi tends to use one utterance compared others. This study applied transitivity analysis of systemic functional linguistics theory of Halliday, particularly transitivity system as a tool for analysis, more specific process of transitivity. The data obtained from President Sukarnos' twelve good expressions of the selected speeches during 1945-1966. The data was downloaded, then analyzed qualitatively using descriptive approach. The study found that the Material process positioned considered as the most occurrences, it means that President Soekarno wants to give his good image that he is a hard worker president to build the country. These have constructed Sukarno Ideology that as the young Indonesian people is needed to work to achieve their high dream to build the nation more prosperous.*

**Keywords:** *Ideological construction, expression and political speeches.*

### INTRODUCTION

Ideology is very important for the nation leader such as President Soekarno. Since he played an important role in liberating the Indonesian people from Dutch colonialism. This figure who is known to be very assertive has indeed had a tremendous influence on young people, not only young people in his day, but also young people today. Who doesn't get goosebumps when they hear the independence speech from Ir. Soekarno, yes, even though he is dead, but through his speeches, Soekarno has succeeded in rebuilding the spirit of young people in this country to advance their nation to do more active? To transfer any kind of ideology, a president uses good expression in their political speech. Thus, language is very important used to communicate (Sugiharti, 2018). The use of good language will give good perception from the people, President Sukarno is one of the good orator who is good at arrangement of beautiful words.

The phenomenon of the use of language in Sukarno 's speech as one of the community leaders can be critically studied with the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach. This has become a special concern and spotlight among the public because as a government official, the use of the Sukarno language reflects certain interests conveyed to the public through the representation and ideology that Sukarno builds in his speech. The representation meant is Sukarno 's way of describing the social situation in Indonesia which includes: the identity of Indonesia in the past, the situation in recent times, and expectations to be achieved in the future based on language features. In addition, the speech is a discourse that reflects a certain ideology and forms social cognition, namely the relationship between discourse and ideology (Fairclough, 2001).

The use of language which is realized through a speech, it enables a political leader such a president constructs a certain ideology to strengthen his power. As already stated in the first paragraph that ideology is very crucial for a president to build people's trust. President Soekarno wants to channel his ideology via his speech. Previous study that reveals ideology with the CDA approach which also focuses on political issues was conducted by Faridi (2014) on political news in the Radar Madura newspaper ahead of the 2014 legislative elections and Alvionita (2018) on representation of the social situation and ideological construction in the Inaugural speech of Anis Baswedan. The analysis in Faridi's research focuses on a description of the representation of ideology in political news texts that are reflected through vocabulary and grammar. This research shows the vocabulary of associations in describing reality as classification, marginalization, limitation of views and discourse battles, metaphorical vocabulary to show negative and positive labeling, and grammatical representation of processes and participants used by journalists. Radar Madura in describing reality as actions, events, conditions, and mental processes. Then ideology is implicitly revealed based on the representation of vocabulary and grammar, namely economic ideology, political ideology, and ideology of power.

This study deepens the use of SFL theory within the framework of the CDA theory both to show the representation of the social situation in Indonesia and the ideology that is reflected through Sukarnos' ideology via his political speech. The analysis used includes three levels of the CDA theoretical framework proposed by Fairclough (1995), namely textual analysis, discourse practice analysis, and sociocultural practice analysis. Thus, textual aspects and interpretation of texts and contexts through discourse practices are used to represent the

social situation in Indonesia and finally the ideology reconstructed through speeches is expressed based on the use of language in Sukarno 's twelve good expression of the selected political speeches.

Thus, this study will ideological Construction of Soekarno's twelve good expression of the selected political speeches of Halliday, particularly transitivity system as an analytical tool to analyze data set. In transitivity has three main points in clause representation, participant, process, and circumstance. The process can be divided into six types of processes that can be identified by Halliday (1994:14), namely: (1) Material process, (2) Behavioral process, (3) Mental process, (4) Verbal process, (5) Relational process, (6) Existential process. This study will limit only in term of process, and leaving the both participants and Circumstances; (1) What are the types of transitivity processes used by President Sukarno in his political speeches?, and (2) How ideological construction realized through transitivity process?

The analysis the good utterances Sukarno, but also all expressions to find out the ideology constructed through the twelve good expressions of the selected political of President became interesting among the public. Fairclough (2001:3) states that focusing attention on the ideology of discourse means helping people to see to what extent their language contains common sense assumptions and how these assumptions can be shaped ideologically with power relations. This is in line with Sukarno 's position as one of the nation leaders who cannot be separated from his power as a leader. Thus, this study becomes one of the phenomena of political discourse in the treasury of critical discourse analysis that can show social situations that are represented and constructed through ideology in the speeches of public figures such as a president. In addition, Byaram (2010) ideology is very important for nation leader.

The use of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) in the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory has been done before by several researchers. Hernandez (2008) shows the contribution of SFL and CDA to find a person's national identity in newspaper articles in English and Spanish through a transitivity system at the level of discourse construction. This study proves that the identity of the Gibraltar community in the political conflict between the two countries is represented as a passive entity. This identity is influenced by mental processes in the construction of discourse that are built through their hopes and opinions.

The SFL was introduced by England scholar, Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday in the early 1960s in the UK and then he moved to Australia. SFL is regarded as the new linguistic scholar. SFL is also considered as an influential tradition to linguistic study because it reflects the trend in linguistics development. In addition, it provides an innovative value from functionalism and a useful tool for those who wish to analyze texts. SFL model suggests that human language has developed into three generalized meanings: ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings (Eggins, 2004; Hao, 2020). Halliday's (1994) states that language functions in social life which are realized in growing functional grammar of modern English, particularly systemic functional linguistics acts as a descriptive framework for seeing language as a socio semiotics (Eggins 2004: 2). It regards language as having involved to social service. A clause comprises of phrases by comprising of all three metafunctions of language (Asad et al, 2019b). Therefore, it some functions realized into three meanings systems that is called as metafunction, such as; the textual, interpersonal and experiential metafunctions (Halliday & Matthiesson 2004: 29-30).

Thus, the SFL approach can be employed in worldwide, especially in language education, and for a number of purposes such as discourse analysis (Mushtaq et al, 2020). When several linguistic theories deal with language in the form of mental practice, SFL closely relates to human society. Halliday's tradition, as an illustration, "is more interested in the manner by which language is utilized in social settings to attain a specific target" (O'Donnell, 2011:2). Referring to this context data, SFL is only to focus on "the way language is represented or processed in the human brain, but it would rather seek to see discourses produced in the written or oral language and what is contained in the texts being produced " (Mushtaq et al, 2020). Therefore, SFL's fascination with language use, great concern is attached to language features, such as what language is functioned, rather than what language structure is all about and how it is constructed (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, 2014)

Because this study focuses on the presidential speech using SFL, particularly transitivity as an analytical tool to examine this study. SFL according to Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) is a broad term which covers various types of analyses, including the analyses of expression (phonetics and phonology), the analyses of content (lexicogrammar and semantics) and the analyses of context. Halliday (2008, p.189) states that his aim is to

make a coherent tradition of language which is 'applicable,' in the sense that it can be beneficial to large numbers of people who are somehow engaging with language.

### **Transitivity**

The study concern on the 'transitivity analysis' (ideational function), which finds in the nominal group, which denotes a wider grade of phenomenon as compared to other groups (Asad et al, 2019a). The nominal class included nouns, determiners, adjectives, and numerals, which come in one description and that, are experiential function. It also describes logic (logical function) as well. The logical function sets up logical–semantic relationships between clauses. Halliday (1967:38) argues that “transitivity is used to introduce the verb applied in the grammar system, which is the name given to a network of system whose point of origin is the ‘major’ clause, the clause containing a predication” and “the transitivity systems are concerned with the types of process expressed in the clause, with the participants in this process, animate or inanimate, and with various attributes and circumstances of the process and participants. Thus, transitivity concern of the verb which is used in clauses (Megah et, 2019).

### **Processes**

#### **a. Material process**

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), material clauses are clauses of doing and happening. Material process has two participants, they are actor and goal. The entity who or which does something is the Actor.

#### **b. Behavioral Process**

Gerot and Wignell (1994:56) state that behavioral process of physiological and physiological behavior, like breathing, snoring, smiling, hiccuping, looking, listening, watching, and pondering. Syntactically a behavioral process share characteristics of mental, verbal and material process. In behavioral process, there is one obligatory participant.

#### **c. Mental Process**

Mental process is used to express the process of feeling, thinking, and perceiving. Semantically a mental process involve sense, which is inside the human or conscious being that is realized in words like, such as enjoy, forget, admire, understand, hear, notice, see, believe, fear, and etc.

#### **d. Verbal Process**

Verbal process encompasses of saying or of symbolically signaling. There are three participants in verbal process: Sayer ( the doer of the action ), Receiver ( the one whom the verbalization is addressed), and Verbiage ( a name of the verbalization itself ).

#### e. Relational Process

Relational process can be divided into two sub-categories. They are Identifying Process and Attributive Process. Identifying process has two participants, they are Token and Value. Attributive process has two participants, they are Carrier and Attribute.

#### f. Existential Process

Existential process is expressed by verbs of existing: 'be', 'exist', 'arise' and the existent can be phenomenon of any kind. It also represents experience by posting that 'There was/is something.

### **Circumstances**

This circumstance discusses about who does what to whom, when, where, why, and how. If we look at a quantitative data analysis of the selected political speeches of Sukarno.

### **Participant**

People and things that are involved in the process in the state speech text (Mushtaq et al, 2020).

### **Political Speech**

Political speech refers to speech and politics. Politics means something related to power how power struggled and maintained (Kusumaningrum, 2014). Then, speech is used to express ideas, desire, thought, etc. through the speech, certain ideology transferred. Political speech by which President conveyed in the official meeting is very important (Jupriono et al, 2009). Therefore, political speech means speech which is delivered in the occasion of political event.

## **METHOD**

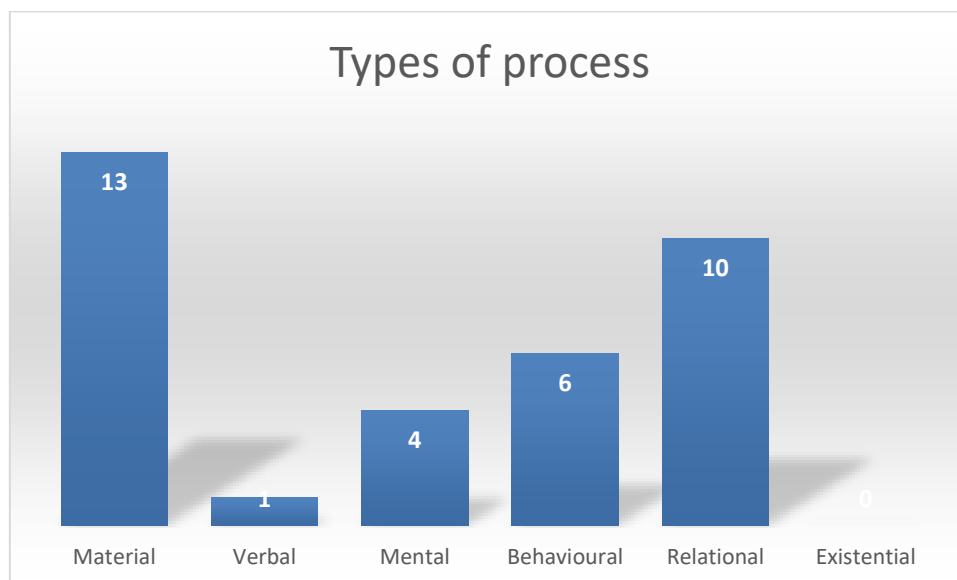
This study applied a qualitative method with descriptive approach in analyzing the data. Cresswell (2017) explains that a qualitative method is an inquiry process to understand a social or human problem, based on complex holistic picture, formed with words, reported detailed views of participants, and conducted in natural setting. The qualitative method can be used as a method for revealing or understanding something beyond particular phenomena which is hard to described by a quantitative method (Cresswell, 2017). The data set were obtained only on investigating the transitivity in the President Jokowi's victory speech in

August 16, 2010 obtained by downloading from official website of state secretary of the Republic of Indonesia. by employing transitivity analysis of Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) as the analytical tool for the data analysis.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Results

Based the research objective that this study will limit of transitivity process to unmask ideology of president Soekarno. Therefore, the ideology can be investigated via the most frequencies used of the process types (Nejad et al, 2013). The results are obtained from the twelve good expression of the selected political speeches of President Sukarno were identified and classified based on the Halliday's transitivity system into categories which were then accordingly displayed by the variety of process, which can be shown in the Figures 1.



**Figure 1. The occurrences of the types of process in the political speeches of Sukarno**

As shown in the Figure 1 the types of the process, the process of Material comes to the highest level in term of the occurrences, with 13 occurrences 38.2%, then Relational with 10 occurrences 29.4%, after that Behavioural with 6 occurrences 17.6%. and then Mental comes with 4 occurrences 11,7%, then Verbal has only with 1 occurrence 2.9%. The last existential has no occurrence.

### Discussion

As already mentioned before in the previous part that the most frequency of the occurrences of certain process types will indicate ideological tendency of the speaker. As

shown in the table 1 and figure 1 that the Material process positioned in the highest frequency with 13 occurrences or 38.2%. It can be discussed in more details with displaying some data as follows:

### 1. Material Process

The material clauses are clauses of doing and happening. This can be seen from expression of President Sukarno as data 1 below.

#### *Data 1*

*They will pull Semeru mountain until the roots*

It is based on the data 1 that the Material process of “They will **pull** Semeru mountain until the roots” is to show the youths are able to do, even they pull the highest mountain in Java Island. President Sukarno hopes the youths to work very hard.

### 2. Verbal

#### *Data 2*

*free, free, or dead!(12)*

It is based on the data 2 that the Verbal of “free, free, or dead” is to show his spirit to burn the people of Indonesia fight until dead. He uses his saying to motivate the people. His words are able to accelerate the spirit of Indonesians.

### 3. Mental

The Mental process constitutes the process of feeling, thinking, and perceiving as expressed by President Sukarno as data 3 below.

#### *Data 3*

*Whoever wants the pearl*

It is based on the data 3 that the Mental of “Whoever **wants** the pearl” is to show his mental desire to do something. He describes to get the pearl is his dream even it must dive more deeply.

### 4. Behavioural

The behavioral process of physiological and psychological behavior which can be seen in following data.

#### *Data 4*

*Ten Parents can **dream***

It is based on the data 4 that the Verbal of “Ten Parents can **dream**” is to show his behaviour since dream is the combination of physically and psychologically action. He



describes that the seniors only dreams without any action to do something. It is only dream not real, since to achieve something via working hard.

## 5. Relational

The Relational process can be divided into two sub-categories. They are Identifying Process and Attributive Process. This process can be called as process of being. This can be seen in following data.

### *Data 5*

*If we **have** a strong desire.*

It is based on the data 5 that the Relational of “If we **have** a strong desire.” is to describe of belonging of the Indonesian people. It shows the relational process of having since it shows process of belonging of the Indonesian. President Sukarno wants that he and his people to have strong desire to be more advanced to compete with other countries.

It is based on the findings and discussion above that material process placed highest frequency occurred in the twelve good expressions of the selected political speeches of President Sukarno with the least number of verbal and existential processes. It shows that President Sukarno has tendency to hope the people of Indonesia became more action rather talking only. Using the specific young people contain his ideological construction to give motivation for the youths to do more rather than more discussion as what the seniors do. As stated in previous part that material process is represented by clauses of doing and happening. Material process has two participants, they are actor and goal. The entity who or which does something is the Actor. Therefore, President Sukarno has inclination to do something compared just saying something. Sukarno has constructed his ideologies to motivate the young people to work hard to achieve the nation’s glory.

## CONCLUSION

This study can be concluded that the twelve good expressions in the selected political speeches of President Sukarno shows some tendencies most frequently used the material process. The participant was mentioned tended to show the rule of the Indonesian youths., a process refers to activity done which is equivalent to verb in traditional terminology. Based on the three main components of transitivity, the processes are considered as main point of the transitivity system. Process type is the resource for sorting out our experience of all kinds of events into a small number of types. This study can be concluded that President Soekarno

mostly used the Material process to incline that he tends to work more to entrust the people or audiences. These have constructed Sukarno Ideology that as the young Indonesian people is needed to work to achieve their high dream to build the nation more prosperous.

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