Textual and Discoursal Strategies of National Leaders to Establish Their Political Images in the Global Arena

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Abstract
Giving speeches is one’s vital competency for creating a country’s image in the global arena. Every political speech represents the speaker’s deliberative reasoning to respond to the existing situation and is a synoptic lens of the intended judgment on particular issues. This study explores three Indonesian speakers’ textual and discoursal strategies in the opening of three political speeches. By employing qualitative research, the researchers analyzed the textual and discoursal properties in terms of features, characters, and structures of argumentation and the speakers’ flow of thinking realized linguistically. This research found that the speeches’ micro and macro components are in mutual supporting functions to accommodate the themes of the discourse. Verbally, each speaker built their image as a figure who concerns solidarity, a leader who is aware of the global crisis, and an activist who promotes Indonesia’s positive global roles. The findings imply the pivotal roles of textual and discoursal strategies to construct the national and personal image of a politician delivering a speech for the global audience. This study is expected to be beneficial for ESP, especially for the teaching of English for Public Relations.

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Citation in APA style: Kristina, D., Setiarini, N. L. P., & Thoyibi, M. (2021). Textual and discoursal strategies of national leaders to establish their political images in the global arena. Studies in English Language and Education, 8(2), 779-795.

Received November 26, 2020; Revised February 27, 2021; Accepted March 5, 2021; Published Online May 3, 2021

https://doi.org/10.24815/siele.v8i2.18757
Keywords: Political speeches, discourse, image, micro and macro components.

1. INTRODUCTION

World-leading political figures, such as presidents and prime ministers, often use their speeches to influence and motivate the audience to perform a particular action. On many occasions, they even use the opportunities to establish and foster their images through their political speeches. For example, President Donald Trump, instead of having a very structured and rhetorically coherent and cohesive speech such as Hillary Clinton’s, is known to have a more casual and conversational style with unfinished sentences. Apparently, Trump’s conversational style has made him perceived by his audience as a more intimate political leader (Golshan, 2016).

Similarly, other political figures, such as Barack Obama, also employ his own rhetorical strategy in delivering his speeches. His inaugural speech in 2009 shows that there were some implied ideologies, including liberalism, pragmatism, acceptance of religion, ethnic diversity, unity, and inclusiveness (Ebunoluwa, 2011, as cited in Khajavi & Rasti, 2020). This indicates that Obama manages to hold the current primary issues in American society that lead to the idea of the American Dream to pursue American people’s attention regarding the election in order to raise his level of recognition by the society. Obama, therefore, has the capability to elaborate his own style in delivering a rhetorical speech (Charteris-Black, 2011). Some examples above show that political figures tend to use a particular language style to convey their ideas and implicit intentions. This strategy is primarily related to the discourse strategies used since the construction of sentences is normally drawn from a broad textual concept. One pivotal ability that political figures as language users need to master is properly putting the discourse within its context (van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983).

With regard to public recognition and acceptance, image, popularity, and reputation are core businesses of the public figures to strengthen their trust and credibility in the public domain. Those personality traits contribute significantly to their public trust and acceptance that may impact jobs, financial gain, and media coverage. In the political arena, image building and transformation occur very dominantly (Rein et al., 1997), and politics is an image-intensive sector. For example, in the election, people generally vote for political candidates or parties without scrutinizing and reading any programs or manifests; they often even select the most acceptable political image.

Image building effort refers to any efforts meant to promote trust and credibility (Kristina, 2016). She further argues that this attempt is carried out by describing and creating a claim for excellence on a product or service, a state of being, or an achievement. An image-building effort relies heavily on establishing credentials as the main source of persuasion (Bhatia, 2004; Kristina, 2016; Moir, 2013). To politicians, a positive image has been treated as a commodity of which a good reputation is drawn. Therefore, in practice, trust and credibility are constructed and engineered to gain support from the constituents, including the image-building efforts done during the political speeches.

This study explores the textual and discoursal properties in terms of features, character, and structure of argumentation and the speakers’ flow of thinking realized...
linguistically in the opening speeches during the AACC (Asian-African Countries Conference), the United Nation General Assembly, and the ASEAN Foundation 10th Anniversary. Additionally, this paper seeks the generic convention of the speeches and the extent to which political legitimacy affects their discoursal strategy, and in what specific conditions these linguistic and discoursal strategies are usually employed.

Since political image building is in mutual relation with political branding, this study is believed to fill in the gap of exploring political branding from communication. There are only several studies that discuss similar topics. Cwalina and Falkowski (2015) point out that political images are framed through the way society views their mannerism, leadership ability, and stigma presented in massive media and verbal messages in daily communication. However, this study does not examine in detail from the communication perspective of their political images. Cwalina and Falkowski (2015) further explain that the quality of their framed image will never be enough to satisfy society’s expectations. Nevertheless, it should also be followed with their realistic actions to balance their personality and good speaking skills.

Additionally, another research also identifies several factors that may influence the political branding of political figures (Abidin & Cindoswari, 2019). This could be seen in how Ridwan Kamil utilized his social media, especially Twitter, to establish his political image during his campaign period in the West Java Regional Elections in 2019. This attempt was also supported by his appearance, personality, and political messages shown within his posts. In addition, other aspects that specifically contribute to building his political branding through social media was his own communication style in conversing with the audience, his originality as a leader, technology literacy skills, shared personal values, and key political messages. These were done by providing information about the development plans, activity reports, and political ideology publication. The strategy used by Ridwan Kamil in developing his image branding through Twitter led to a unique characteristic compared to other political figures, especially in Indonesia. This technique of communication made him look closer and better engage with the constituents. Aside from his success in winning the West Java Regional Election in 2013-2018, his political branding strategy through social media can effectively attract the public to know more about the candidates (Abidin & Cindoswari, 2019).

The implementation of image branding in the political arena has become a critical topic to discuss. It deserves to gain more attention as there is still much to discuss within this area. Despite the research above, it is still believed that the analysis of textual and discoursal strategies employed by political figures remain theoretically and practically underexplored, particularly in relation to political branding. Therefore, it is still necessary to conduct further studies that discuss how textual and discoursal strategies form political figures’ image through their speeches in the global arena.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Political Figures, Textual and Discoursal Strategies

Political figures generally manage to employ particular strategies in accomplishing their political goals (Golshan, 2016; Khajavi & Rasti, 2020; Charteris-Black, 2011). One of those can be realized through the use of textual and discoursal
strategies to shape their persona to be what they have expected it to be in public (van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983). By applying this strategy, these figures intend to persuade people, win their arguments, take control of others, make people believe in their authority, defeat their opponents, convey their criticism, or even manifest their emotions through their speeches.

Information within the political discourse is differentiated into several varieties employed by political figures (Kirvalidze & Samnidze, 2016). For example, there is some regular information that tends to be stereotypical and traditional and does not provide any actual information to the addressee, i.e., presidential inauguration speeches. There are also emotional discoursal expressions that function to influence the common belief, i.e., winning an election by convincing voters.

In addition, another research also reveals that speeches in political discourse contain several features as well as logos, ethos, and pathos (Latif, 2016). Logos (logic) is specified from each of the statements in the discourse that stand behind the truth as the way it is (Marta, 2014, as cited in Noermanzah et al., 2019). Meanwhile, ethos (ethics) is the substantiation of ethics that the speakers’ personality portrays through the message, which increases the speaker’s self-esteem. From that aspect, pathos or feelings can be noticed from a few truths that a speaker assigns in the contestation. The strategies above are employed in order for him/her to tune in to devotees and enter into their disposition (Marta, 2014, as cited in Noermanzah et al., 2019).

The logic or rationality represented through logos can be a strong way to influence people, expressed in pertinent substance, suitable arrangement, coherent statements, and words that carry expected meanings (Zhiyong, 2016). Besides, emotions reflected in pathos can be a device to better connect with the speakers’ arguments that appeal to the audience. Pathos may also support the speakers in constructing engaging speeches since it carries the perspective for the audience by handling their emotions related to the concerned subject. Meanwhile, ethos provides a persuasive method to encourage the audience by showing the speaker’s trustworthiness or competence. This idea is supported by the belief that the ethical characteristics of the speakers can be determined from their speeches (Zhiyong, 2016).

Former President of the U.S, Donald Trump, also applies a discourse that leads to the manifestation of ethos by describing his personal experiences through one of his speeches. By this realization, he manages to build an argument by including and assuring his credibility in delivering the issue. In this case, Trump portrays himself as a clear and unbiased individual. This is targeted to strengthen the audience’s trust toward his decision within his speech as valid and logical. Another analysis implied that Trump uses a personal specific subject in his utterances, represented in the use of the pronoun ‘I.’ This is meant to show the audience/public that he is the agent of action that signifies his credibility. By employing these ideas, Trump attempts to express the belief that he is the one who makes the promise to perceive the world’s challenges in a broad-minded manner (Fanani et al., 2020). Meanwhile, the referential occurrence is also used by Trump to support his logical deduction. This method is essential to appeal to the idea of logos to justify his particular statements.

2.2 Previous Related Studies

There have been long and relatively established studies on political speeches done by different experts (e.g., Amalia et al., 2021; Bastow, 2010; Cap, 2002, 2008;
El-Hussari, 2010; Fairclough, 2006; Graham et al., 2004; Muntigl, 2002; Reisigl, 2008; Sauer, 2002; Schäffner, 1997). The elaborative study of language in political speeches has been a significant research area, as underlined by Finlayson (2004, p. 538). He asserted that the focus on the language of political speeches is of paramount importance because it strengthens the explanatory power of findings. Besides, this study is also meant to answer the question set up by Moir (2013) whether political communication should be considered a matter of persuasion or performance.

A study that belongs to the ‘state political system domain’ is the one in which the pursuit of political goals always focuses on individuals or groups to assume both cooperative and competing positions (Cap & Okulska, 2013). In the genre of political speeches, participants are assigned to have interpersonal roles. In that particular genre, participants tend to reflect and foster their distinctive roles and identities in social interactions by using specific language forms. These participants or subjects can be analyzed for their communicative purpose, discoursal strategy, rhetorical structure, formulaic expressions, diction (choice of words), discourse markers, modality, and modulation use, and discourse convention of the three political speeches within the discussion (Swales, 1990; Bhatia (2004).

According to Wood (2009), there are three general purposes of communication, they are informing, persuading, and entertaining. Meanwhile, discourse strategies are strategies used by speakers during conversations as an attempt to understand each other in the context of their conversation (Gumperz, 1982). On the other hand, politicians commonly employ rhetorical structure to show their utterances’ trustworthiness or as a method to attain the audience’s attention (Fahnestock, 2011). The formulaic expression is the other aspect of language use that consists of idioms, proverbs, filler speech, vowing, counting, and the other conversational speech features. Following this aspect, diction is associated with the word selections used to express their thoughts and present ideas to portray the speaker’s own speaking technique. Besides that, there are also discourse markers in the form of words and expressions connected, managed, and assisted in arranging sentences. Another discussed point is modality and modulation that are applied as a logical proposition to confirm or deny the probability, impossibility, unpredictability, or necessity of the information. The last feature is the discourse convention that is usually employed to distinguish a particular discourse within different communities.

3. METHODS

This study explores the textual and discoursal properties in terms of features, character, and structure of argumentation and the speakers’ flow of thinking realized linguistically. The phenomena investigated were the macro and micro-organizational structures of political speeches by three Indonesian leading figures delivered in international forums. The moments when and where the political speeches presented have been a crucial consideration to take.

This study applied the document analysis technique to identify the data. The data were words, phrases, clauses, and sentences from three political speeches that were presented before the international audience. The first is the speech of Jokowi, the President of the Republic of Indonesia, in the formal opening of the AACC 2015. The second speech was delivered by an Indonesian delegate at the General Debate of the
70th session of the United Nations General Assembly 2015, and the last is a speech by Erna Witoelar, former United Nations Special Ambassador for MDGs (Millennium Development Goals) in the ASEAN Foundation 10th Anniversary 2007.

The researchers employed document analysis since the documents were interpreted to examine the data and topic within this strategy (Bowen, 2009). Analyzing the document included the data reduction and coding process to simplify and identify the data to ease the process of identification and discussion of the study.

In addition, the researcher also applied a componential analysis in examining the data. Santosa (2017) proposed this data analysis procedure as an effective way of analyzing the data that was designed from a combination of qualitative analysis models proposed by Spradley (1980). The componential analysis is an analysis that connects all domain and taxonomic categories into one matrix. Meanwhile, the taxonomy analysis functions to classify the large data into several groups based on the theoretical approach of the studied object. Classifying the data includes organizing the data into separated categories (Santosa, 2017). The componential analysis was adopted to show the mapping of each aspect within speech discourse that is distributed visually. Hence, the data can be observed clearly or easily understood.

Furthermore, the textual analysis of the data was informed by the genre analysis proposed by Swales (1990) and the multi-dimensional approach introduced by Bhatia (2004). Textually, the three political speeches were scrutinized in terms of communicative purposes, formulaic expressions and choice of words (diction), discourse markers, rhetorical structures, modality and modulation use, discourse convention across the speeches, and the discourse community of users as an inseparable context. Institutionally, the texts were seen as media of engagement between the text producers and text consumers. Therefore, it is important to look at how the speakers built their image by manipulating language forms and meanings as the basis for their national and personal branding. The face validity requirement can be fulfilled because the data sources were taken from the internet with a speech title set on top of each text. Besides, they were also triangulated in terms of different kinds of data sources and data collection techniques. Additionally, the reliability of the study is achieved by making sure that the findings were consistently relevant to the data collected (Merriam, 1998).

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Under this heading, several issues are addressed in detail. They are communicative purposes, discoursal strategy, rhetorical structure, formulaic expressions, diction (choice of words), discourse markers, modality and modulation use, and discourse convention of the three political speeches under discussion.

4.1 Communicative Purpose

With a similar bureaucratic background of the speakers, speaking before the international public under the media spotlight, the speech’s content was considered crucial. The way to deliver the message and the emotional impact of the speech was also counted. The three speakers’ communicative purpose was realized linguistically using the following verbal tools distributed in Tables 1-4.
In terms of communicative purposes, these texts were obviously delivered not only to inform and describe, but they were undoubtedly constructed to pass on messages to encourage actions, create mutual perceptions, and impose solidarity. In his speech, Jokowi tried to revitalize Asian-African solidarity by imposing historical achievements. Besides, he also encouraged the Asian-African solidarity to eradicate global problems using the spirit and enthusiasm of the AACC. A close look at Jokowi’s leadership style reminds us of Soekarno, the first president of Indonesia whose commitment and concern to the Asian-African partnership were beyond question. As a nation with more than 225 million population, Jokowi has seen Indonesia’s strategic

Table 1. Componential analysis of expressions showing solidarity in the three political speech discourse.

| Data | Expressions showing solidarity |
|------|-------------------------------|
|      | Third-person pronoun          |
| SP1  | 24                            |
| SP2  | 17                            |
| SP3  | 5                             |
| Total| 46                            |

Table 2. Componential analysis of modality showing power in the three political speech discourse.

| Data | Modality showing power |
|------|------------------------|
|      | High modality | Low modality | Positive polarity |
| SP1  | 13            | 3            | 0                   |
| SP2  | 10            | 0            | 2                   |
| SP3  | 2             | 9            | 6                   |
| Total| 25            | 14           | 8                   |

Table 3. Componential analysis of vocabularies representing attitude in the three political speech discourse.

| Data | Vocabularies presenting attitude |
|------|---------------------------------|
|      | Discourse strategy | Rewording/overwording | Organizer |
|      | Tracing back the previous glory | Encouraging actions and solidarity | Creating claim for excellence | Highlighting achievement of others | Criticizing | Showing excellence and unsolved problem | Strong | Mild | Mild criticizing | Avoid criticizing |
| SP1  | 2 | 23 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| SP2  | 0 | 10 | 0 | 4 | 9 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 10 |
| SP3  | 0 | 3 | 14 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 19 |
| Total| 2 | 36 | 14 | 8 | 22 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 25 |

Table 4. Componential analysis of temporal marker reflecting history in the three political speech discourse.

| Data | Temporal marker reflecting history |
|------|-----------------------------------|
|      | Temporal adjunct                  |
| SP1  | 8                                 |
| SP2  | 2                                 |
| SP3  | 3                                 |
| Total| 13                                |
role and responsibility to participate in global affairs. Meanwhile, the Indonesian delegate to the UN General Assembly imposed a call for an active role in creating world order and raising awareness of Indonesian readiness to actively participate as the global player in the global political landscape. Respectively, Erna Witoelar reflected on the success and constraint of the ASEAN Foundation and calls for active participation of the private sectors.

Consequently, regarding the aspect of communicative purpose, this study is supporting the research from Fanani et al. (2020). In their study, the researchers found that Trump managed to impose historical events for convincing the federal government to concede Jerusalem as Israel’s capital city. For this reason, Trump employed this strategy to arrange his logical evidence (logos) for supporting his arguments and justifying his actions. The concept of logos was applied by both Jokowi and Trump to convince the audience of their ideas through recalling historical occurrences.

4.2 Discourse Strategy

Generally speaking, we may say that these political speeches belonged to the discourse of solidarity, given the biggest number of first-person pronouns ‘we’ used across the discoursal strategies as seen in Table 1. Altogether there were 46 data from the three speakers with 24 strong expressions showing solidarity employed by Speaker 1, 17 expressions by Speaker 2, and five expressions by Speaker 3. The three speakers also employed 36 expressions showing strong encouragement of actions and solidarity and 14 mild ones. Interestingly, the mild expressions were produced by the female speaker (SP3). Additionally, the spirit of solidarity was built upon witnessing challenges and unsolved problems (25 data) shared by all audiences.

With regard to the discoursal strategy shown in Table 1, Jokowi (SP1) encouraged strong solidarity among members of the Asian and African countries with 24 data (52.2 %) very intensely. Besides, he also countered any form of injustice and violence in the respective countries by verbally expressing his personal views and maximizing solidarity and collaboration, as shown in D1 and D2.

D1 ‘To me, global injustice feels even more suffocating when the Bandung spirit, which demands freedom for all nations in Asia and Africa, has promised justice for six decades.’ (SP1)

D2 ‘I am of the view that the management of the world’s economy cannot be submitted only to those three international financial institutions.’ (SP1)

Apart from solidarity and eradication of injustice and violence, a discoursal strategy of creating a claim for excellence in the form of global leadership by the Indonesian figures was made explicit by both Speaker 1 (four data) and Speaker 2 (four data), as shown in D3 and D4.

D3 ‘As a rising economic power, Indonesia, the country with the largest Muslim population on the face of the earth, and the world’s third-largest democracy, is ready to play its global role as a positive force for peace and welfare.’ (SP1)

D4 ‘Indonesia is ready to work together with all parties to realize this noble goal.’ (SP1)

Generally speaking, both the SP2 (nine data) and SP3 (13 data) seemed to be more culturally skillful in balancing the negative impact of urging actions and
criticizing others by employing the discoursal strategy of highlighting achievements of others, as depicted in D5.

D5 ‘I would like to convey my sincere appreciation to the UN Secretary-General for the leadership and steadfastness in the process. Another success story of the UN is certainly its Peacekeeping Operations’. (SP3)

In this discourse of solidarity, though the speakers urged a concrete action to fight for intolerance and violence, they still found the need to promote Indonesia to the international public to create a claim for excellence on Indonesia’s success in the peace-keeping operations of UNPKO. According to de Matos (2004, in Burhanudeen, 2006), peace-building, peace-making, and peace-promoting speech belonged to the diplomatic language. Therefore, the peace-keeping-oriented speeches of these speakers made the speakers played their roles not only as peace-activists and public relations officers but also diplomats of Indonesia on the international stage. There were four data of SP1 and four data of SP2 highlighting the efforts to promote, claim for excellence, and show achievement as shown in D6 and D7.

D6 ‘Indonesia is proud to be the 11th-largest police and troops contributor to the UNPKO with over 2,700 personnel.’ (SP2)

D7 ‘Indonesia has consistently played its role in addressing these threats’ (SP2)

The examples were constructed as declarative speech acts using statements implicitly meant to create trust and credibility to gain global public support and favorable global public opinion on Indonesia. However, Speaker 3 employed three discoursal strategies, namely appreciating the ASEAN Foundation’s achievements, showing challenges and unsolved problems, and encouraging solidarity and participation of the private sectors. Erna seemed to intentionally avoid personal and communal claims for excellence in her speech, as shown by zero datum in the table. She also avoided using ‘must’ mainly because it sounds too strong. She preferred to use polarity positive (six data) by using ‘need to’ to maximize objectivity and avoid personal judgment, as illustrated in D8 and D9.

D8 ‘There is a need to apply a unity in diversity principle in building the ASEAN economy.’ (SP3)

D9 ‘To effectively address these challenges, all stakeholders need to come together in collaborative partnerships’ (SP3)

When calling for more active participation, instead of using ‘must’ as an indicator of hierarchical power relation, the SP3 used ‘is supposed to’ (two data) in order to impose a duty on the part of the target audience, as displayed in D10.

D10 ‘The private sector’s role is supposed to be bigger, from merely producing/selling goods and services, to be responsible for creating more employment, promoting technology & inventions, protecting the environment, influencing the public’s welfare, galvanizing social cohesion, etc.’ (SP3)

In contrast, when showing failures, the speaker employed a softer style of expression using ‘unfortunately’ in order to avoid blaming others, as in D11.
D11 ‘Unfortunately, some countries have not managed to turn globalization into a positive force for development.’ (SP3)

However, ‘if clause’ was preferred when describing the community’s ideal condition avoiding an explicit intention of directing and dictating listeners. Avoidance of explicit directing and dictating is widely believed to be the characteristics of the female style of communication described by Tannen (1994), as shown in D12.

D12 ‘If people were guaranteed access to healthcare, education, and equality, then the world would gain billions of stronger, educated, and able citizens who can constructively contribute to addressing climate change.’ (SP3)

Based on the discoursal strategy, the three figures’ political speeches belong to the discourse of solidarity. This was in line with the findings of Al-Faki (2014) that analyzed the discourse used by Thabo Mbeki, former President of South African, to portray solidarity in the form of intimacy by greeting the public with the word ‘friends’ within his presidential speech. Obama addressed his audience by saying ‘dear brothers and sister’ in his speech that indicated intimacy. On the other hand, Trump used the word ‘us’ referring to himself and the crowd in his speech to create the feeling of being involved and closer.

4.3 Rhetorical Structure

In terms of rhetorical structure, a certain pattern seemed to take place across the three political speeches. The speeches were organized as shown in Table 5.

| Jokowi’s speech                                      | Indonesian Delegates’ speech                                      | Erna Witoelar’s speech                                      |
|------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| Reflecting on the past to claim for excellence       | Appreciating UN’s performance                                    | Appreciating ASEAN’s performance                            |
| Showing today’s problems and challenges              | Creating a claim for excellence in the global peace-making efforts | Describing MDG’s                                           |
| Explicating solutions to existing problems           | Showing problems and challenges                                   | Identifying ASEAN’s problems and challenges                 |
| Creating claim of excellence in welfare and peace-making roles | Giving solutions                                                | Offering possible solution                                  |
| Endorsing duties and global positioning of the Asian-African countries | Blaming by questioning on concrete actions                      | Assessing constraints of the MDG’s and the need for solidarity and partnership |
|                                                       | Urging for global actions                                        | Calling for more active governments’ roles                 |
|                                                       | Calling for solidarity to solve problems                         | Calling for active participation of the private sectors    |

Table 5 shows that the three political speeches revealed similar moves, especially in showing problems and challenges, suggesting solutions, urging actions and solidarity, and creating a claim for excellence. The last move, creating a claim for excellence, seems to be absent in the third speech. There are two possibilities. Firstly, Indonesia suffered a lot of conflicts and natural disasters that affect the MDG’s achievement. Secondly, it might connect with the third speaker’s personal trait, who
intentionally behaves less provocatively verbally. She intentionally selected a much softer approach linguistically in order not to make her in-country fellows feel embarrassed and lose their face.

The researchers identified that the use of rhetorical structure within the speech of the three speakers verified the results of Fanani et al. (2020) in her study. She confirmed that Trump applied a particular technique such as predicting a future result as a response to the audience’s question on ‘what would be the effect of the decision?’ He expected that the decision would raise a contrary opinion from some parties. By employing this strategy, he believed that it would satisfy the audience as he had assumed the consequence, especially the negative one. The other method also portrayed by Trump in his political speech as a declaration of inclination was by applying declarative moods. In this case, his statement ‘I intend to do everything in my power’ was used to persuade the audience that he would do his best to solve the issue.

4.4 Formulaic Expression

Some typical formulaic expressions were made use by the speakers that set up typical ways of formulating ideas. Jokowi, for example, employed intensively temporal adjuncts (‘sixty years ago’, ‘today’, and ‘tomorrow’) to flash back previous incidents that lay the ground for today’s and future’s actions. Successive similar associative words and parallel structures were also used to create tense and powerful echoic impacts such as ‘right to live’, ‘resist all forms of imperialism’, and ‘global injustice becomes crystal clear’.

Formulaic expressions found in this study agreed with the research done by Al-Faki (2014). The researchers observed the use of parallelism within the political figures’ speech. This could be identified from the word ‘we don’t’ in ‘We don’t live in hope...We don’t have that culture...We don’t expect manna to come from the skies’. The strategy was also employed to underline the topic in the conveyed message that brought the sense of rhythm and symmetry and created tense and powerful echoic impacts.

4.5 Use of Modality and Modulation

The Indonesian delegate (SP2) used special expressions highlighting power relations by maximizing hierarchical expressions. He used high-level modalities (10 data) such as ‘we must work together’, ‘we have to stop conflicts’, and ‘we must ensure the realization of the SDGs’. On the contrary, SP3 employed less power-oriented expressions by using low-level modality (nine data) and modulation ‘can’ (six data) to show both possibility and the lowest form of obligation, such as ‘having a regional perspective can be valuable because...’. Instead of employing power-associated expressions, SP3 seems very good at creating taglines to encourage solidarity among ASEAN communities, for example, ‘Think, Feel & Act ASEAN, One Caring and Sharing ASEAN Community 2015’. It is obvious that Erna had skillfully used the less-imposing language features in her global political communication to persuade the audience to take action as suggested by Moir (2013). When a language is exploited and used skillfully, it certainly can impose social harmony, especially in peace-making journalism (Wibowo, 2018).
When looking at the texts very closely, the most noticeable phenomenon seemed to be the employment of the pronoun ‘we’ as a reflection of solidarity used by each speaker and the use of parallel structure to show the intensity of the intended meaning as described above. SP1, as shown in Table 1, used 24 data of first-person pronouns ‘we,’ emphasizing his personality as a politician who prefers the technique of reaching out to the audience to win their hearts. To the Indonesians, Jokowi is widely known as a more populist and democratic figure who treats the public as equals despite the strict protocol regulations. A similar technique was employed by SP2 (17 data). Interestingly, SP3, who generally is associated with a more collaborative style of communication (Tannen, 1994), made use of the first-person pronoun ‘we’ the least (five data). Instead, she preferred to use mild encouragement and solidarity expressions (nine data) and positive polarity (six data). In order to establish a strong bond of solidarity, she showed challenge and unsolved problems (19 data) and avoided criticizing the relevant party (two data).

Regarding the discourse markers, Jokowi showed his strong bargaining power by selecting a more subjective oriented gambit like ‘To me, global injustice feels even more suffocating...’, and ‘I am of the view that the management of the world’s economy cannot be submitted only to...’. The speaker used subjective gambits to highlight his personal branding as an influential figure globally, a promotional trick for himself and the country. Since the speech was delivered in front of the international discourse communities and media, indirectly, Jokowi’s verbal performance is believed to improve Indonesian bargaining position globally. Moreover, the issue of constructing the global new economic order sounds very provocative, especially to superpower nations who dominate the United Nations. One more current example is the metaphorical description of the global economic competition among two superpower countries into ‘Game of Thrones’ in the IMF-World Bank Annual Meeting, October 2018, in Bali. Therefore, the trick is found in a good synchronization with the initial part of the speech that employs temporal markers as vehicles to flashback past tremendous experiences with motivation and strong persuasion to do concrete actions for the future improvement of the Asian and African countries.

The result of modality and modulation in this study conformed with the research conducted by Al-Faki (2014). The researcher discovered the different applications of modality and modulation in the speech of President Mbeki. President Mbeki used the low modality reflected in the modulation ‘can’ and ‘will.’ Meanwhile, the high modality represented in the modulation ‘must’ in his speech is used to encourage Africans to fight poverty. On the other hand, the low modality and modulation functioned to persuade the audience to take action as suggested by Moir (2013) and impose social harmony (Wibowo, 2018).

4.6 Diction

With regard to diction, the personality of each speaker was reflected from the wordings they use. Though widely recognized as a calm and humble person, SP1 can present himself as a self-determined leader when addressing humanity, justice, and public welfare issues. He employed high-level modality ‘must’ (13 data) in his speech, such as ‘we must build a new global economic order.’

The representative of the Indonesian delegate to the UN sounded more assertive in criticizing the UN’s policy by using the high-level modality ‘have to’ (10 data)
combined with various dictions like ‘stop’, ‘urge’, and ‘ensure’. However, when blaming the UN for not doing a concrete action to eradicate injustice, he preferred to realize it linguistically in the form of ‘question’ and ‘doubt’.

On the contrary, Erna was reluctant to use a high form of modality that implies relational power with her audience. She rather used polarity positive (six data) employing ‘need’ to urge like ‘There is a need...’ and ‘Business in ASEAN need...’.

Some positive associated words like ‘freedom’, ‘equality’, ‘solidarity’, ‘tolerance’, ‘respect’, ‘shared’, and ‘responsibility’ were used besides the negative ones like ‘poverty’, ‘deprivation’, and ‘vulnerability’. Additionally, Erna also showed her leadership in her speech by using motivating words like ‘achieving’, ‘promoting’, ‘empowering’, ‘reducing’, ‘combating’, and ‘ensuring’. A complete picture of the wordings used by the three speakers is presented in Table 6.

| Jokowi’s Speech (SP1) | Parallel structure and repetition: global injustice and imbalance, global injustice becomes crystal clear, global injustice becomes increasingly evident. We must build a new global economic order. |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Indonesian Delegates’ Speech (SP2) | Blaming words: we have to stop, ensure, urge, actively engaged in... Doubting: we have yet to see progress and concrete results... |
| Erna Witoelar’s Speech (SP3) | Urging using positive polarity: “there is a need. Business in ASEAN needs to...The need for multilateral cooperation. Positive chain of words: freedom, equality, solidarity, tolerance, respect, shared responsibility. Negative chain of words: poverty, deprivation, vulnerability. Motivating words: achieving, promoting, empowering, reducing, combating, ensuring... |

The diction of the political figures within this study was consistently related to the results of other researches. As Al-Faki (2014) discussed in his findings, he found that using the word ‘we’ may become practically complicated, for it could refer to various individuals. This word can determine the speakers’ inclusive and exclusive perception as a pronoun of unity or rejection (Al-Faki, 2014). Besides, the word ‘we’ could imply the existence of ‘they’ or ‘you.’ However, this expression might also indicate an exclusion and presumption of someone as an outsider from a particular topic. Fairclough (1989) claimed that ‘we’ employed by a leader inclusively as part of the leading intended to unite himself with the society as a humble technique.

4.7 Discourse Markers

From the perspective of discourse markers used, the three speeches displayed in Table 7 belonged to argumentative texts in which arguing markers like ‘therefore’, ‘to me’, ‘but’, and ‘so’ are extensively used. Only Jokowi’s speech had repetitive temporal adjuncts: ‘sixty years ago’, ‘today’, ‘today’, and ‘tomorrow’ that linked very closely with its communicative purpose to flash back previous achievements historically. Likewise, in terms of organizing ideas, particular organizing markers were also employed like ‘first’, ‘second’, ‘third’. In order not to sound imposing the audience, a less direct technique of arguing using ‘if clauses’ was used by Erna, for example, ‘If...
we want to make ASEAN Community 2015 work positively, we have to...’. Table 7 shows how discourse markers help the speeches be organized and compact.

| Table 7. Discourse markers in three speeches. |
|---------------------------------------------|
| Jokowi’s Speech (SP1)                       |
| Temporal adjuncts: sixty years ago, Today... |
| Organizer: first, second, third...           |
| Arguing marker: Therefore... to me...        |
| Imposing centrality: In this context...      |
| Arguing marker: Therefore...                 |
| Arguing marker using if-clause: “If we want to make ASEAN community 2015 work positively, we have to...” |
| Suggesting similar ground: we know that...   |
| Arguing markers: But the MDG’s are not just about... |
| So, countries need to...                     |

The analysis of this study’s discourse marker was also correlated with the previous research done by Muntigl (2002). He assigned that Commissioner Flynn inserted temporal phrases in the form of conjunctive adjuncts as could be seen in ‘In the late 1980s, there was something of a turnaround and 10 million new jobs were created in 5 years’ to direct his speech in recalling about the past events. Based on the analysis above, it could be observed that the application of discourse markers was helpful to organize ideas.

### 4.8 Discourse Convention

Regarding the discourse convention, the three speeches in Table 7 show a strong line of Indonesian overseas political policies because all of the speakers are political leaders and figures. When they were speaking before the audience, they were representing the Indonesian government and nation. Substantially, the male speakers tended to appreciate others’ success and achievements and highlight their own. Likewise, the male speakers tended to use a high level of modulation, showing obligation. Linguistically, the power relation is realized by the use of high-level modality ‘must’ and ‘have to’. In contrast, the female speaker avoided using high modulation. Instead, she rather employed polarity positive when urging, for example, ‘Disparities within a country need also a national solidarity’.

The results in discourse convention had shown that it was in line with the research proposed by Fanani et al. (2020). She analyzed that political figures implemented different styles to convince the audience. Fanani et al. (2020) discussed the strategy of Trump in delivering his speech. It was described that he tended to apply several negative expressions, including the ‘blaming’ speech act directed to Obama, the previous US President before him. He said, ‘We cannot solve our problems by making the same failed assumptions and repeating the same failed strategies of the past’. Through this statement, he attempted to convince the audience by giving his own evaluative opinion to support his statement that the past government was unsuccessful in bringing peace. In sum, discourse convention was meant to build a relational power with the audience.
5. CONCLUSION

After looking very closely at the three speeches of the Indonesian politicians, a conclusion may be drawn that their speeches’, which contain micro and macro properties, are in a mutual supporting function to accommodate the themes of their discourse. The communicative purposes, discoursal strategy, rhetorical structure, formulaic expressions, diction (choice of words), discourse markers, modality and modulation use, and discourse convention were used by each of the speakers to build their own image as a figure to display their concerns on solidarity, being aware of the global crisis, and as an activist who promotes Indonesia’s positive global roles.

This small study is limited to the number of political speakers being analyzed for the textual and discoursal strategies, and they are also from the same country. Future researchers are expected to collect data from more political speakers of different countries to contribute more results on this topic. Different approaches are also recommended, such as using the discourse-historical and feminist stylistic approaches. The discourse-historical approach can shed light on the speakers’ track records on political activities reported in diverse media, strengthening the speakers’ traditions in building their public images. Meanwhile, the feminist stylistic approach can provide a much clearer discussion on the discoursal convention of female speakers and how they build their public images through speeches.

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