

## REPRESENTATION OF POWER AND IDEOLOGY ON JOKOWI'S SPEECH

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Submitted: 07-10-2022, Revision: 29-11-2022, Accepted: 19-12-2022

### Abstract

*A speech reflects the power and ideology of the communicator when it is delivered. It also has the representation of the social and political situation at the time it is delivered. The speech is about the successful handling of the Covid-19 Pandemic and the initial success of economic recovery among ASEAN countries. This research intends to open a new understanding of a speech discourse. A speech discourse can carry many meanings that are packaged in the representation of the power and ideology of the communicator. Having the ability to read the meaning behind a speech is an advance in building a civil society. The representation were analyzed through three level of analysis of critical discourse analysis. The first is to analyze text with features associated with the text as-a-whole, the second is to analyze text with features related to text at the sentence level and word level, and the third is to analyze the findings through contextual interpretation. The result of this speech analysis shows that Jokowi's speech has represented the power of Indonesia as the next leader of ASEAN Chair in 2023 and the ideology of Indonesia to develop together with other Southeast Asia countries in ASEAN.*

**Keywords:** ASEAN, ASEAN Business and Investment Summit, Power and Ideology

### Abstrak

Sebuah pidato mencerminkan kekuasaan dan ideologi komunikator ketika disampaikan. Pidato juga memiliki representasi situasi sosial dan politik pada saat disampaikan. Pidato tersebut membahas tentang keberhasilan penanganan Pandemi Covid-19 dan keberhasilan awal pemulihan ekonomi di kalangan masyarakat. negara-negara ASEAN. Penelitian ini bermaksud untuk membuka pemahaman baru tentang sebuah wacana tuturan. Sebuah wacana tuturan dapat membawa banyak makna yang dikemas dalam representasi kekuasaan dan ideologi komunikator. Memiliki kemampuan membaca makna di balik sebuah pidato merupakan kemajuan dalam membangun masyarakat madani. Representasi dalam pidato dianalisis melalui analisis tiga tingkat analisis. Pertama adalah menganalisis teks dengan ciri-ciri yang berkaitan dengan teks secara keseluruhan, kedua adalah menganalisis teks dengan ciri-ciri yang berkaitan dengan teks pada tingkat kalimat dan tingkat kata, dan ketiga adalah menganalisis temuan melalui interpretasi kontekstual. Hasil analisis pidato ini menunjukkan bahwa pidato Jokowi telah merepresentasikan kekuatan Indonesia sebagai Ketua ASEAN berikutnya pada tahun 2023 dan ideologi Indonesia untuk berkembang bersama negara-negara Asia Tenggara lainnya di ASEAN.

**Kata Kunci:** ASEAN, ASEAN Business and Investment Summit, Power and Ideology

### INTRODUCTION

Speech is a form of communication that has a specific purpose. Speakers seek to not only express themselves, but also want a certain effect on their listeners. Humans have long sought to know more about how to create a state that can support their

desired goals through language. Aristotle in his book entitled *Techne Rhetorike*, translated by H. C. Lawson-Tancred (1991) calls this way of speaking with a specific purpose as rhetoric.

Speech is a discourse that is formed from the elements of a public



communication. These elements will create a rhetorical process that can influence the audience. Aristotle divides rhetoric into three groups, namely *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos*. *Ethos* is the speaker's impressive character or credibility. *Pathos* is an emotional appeal that persuades an audience in a conducive manner. *Logos* is a speech or speech that presents logic, clarity, rationality, and the integrity of an argument. There are three areas of activity in this rhetoric, namely forensic oratory, which is used for litigation in court, deliberative oratory which is used for political matters, and ceremonial oratory which is used for ceremonial matters (Aristotle and Lawson-Tancred, 1991).

Speech is a public communication process that uses a rhetorical process to influence an audience (Renaldo, 2021). Presidential regional speech is a rhetorical activity in political affairs or forensic oratory. The speaker tries to convince the audience that the vision and mission in the new activities in the government will be carried out in accordance with national and regional insight. The speaker's vision and mission will represent the power and ideology of the speaker from the individual side of the speaker, the interests of the regional audience and national goals (Suryaningsih, 2021). This representation

of power and ideology will be the guide in supervising the new policy implementation of the government.

According to Griffin et al., (2018), rhetoric is one of the seven traditions in communication theory. These seven traditions fall within a range of subjective territory and interpretive territory (Figure 1). This territorial range makes the socio-psychological and cybernetic traditions in the subjective territory while the phenomenological, critical, and socio-cultural traditions are in the interpretive territory. The other two traditions, the rhetorical and semiotic traditions, are in the middle territory which can be classified as subjective or interpretive territory depending on the other five traditions. The speaker is the most important role of public communication transactions that cannot be ignored. Communication has been carried out since the speaker's mind when making speech objectives and determining the most suitable strategy in its implementation. Aristotle does not even define rhetoric as a specific speech or strategy. Rhetoric is the ability to observe all available means of persuasion. Developing one's rhetorical skills is to train the mind to see all possibilities of persuasion involving an audience.

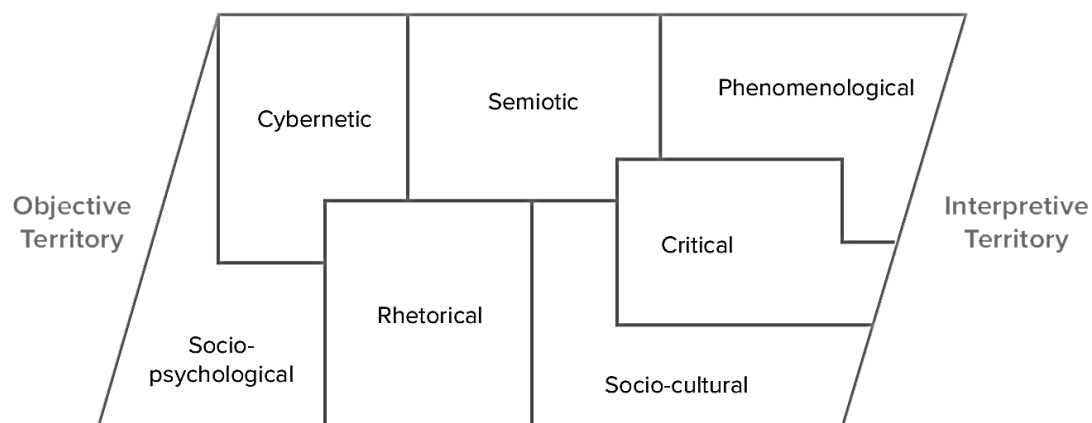


Figure 1. Traditions in the Field of Communication Theory

Source: Griffin et al. (2018)

The socio-psychological tradition is a communication as interaction and influence. This tradition symbolizes the scientific or objective perspective that the truth of communication can be found by careful and systematic observation. The cybernetic tradition is a communication as an information processing system. This tradition describes how information processing in two-way communication can be carried out. The tradition of rhetoric is a communication as a skill in public speaking. This tradition includes various types of public speaking through various strategies to create the best way to present it. The semiotic tradition is communication as a process of sharing meaning through signs. This tradition is a science that studies signs. A sign is anything that can represent something. Words are also signs, but of a special kind. Words are arbitrary symbols that have no inherent meaning, no natural connection to the things they describe. The socio-cultural tradition is communication as the creation and enforcement of social reality. Socio-cultural traditions are based on the premise that when people speak, they produce and reproduce culture. The critical tradition is a communication as a reflective challenge to unfair discourse. Critical theorists have consistently challenged three characteristics of contemporary society: control of language to perpetuate power imbalances, dependence on the scientific method and acceptance of uncritical empirical findings and the role of the mass media in blunting sensitivity to repression. The phenomenological tradition is communication as the experience of self and others through dialogue. The phenomenological tradition places great emphasis on people's perceptions and their interpretation of their own experiences.

Speech research is in the tradition of rhetorical, socio-cultural, and critical communication theory (Hidayat et al., 2019). The rhetorical tradition studies the speaker's *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos* in

presenting speeches. The socio-cultural tradition studies the socio-cultural audience and the situation at the time the speech is made. The critical tradition examines the emerging contexts in the representation of power and ideology (Bader, 2020). This research is in the interpretive territory where all studies in the communication tradition are analyzed through rhetorical, socio-cultural, and critical interpretations of the speaker, audience, message, channel, feedback, interference, and context.

Audience presence is very important in public communication. Public speaking communicative activities require the presence of an audience to make a speech meaningful (Hidayat et al., 2019). Audiences use their knowledge of the language, and their own expectations, to make sense of a speech. The meaning of a speech depends on how the audience creates it. Public communication is a participatory process of a speaker to make himself understood through the participation of an audience who voluntarily is in the process of public communication. The complexity of the audience's background, both individually and as a group, is a challenge for speakers to deal with.

An important part of public communication is the message itself. The message is the meaning that is received and understood by the audience. The closer the understanding of the message received to the message intended by the speaker, the more effective the presentation of a speech (Hamzah, 2017). Public speaking is not only focused on the construction of the speaker's message, such as content, structure, and word choice, but also on the ability of the audience to be actively involved in interpreting the message conveyed. As individuals, audiences have different levels of attention. The speaker must assume that the audience is building an impression of the speaker's character even before the speaker starts greeting them verbally.

Political discourse is a classic discourse that includes speeches, slogans, declarations, and answers in a press conference. Most world leaders use regional speeches as their political discourse to present their vision and to define their mission for the nation. A regional address is a political speech that plays an important role in realizing the speaker's goals. Political speech is a type of discourse that shows the speaker's stance, clarifies his views, and states his proposals. To gain public support and gain recognition, a political speech always tries to establish a close relationship with the audience (Alvionita, 2018).

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Business and Investment Summit (ABIS) is Southeast Asia's major annual gathering that brings together world leaders, ASEAN representatives, and other relevant stakeholders to discuss how the region's most pressing problems are addressed, and then to find ways to ensure that the benefits of ASEAN's thriving economy are shared equitably and sustainably. Considering COVID-19, this year's topic of discussion is about Building a Sustainable Digital Future.

The COVID-19 pandemic is still growing. This provides uncertainty around the world about the duration and severity of the pandemic (Shi et al., 2022). Organizations and other business entities must be prepared to adapt to react to these challenges. These changes include shifting to new work methods, strengthening business resilience, driving digital transformation, and rethinking corporate strategy (Scully-Russ & Torraco, 2020). The COVID-19 crisis is impacting the way businesses in all sectors and areas operate through the digitization of products and services (Ritter & Pedersen, 2020). To stay competitive in this new business and economic environment, companies and other organizations must equip themselves with new strategies and practices that

provide digital solutions (Becker & Schmid, 2020).

Digital transformation has been at the forefront of ASEAN's agenda even before the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic has accelerated the adoption of digital technology and many of these changes could last a long time (Ba & Bai, 2020). Indonesia, as one of the founders of ASEAN, has an important role in the digital transformation of business and investment in Southeast Asia, especially in 2023, when Indonesia becomes the ASEAN Chair. The ASEAN Business and Investment Summit 2021 is an important meeting due to the digital technology acceleration triggered by the Covid 19 pandemic. The speech of the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, at the ASEAN Business and Investment Summit 2021 is important to be analysed on power and ideology to foresee Indonesia's leadership in ASEAN in 2023, especially in business and investment.

Joko Widodo is the first Indonesian president who did not have a military background or belong to one of the country's prominent political families. His success at the polls was viewed by many analysts as marking the beginning of a new, more democratic era of Indonesian politics. In his administration, President Joko Widodo is focused on building infrastructure to support economic growth in Indonesia. He is also focusing on developing the digital economy of Indonesia by giving incentives to local start-up companies (Margiansyah, 2020).

The President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, delivered his leader's keynote address speech at ASEAN Business and Investment Summit 2021, on 25 October 2021. The Summit is Southeast Asia's premier annual forum that brings together the Heads of State, Presidents, and Prime Ministers as well as business and thought leaders of ASEAN and its global partners. It is a unique platform to hear how the key issues facing the region are being

addressed and to discuss how to ensure the opportunities in ASEAN's vibrant economies are reaped sustainably and inclusively. The summit is organized virtually and hosted by Brunei Darussalam. The speech was delivered as the leader's keynote address of the Summit. One of the main research questions in this study is how power and ideology are represented in Joko Widodo's regional speech at The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Business and Investment Summit (ABIS). This disclosure of power and ideology focuses on speech and contextual interpretation of speakers and audiences.

Previous research from Bader, (2020) revealed that Nelson Mandela's speech showed different linguistic manifestations through the ideology communicated to the interlocutor. This is linguistically evidenced using four CDA strategies, including lexical selection, use of certain greeting terms, use of rhetorical devices, and skilled use of organized argumentation. Mandela used this strategy in his speeches to advocate for freedom and equal rights on the part of black South Africans. This is demonstrated by his expertise in using certain linguistic, rhetorical, and discursive devices to communicate his ideological meanings persuasively, both to national and international audiences. This study only focuses on the linguistic and contextual manifestations of language that Mandela did when delivering his defense speech. Nasser Aldosari does not distinguish transcription of Mandela's speech on three levels based on Fairclough and Wodak's references deepened by Huckin

Suryaningsih, (2021) revealed in a scientific article entitled A Critical Discourse Analysis of Personal Pronouns in Greta Thunberg's Speech about the use of pronouns in two speeches made by environmental activist Greta Thunberg. Greta Thunberg gave this speech in two different places over a period of time. The

first speech was delivered at the 2019 UN Climate Summit in New York City on September 23, 2019. The second speech was made at the Montreal Global Climate Change on September 27, 2019. This research focuses on the use of pronouns that vary according to the context. In the first speech, the pronouns used are mostly exclusive while in the second speech, the pronouns used are mostly inclusive. The difference is caused by the different social settings of the two utterances. Yuli Suryaningsih did not distinguish between Greta Thunberg's speech transcription at three levels based on Fairclough and Wodak's references deepened by Huckin.

Renaldo, (2021) in his article entitled Presupposition and Ideology: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Joe Biden's Inaugural Speech conducted research on Joe Biden's inauguration speech as President of the United States. This study looks at the relationship between presupposition and ideology in Biden's inauguration speech. When an utterance is produced, an assumption is also produced. This study only focuses on the presuppositions and ideology that Biden used when delivering a speech on his inauguration day. Renaldo does not distinguish transcription of Biden's speech at three levels based on Fairclough and Wodak's references deepened by Huckin.

This research explored beyond text level by examining three level analysis. It is different to other previous research that only focus on the text level. This research would explore the social context of when the speech is delivered and the sociocultural of who delivered the speech and on what occasion that the speech is delivered. This research intends to open a new understanding of a speech discourse. A speech discourse can carry many meanings that are packaged in the representation of the power and ideology of the communicator. Having the ability to read



the meaning behind a speech is an advance in building a civil society

## METHODOLOGY

Power is the authority of a person to control and influence people to do something. Power in discourse is defined as the speaker's attempt to interpret different meanings. Power is a relationship in different levels that has a different effect on the social structure. When power is associated with language, language is intertwined with social forces in many ways: language indexes power, expresses power, and is also involved where there are conflicts and challenges to power (Wodak & Meyer, 2011).

Ideology is the belief of a person or many people towards something. Ideology is a system of ideas based on judgments and attitudes that help certain forces in society to advance their interests or stabilize their power (Wodak & Meyer, 2011). The concept of ideology is presented by involving cognitive and social psychology, sociology, and discourse analysis. Ideology is a set of belief systems including one's beliefs, values, goals, and anticipations (Wodak & Meyer, 2011)

To find out how power and ideology are reflected in Joko Widodo's speech, the researcher will analyze the text of the speech using critical discourse analysis (CDA). According to (Wodak & Meyer, 2011) in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, CDA is a comprehensive analysis that looks at a text beyond the level of the text or the strength of language that represents ideology and hegemony. This analysis also considers the social values of

the speaker and the people involved in delivering the speech including the setting of the stage and the selection of venues and at some point, the social values of the audience who attend and watch at the delivery of the speech.

This research explores the speech of the President of the Republic of Indonesia Joko Widodo in the ASEAN Business and Investment Summit 2021 organized by Brunei Darussalam. The exploration uses a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyze the speech on three levels of analysis based on Thomas N. Huckin method (Figure 2). The first level of analysis is to analyze text with features associated with the text as-a-whole, the second level of analysis is to analyze text with features related to text at the sentence level and word level, and the third level is to analyze the findings through contextual interpretation.

Thomas N. Huckin, (1997) recommends three steps in his method for expressing the side represented in a speech (Figure 2). Before taking these three steps, he suggests reading the speech as a casual reader in a non-critical way and then reviewing the speech by looking at the article in the first two of the three overall steps: analyzing the text with features related to the text as a whole and then analyzing the text by text-related features at the sentence level and word level to find what appears to have the potential to mislead the general reader on those features. The last step that must be done is to make a contextual interpretation of the speech that is contextualized through the sociocultural environment.

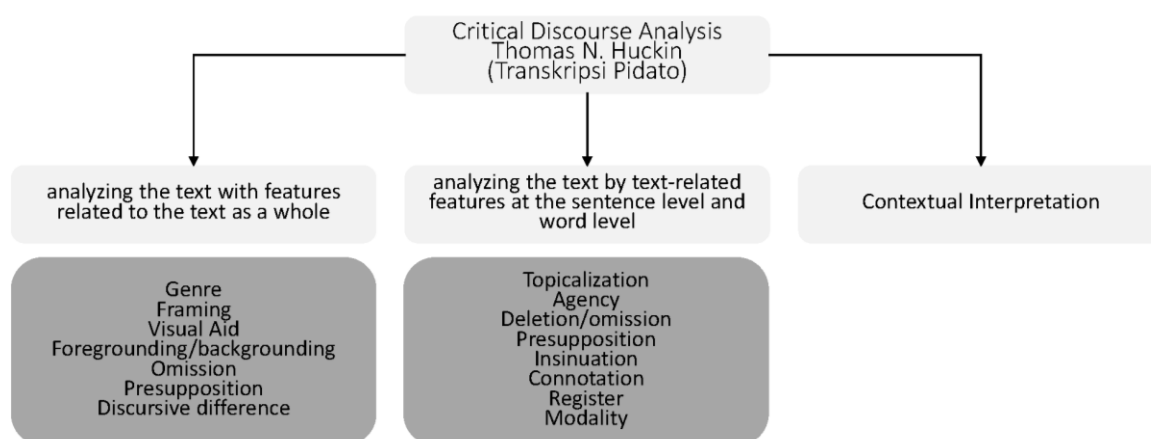


Figure 2. Huckin's Critical Discourse Analysis Model  
Source: Huckin, (2004)

Analyzing the text with features related to the text as a whole is completed by focusing on some features of the speech, such as genre, framing, visual aid, foregrounding/backgrounding, omission, and discursive difference. Analyzing the text by text-related features at the sentence level and word level is completed by focusing on some features of the speech, such as topicalization, agency, deletion/omission, presupposition, insinuation, connotation, register, and modality. Contextual interpretation is completed by focusing on the features of social and political situations when the speech is delivered.

The speech is classified into a genre or a type of text. Every genre has certain characteristics that differ from one to another. The institution that owns the genre defines the characteristics. Framing is how the speech is presented in a kind of perspective that elaborates the story. The perspective is captured by taking all the details together and putting them into a whole. Visual aid is photographs, sketches, tables, diagrams, and other visual embellishments that are a powerful way to encourage the framing of the speech. Foregrounding/backgrounding is when the speech emphasizes certain issues through a certain concept of textual prominence.

Omission is the ultimate stage of backgrounding; it omits certain issues in the speech. Presupposition means that the speech attaches certain ideas for granted as if there are no other ideas coming into consideration. Discursive difference is a selective expression used in the speech to convey certain points of view that are more correct, legitimate, reliable, and significant than others. Topicalization is viewing the speech from sentence level to discovering the topic sentences. Agency is viewing the speech from the agent who is making action and to whom the action is addressed. Deletion and omission are when the agent is omitted in a speech by the practice of nominalization or passive sentence.

Insinuation is comments on the speech that have double meanings and are used as an exit strategy when the comments are challenged. Connotation is when the speech carries certain words that have special meanings, and the meanings are often negative. Register is how the speech is produced in a certain approach such as formal, semiformal, or informal. The choice of using the first person such as I, me, my, we, our, and the third person such as he, she, they, their, his, hers, him, or her can affect the register as well. Modality is when the tone of the speech is set to expose a degree

of certainty and authority by using specific words

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

One speech of the President of the Republic of Indonesia Joko Widodo in the ASEAN Business and Investment Summit 2021 is analyzed through the method of applying CDA to a media discourse proposed by Huckin, (1997). The speech consists of 13 paragraphs and 4 greetings (Figure 3). The analysis is done to discover how the power and ideology in Joko Widodo's speech are represented. The speech is analyzed through three steps of analyzing the text with the features associated with the text-as-a-whole, analyzing the text with the features associated with the text at sentence-level and word level, and taking into account the contextual interpretation.

### Analyzing the Text as a Whole, in Sentence-level and Word-level.

The genre is speech, the sub-genre is state official speech, and the order of discourse is leader keynote address speech. The setting of the speech is at the opening of the summit, and it is presented at the Presidential Palace. The speech is considered an important issue and attracts most people's attention since it is an official speech, and it is delivered in the presidential palace in a formal setting. President Joko Widodo wants to take the Summit as a way to show his leadership in ASEAN, especially for next Indonesia's ASEAN Chair in 2023.

The framing of the speech is in thirteen paragraphs and five greetings. The decrease of Covid-19 casualties and the economic recovery in ASEAN dominates the speech since it has been the topic of eight paragraphs of the speech. The topics of the decrease of Covid-19 casualties and the economic recovery in ASEAN are mentioned in eight paragraphs of the speech. The decrease of the Covid-19 and economic recovery in Indonesia becomes the topic in two paragraphs of the speech. The digital economy and Indonesia have been the topic of two paragraphs. One Paragraph has been the topic of the ASEAN spirit in regional cooperation.

The topics of the decrease of Covid-19 casualties and the economic recovery in ASEAN have dominated the paragraph of the speech. The digital era has certainly come, and Covid-19 Pandemic is just one factor that accelerates the coming of the digital era. President Joko Widodo intends to show the participants that Indonesia has been ready for the coming even long before the pandemic comes. It is supported by the following topic of the decrease of the Covid-19 and economic recovery in Indonesia in four paragraphs of the speech that explains how the digital economy in Indonesia and how Indonesia recovers its digital economy. President Joko Widodo also adds in his speech as a reminder to the participants how the ASEAN spirit in regional cooperation. The regional cooperation is not only between the members of ASEAN countries but also between ASEAN to other countries beyond southeast Asia.



[Greeting 1]	☐ Your Excellency ASEAN leaders
[Greeting 2]	☐ Ladies and gentlemen, respectable businesspeople in the Southeast Asia
[Paragraph 1] Covid and ASEAN Economic Recovery	☐ After 20 months of facing the great hardships of the COVID-19 pandemic, we now see new hope. In the past week, COVID-19 cases in the ASEAN region decreased to 14 percent, this is much better than the world average which decreased to one percent. This situation will certainly increase ASEAN's internal and external confidence to resume activities and will accelerate economic recovery. However, vigilance must still be increased, given the increase in cases in several countries.
[Paragraph 2] Covid and ASEAN Economic Recovery	☐ Facing the current pandemic, we not only want to recover, but we want to steal the opportunity in the pandemic to carry out structural reforms, for inclusive and sustainable economic growth in the ASEAN region
[Paragraph 3] Covid and ASEAN Economic Recovery	☐ This great opportunity is very possible for us to do. As we did in Indonesia, all efforts in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic have not diminished Indonesia's intention to carry out structural reforms. Indonesia issued the Omnibus Law, the Job Creation Act to improve the investment climate to boost inclusive economic growth that creates new jobs. The Taxation Law was also revised with the same objective. We want to continue with these structural reforms to respond to the weaknesses of our institutions and work processes, when tested by the COVID-19 pandemic. We use the tough test in the form of a pandemic to strengthen ourselves in facing future challenges
[Paragraph 4] Covid and ASEAN Economic Recovery	☐ I expect the same effort for Southeast Asia. As a unitary economic community, ASEAN is a region that must take advantage of the pandemic and make fundamental self-improvements at the regional level
[Greeting 3]	☐ Your Excellency, ASEAN leaders, respected businesspeople
[Paragraph 5] The Common Vision of ASEAN	☐ The common vision, the spirit of collaboration, and the togetherness of steps, are the main keys for ASEAN's economic recovery
[Paragraph 6] Covid and ASEAN Economic Recovery	☐ First, health care must remain the priority. The short-term agenda to accelerate and increase vaccination in all countries in the region must be carried out together. The target for vaccination of the ASEAN population of 70 percent must be achieved as soon as possible. The government and business actors in the region must work together to take joint action. Meanwhile, ASEAN in the medium term, needs to build a health crisis protocol so that the ASEAN region is more resilient to face health crises in the future
[Paragraph 7] Covid and ASEAN Economic Recovery	☐ Second, ASEAN's economic recovery must be accelerated by reactivating safe travel, including safe tourism. According to UN-WTO records, the level of restrictions in Southeast Asia is the highest in the world, reaching 82 percent. With the COVID-19 situation increasingly under control, these restrictions can be reduced, mobility can be relaxed, but it must ensure that it is safe from the risk of a pandemic.
[Paragraph 8] Covid and ASEAN Economic Recovery	☐ The ASEAN Travel Corridor Arrangement Framework, which was initiated by Indonesia a year ago, needs to be implemented immediately. Recognition of vaccine certificates in the region, including the interoperability of vaccine systems should be carried out immediately. Travel arrangements for people who have been vaccinated, healthy and negative for COVID-19 must be designed in a Vaccinated Travel Lane in the region. If all ASEAN countries immediately facilitate the safe mobility of people, the economy in the region can be recovered
[Paragraph 9] Covid and ASEAN Economic Recovery	☐ Indonesia has also gradually opened Bali to safe tourism with strict health protocols. Indonesia opened Bali after Bali's full vaccination rate had reached 84.8 percent. Indonesia will gradually open up other regions, where the full vaccination rate exceeds 70 percent
[Paragraph 10] Covid and ASEAN Economic Recovery	☐ Third, the adaptation of regional economic activities towards a digital economy must be accelerated in all countries. Digital technology is the most effective solution in dealing with the limitations of movement and face-to-face in carrying out community economic activities. As the region with the fastest internet growth in the world, ASEAN's digital economy has enormous potential. During the pandemic, the digital economy grew to reach USD 100 billion in 2020. This is a steppingstone for economic progress in our region.
[Paragraph 11] Digital Economy and Indonesia	☐ Indonesia supports ASEAN to become a digitally connected community. The Indonesian government has also compiled a Digital Indonesia Roadmap for 2021-2024 as a strategic guide for Indonesia's digital transformation journey. The value of Indonesia's digital economy is also very promising. It is estimated to reach USD124 billion by 2025, equivalent to 40 percent of the total value of Southeast Asia's digital economy
[Paragraph 12] Digital Economy and Indonesia	☐ Currently, Indonesia has 2,229 start-ups, the fifth largest in the world. Indonesia also has one decacorn and six unicorns, and we are opening as many investment opportunities as possible in the digital economy sector in Indonesia
[Greeting 4]	☐ Ladies and gentlemen
[Paragraph 13] Digital Economy and Indonesia	☐ The ASEAN region's economy will not only recover but will also be able to make a leap forward and grow together in a just and sustainable manner. Quick steps together in handling health, reactivation of safe travel, as well as accelerating a just digital economy, become a common gateway to recover together and move forward together.
[Closing]	☐ Thank you

Figure 3. Translation of President Joko Widodo's Speech  
Source: Translated by Researcher (2022)

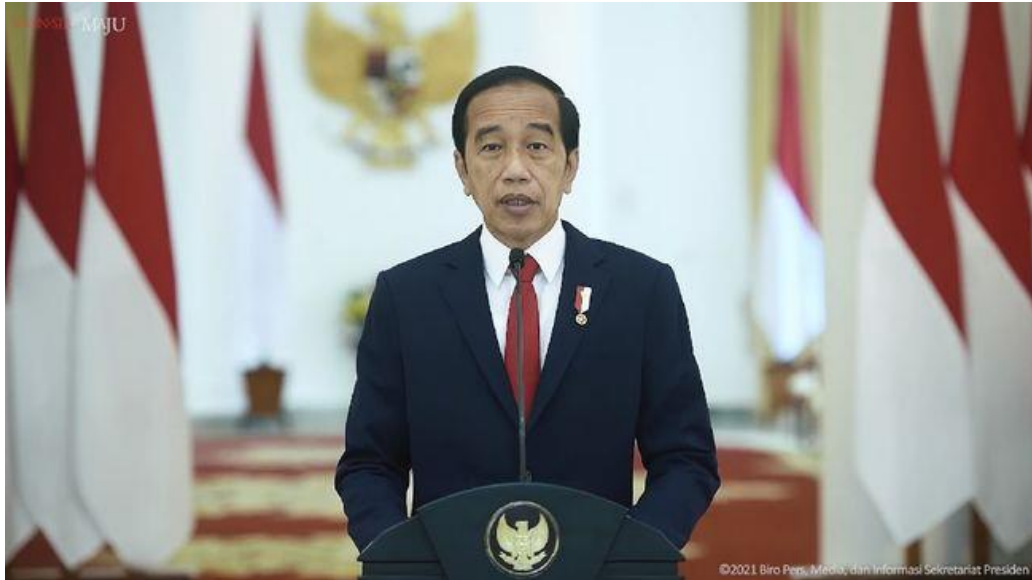


Figure 4. The speech of the President of the Republic of Indonesia in the ASEAN Business and Investment Summit 2021

Source: Press, Media, and Information Bureau, Presidential Secretariat (2021)

The visual aid of the speech (Figure 4) is presented at the Presidential Palace and on the presidential pulpit through an online meeting with other countries and representatives. The symbol of the Indonesian Presidency is shown on the top of the pulpit. Six Indonesian flags of Merah Putih stand firmly on both sides of the president's background. The symbol of the state, Burung Garuda, lies at the center of the background.

President Joko Widodo used to wear white shirt and black trousers in his regular

outfit to show his homeliness to the Indonesian people (Figure 5). He even once welcomed Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong of Singapore and Prime Minister Tun Najib Razak of Malaysia in his white shirt and black trousers. President Joko Widodo usually welcomes other country leaders in Batik or a formal suit. President Joko Widodo's formal suit in delivering his speech shows the degree of formality and seriousness in taking the economic recovery as well as the ASEAN Chair in 2023.



Figure 5. President Joko Widodo Welcoming Singaporean and Malaysian Prime Minister in White Shirt and Black Trousers in 2014 (Berita Satu, 2014)

As it is mentioned in the framing, the speech foregrounds the decrease of the casualties of Covid-19 and the economic recovery in ASEAN. It does not background anything in a sense of having a lesser-degree of importance than what is foregrounded. In fact, it backgrounds how Indonesia recovers its digital economy, and how the ASEAN spirit of collaboration becomes the key to success among ASEAN countries to support the decrease in the casualties and economic recovery.

It shows that President Joko Widodo uses a positive background to support the foreground of his speech. He does not use the negative background just to make his foreground looks fabulous. President Joko Widodo has a sincere intention for ASEAN's role in recovering the southeast Asia countries' economy, especially in digital economics, due to his positive background in exposing the fabulous role of ASEAN in recovering the region's economy post the Covid-19 Pandemic.

The speech omits all the social sorrow and economic loss in handling the pandemic of Covid 19. It shows that President Joko Widodo does not want to share the sorrow and all difficulties in handling Covid-19 Pandemic. He does not want to look back and mourn every single minute. The loss and sorrow are something that might hold our step to see a brighter future and it shows the positive vision of the leadership of President Joko Widodo. ASEAN Chair under his leadership would be full of positive energy that will keep every spirit up.

The way this speech presented presupposes the optimism in continuing to grow along with ASEAN countries in making a good treatment in decreasing Covid 19 and in economic recovery in Southeast Asia. Through President Joko Widodo's foregrounding, backgrounding, and omission, it presupposes that his spirit of optimism to make ASEAN countries grow along with other countries in the world

post-Covid-19 Pandemic. ASEAN is considered ready to be in line with the digital transformation in social and economic relations.

The speech does not use any discursive difference in its delivery. Eventually, the speech uses the same discursive practice in illustrating the ability to recover from the pandemic covid 19 among ASEAN countries. President Joko Widodo uses the two words *kita* and *kami* (exclusive *we* and inclusive *we*) at the same level as in ASEAN and Indonesian. He uses 6 words of *kita* (inclusive *we*) that refers to ASEAN, 5 words of *kami* (exclusive *we*) that refers to Indonesian, and 3 words of *saya* (*I*) only to deliver his greeting to other participants.

The speech is viewed through sentence topic, and it gives more attention to the decrease of Covid 19 casualties and economic recovery in ASEAN. The topic of the whole sentence in paragraphs is the decrease of Covid 19 casualties and economic recovery in ASEAN and Indonesia and they are in paragraphs 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, and 13. The decrease of the Covid-19 and economic recovery in Indonesia becomes the topic of paragraphs 3 and 9. The digital economy and Indonesia have been the topic of paragraphs 11 and 12. Paragraph 5 has been the topic of the ASEAN spirit in regional cooperation. It shows that President Joko Widodo wants to show the greatness of ASEAN in handling the Covid-19 Pandemic and recovering the regional economy.

Indonesian government and ASEAN are heavily topicalized, and they are endowed with power. Almost the whole article is about the Indonesian government and ASEAN. The word ASEAN appears 16 times in the speech on Greeting 1, 2, and paragraphs 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, and 13. The word Indonesia appears 15 times in the speech in paragraphs 3, 8, 9, 11, and 12. The word *kita* (inclusive *we*) as ASEAN and Indonesia appears 7 times in paragraphs

1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, and the word *kami* (exclusive *we*) as the Indonesian Government and the people appears 5 times in paragraph 3 and 12.

All the words that refer to ASEAN and Indonesia, and the words of ASEAN itself, are used by President Joko Widodo to expose the greatness and the readiness of ASEAN in fighting the Covid-19 Pandemic and recovering the ASEAN economy. President Joko Widodo shows the power of the leadership of ASEAN countries and that includes Indonesia. ASEAN and Indonesia appear in almost equal mentioned in the speech.

The speech does not make any deletion or omission on certain matters on ASEAN or Indonesia. In fact, the speech makes deletion and omission on all the social sorrow and economic loss in handling the pandemic of Covid 19. It shows that President Joko Widodo does not want to share the sorrow and all difficulties in handling Covid-19 Pandemic. The loss and sorrow are something that might hold our step to see a brighter future and it shows the positive vision of the leadership of President Joko Widodo. ASEAN Chair under his leadership would be full of positive energy that will keep every spirit up

The way this speech presented presupposes the optimism in continuing to grow along with ASEAN countries in making a good treatment in decreasing Covid 19 and in economic recovery in Southeast Asia. The decrease in Covid-19 casualties and the economic recovery in ASEAN dominates the speech since it has been presupposed in paragraphs 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, and 13. The decrease of the Covid-19 and economic recovery in Indonesia becomes the presupposition in paragraphs 3 and 9. Digital economy and Indonesia have been the presupposition in two paragraphs 11 and 12. ASEAN is considered ready to be in line with the digital transformation in social and economic relations.

The speech does not make any insinuations on certain matters on ASEAN or Indonesia. It delivers clear and straightforward to exposing the handling of the Covid-19 Pandemic and the recovery of the ASEAN economy. The speech also does not make any connotation on certain matters on ASEAN or Indonesia. President Joko Widodo makes everything bold and clear in his speech and he does not make any connotation to ASEAN or Indonesia.

The speech uses two words of *kita* and *kami* (inclusive *we* and exclusive *we*) in the register simply to distinguish what ASEAN and Indonesia have been done and what Indonesia and the people have been done. President Joko Widodo uses the register to show that *kami* (exclusive *we*) is part of *kita* (inclusive *we*) and always work together in mutual respect.

The speech only uses five words of *akan* (will) and it is not used to the tone of doubt or surety. The word *akan* (will) is to express the next steps for realization. The word *akan* (will) is mentioned three times in paragraphs 1, 9, and 13. It means that President Joko Widodo does not give any timeless prediction about anything. The word *akan* (will) is used to explain the next steps to handle Covid-19 Pandemic and to recover the ASEAN economy.

### Contextual Interpretation

The speech was delivered on 25 October 2021 officially and virtually from Presidential Palace in Jakarta. It was broadcasted on the ASEAN Business and Investment Summit 2021 organized by Brunei Darussalam. The summit was attended by His Majesty Sultan Haji Hassanah Bolkiah of Brunei, Prime Minister Scott Morrison of Australia, Prime Minister Hun Sen of Cambodia, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada, Premier Li Keqiang of the People's Republic of China, President Charles Michel of the European Council, President Joko Widodo of Indonesia, Prime Minister Yoshihide Suga



of Japan, Prime Minister Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin of Malaysia, Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong of Singapore, President Joseph Biden of the United States of America, and President Nguyen Xuan Phuc of Vietnam. The participants of the summit include other participants from outside of the southeast Asia region due to their role as stakeholders in ASEAN Business and Investment.

At the time of the summit, Covid-19 Pandemic casualties and spread were decreased, and the economy had just begun to recover. The pandemic of Covid-19 has accelerated the adoption of digital technology and many of these changes could last a long time. The adoption of digital technology in the economy has generated digital economy activity in southeast Asia and Indonesia. Indonesia must explain its readiness for this situation, especially due to Indonesia's leadership in 2023. ASEAN has a chance to make significant progress in the digital economy and Indonesia which has the biggest market in the digital economy must be able to lead the changes among the ASEAN countries.

ASEAN Business Summit 2021 also invited other country leaders beyond southeast Asia to involve in the Summit. The other country leaders were invited to strengthen the cooperation in business and economics. Prime Minister Scott Morrison of Australia, Prime Minister Yoshihide Suga of Japan, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada, Premier Li Keqiang of the People's Republic of China, President Charles Michel of the European Council, and President Joseph Biden of the United States of America was among the ASEAN participants.

## CONCLUSION

The ideology is clearly shown from the visual aid when the speech is delivered. President Joko Widodo shows the power of Indonesia and ASEAN by picturing the speech in very formal and patriotic visual

aids. The framing of the speech also exposes the power of Indonesia and ASEAN in handling the Covid-19 Pandemic and recovering the ASEAN economy. The speech shows the ideology of President Joko Widodo for not sharing the sorrow and all difficulties in handling the Covid-19 Pandemic and always motivating others to develop. The speech does not use any discursive difference in its delivery, in fact, the speech uses the same discursive in creating the spirit of ASEAN to grow as one of the growing economic regions. The speech strengthens the ideology of President Joko Widodo that Indonesia would develop together with ASEAN and Indonesia would lead the development in 2023. President Joko Widodo's speech has exposed the power of Indonesia as the next leader of ASEAN Chair in 2023 and the ideology of Indonesia to develop together with other Southeast Asia countries in ASEAN.

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