Struggling for Leadership Authority: Critical Discourse Analysis on Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono's Political Speech

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to determine the socio-cognitive dimensions of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono's (AHY) political speech as chairman of the Democratic Party (DP). The data was taken from AHY's speech entitled *Konferensi Pers Ketua Umum Partai Demokrat Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono* which was broadcasted on Agus Yudhoyono's YouTube channel. The lingual data was taken by using free listening techniques through the stages of transcription, reading and observation, sorting, storing and printing, re-reading, and determining the research subject. Meanwhile, non-lingual data was collected by using the Internet archive documentation method. The data were analysed through extra lingual matching technique, hermeneutics, and phenomenology. The analysis was carried out through the stages of data reduction, data display, conclusion, and verification. The findings showed that AHY represents himself as a democratic, caring, vigilant, thorough, careful, and committed to party sovereignty leader. The social cognition aspect of AHY is dominated by his background as a former military officer and his status as party leader. The narrative built in his speech was influenced by the poor results of DP in the last 2 elections, the low electability of DP, and conflicts at the internal level of DP. The sociocognitive analysis showed that AHY constructs leadership authority by representing himself as a selective, strategic, and political leader. The three characters he builds are the strong influence of his social cognition. Through his speech, AHY strives to fight for his leadership authority, both as the general chairman of the DP, and for the wider community.

Keywords: *Leadership authority, critical discourse analysis, political speech, sociocognitive analysis, political speech.*

INTRODUCTION

Political speech is a way for political figures to represent their leadership (Fetzer & Bull, 2012). In this context, critical discourse studies of political speech are always interesting and challenging. The narrative constructed by political figures in their speech cannot be seen as an ordinary language phenomenon, but more than that, it must be positioned as a political action. The studies of Anwar et al. (2015) with Bonikowski and Gidron (2016) show that this phenomenon has been around for a long time. During their respective leadership years, political figures in the world used political speech to win the sympathy of the people (Anwar

et al., 2015; Salama, 2012). As a political instrument, the speech is used to gain electoral benefits (Aswad, 2019; Gusthini et al., 2018).

In the international domain, among the political speeches that have been widely studied are those of Barack Obama and Donald Trump. Obama formed an identity as an inclusive political figure and respected pluralism (Hammer, 2010; Salama, 2012). He uses simple and easy to understand language, so that he succeeds in drawing sympathy from the community (Altikriti, 2016; Capone, 2010; Ye, 2010). Meanwhile, Trump in his political speech emphasised his identity as a leader who acts a lot (Hidayat, 2018; Sarah & Oladayo, 2018; Yujie, 2018). Trump uses various forms of language to touch audience ideology, (Chen, 2018), but (Liu & Lei, 2018) state that Trump's political speech sometimes also contains negative content.

In line with these studies, the study of political speech in Indonesia also focuses on certain figures. Among these figures are Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and Joko Widodo (Jokowi). Study of Noermanzah et al. (2017) showed that these two figures have unique rhetorical variations. In his political speech, SBY is known as a president who has language intelligence and pays attention to the effects of his speech on the audience (Amalia et al., 2018; Fanani, 2012; Kusumawati, 2016). Meanwhile, Jokowi is concerned about building the image of a leader who works a lot in his political speeches. He talked a lot about the actions and work procedures he took to show that his focus as president is to build and realise the progress of the nation (Guswita & Suhardi, 2020; Harwiyati & Siagianto, 2016; Noermanzah et al., 2018; Rosyidi et al., 2019).

The increasingly dynamic political constellation gave rise to new realities. In the Indonesian context, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono's (AHY) political speech on February 1, 2021, attracted much public attention (Guritno, 2021; Putri, 2021). As General Chairman of the Democratic Party (DP), he delivered a speech about the forceful takeover of the DP leadership by high-ranking government officials (Akbar, 2021; Sembiring, 2021). AHY's political speech is interesting to study for several reasons. First, AHY's status as a new figure in politics is looking for his authority and legitimacy as general chairman. Second, the DP's status as an opposition party provides an entry point for confrontations over party power struggles. Third, the electability of DP in the 2014 and 2019 elections has continued to decline, so they need a chance to regain the sympathy of the people (Lane, 2019; Slater, 2018). AHY's political speech is the result of these three things.

AHY became involved in politics during the 2017 DKI Jakarta governor election (Rahayu, 2017). Paired with Sylviana Murni, who lost in the first round with 17.05% of the votes (Hamid, 2019; Yumarma, 2019) at the DP congress in 2021, AHY was appointed as the general chairman. He has the mandate to return DP's supremacy in national politics after the party only managed to garner 7.8% of votes in the 2019 elections (Fionna & Hutchinson, 2019). Without sufficient political experience, AHY's authority as general chairman can be said to be weak. Some circles said that the existence of AHY is a form of dynastic politics that is currently heavily involved in the dynamics of Indonesian politics. The position of his father, SBY, who is very strong in the DP is considered to have influenced the constituents to vote for AHY. SBY was the fourth leader of DP and president of the Republic of Indonesia for 2 periods. AHY is considered to have capitalised on this position to increase its bargaining position in the political world. (Gunanto, 2020; Luluardi & Diniyanto, 2021; Purwaningsih & Widodo, 2020;

Setyaningrum & Saragih, 2019). In such a situation, AHY's political speech can be positioned as an effort to prove his leadership authority.

AHY cannot be compared to Jokowi and SBY as political figures. Jokowi built his political career from the lower level, starting from his status as mayor, governor, to president. Meanwhile, SBY has a career as a military officer, coordinating minister, and president. The two figures have extensive experience in the world of politics. As a figure with no political experience, AHY is the antithesis of the two figures. His struggles as chairman of DP also cannot be compared to his father, SBY. As a special figure, SBY is fully trusted by DP members and supported as president of the Republic of Indonesia. Meanwhile, as for AHY, many DP members doubted his leadership capacity as general chairman of DP.

At a young age, AHY is a phenomenon in Indonesian political constellation (Ruhamak & Rahayu, 2017; Yumarma, 2019). Previous researchers have never conducted a study of AHY's political speeches. Therefore, the study of AHY's political speech is a new form of study in the landscape of the study of speeches of political figures in Indonesia. Military background and lack of experience in politics are what distinguishes AHY from other senior politicians (Fionna & Hutchinson, 2019; Hamid, 2019). AHY is a unique entity because he is trying to build his leadership authority as the chairman of the DP. The critical discourse analysis in this research not only describes the use of language by AHY in his political speeches to achieve his political goals, but also how the power structure is formed through the text (AHY's speech). AHY's politics will present a novelty in filling the gaps in previous studies.

VAN DIJK'S CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

In terms of critical discourse analysis, the analysis framework proposed by Dijk is one of the analytical frameworks that can be used in the domain of practice. The critical discourse analysis aims to explain how power, domination and inequality are practised, reproduced, or opposed by written text or oral speech in a socio-political context (Van Dijk, 2011; Van Dijk, 2009a). Thus, critical discourse analysis proposed by Van Dijk plays a non-conformist role or against the current domination in a broad framework to fight social injustice.

According to Dijk, discourse consists of dimensions of text, social cognition, and social context which are interrelated with one another. The essence of discourse analysis is to combine these three dimensions into one unit (Van Dijk, 2013). In the text dimension, it examines the structure of the text and discourse strategy that is used to emphasise a particular theme. At the level of social cognition, discourse production processes involving discourse producers are studied. At the level of the social context, discourse building in society is discussed.

Dijk divides discourse into three elements in the text dimension, namely macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure (Van Dijk, 2013). Macrostructure (thematic) refers to the general description of a text. The tools discussed in macrostructure are the themes used by text creators as a textual arrangement process so that they can pay attention to the most important parts of the text content (Van Dijk, 2019). Themes will be the source and guide for the flow of text development. Superstructure (schematic) refers to the flow from introduction to end to form one meaning. According to Van Dijk, a discourse has two major schemes: a summary represented by a headline and a lead, and a story that is the overall content (Van Dijk, 1986). Microstructure refers to the local meaning of a text which

can be observed from the choice of words, sentences, and language styles used in the text (Van Dijk, 1997b).

In the dimension of social cognition, data are categorised into three parts, namely knowledge, opinions and attitudes, and ideology (Van Dijk, 2006; Van Dijk, 2006). The knowledge element discusses factual beliefs shared by groups or cultures. The discussion in this section seeks to observe the knowledge shared by the author to readers. Observations will be made on text based on specific characteristics. The author displays a number of personal knowledges, groups, and society in general. This information is displayed to strengthen the author's argument in assessing an issue. The elements of opinions and attitudes discuss the writer's evaluative beliefs on something. In the speech delivered, the writer will express his opinion and attitude regarding an issue. The author shares this belief in order to influence the reader to agree with his views. Ideological elements discuss the foundations of social representation shared by groups. In politics, ideology plays a role in defining political systems, organisations, movements, political practices, and political cognition, all produced by political discourse. The basis of political ideology is expressed in political discourse, which emphasises the good in a group and the bad in other groups, and disguises the bad in a group and the good in other groups (Van Dijk, 1997b).

In the dimension of the social context, the discussion is associated with the developing discourse or the social background in which the speech is delivered. Social context plays an important role in discourse interpretation (Van Dijk, 2006, 2009b). The end of critical discourse analysis that determines producers' ideological tendencies cannot be separated from the social context in which the discourse emerges. Based on this concept, the analysis of the social context will first look at the position of discourse producers in the current social situation. Discourse produced by a politician has a social background in the form of a political situation as well. Analysis of the social context will explain that the political discourse produced by these politicians is a political action that makes language an instrument (Van Dijk, 1997b). In addition, in a broader framework, social context analysis will also study social dynamics on a broader scale. This comprehensive analysis of the situation in the broader community is carried out to strengthen the interpretation of discourse that relies on the above analysis of the social context.

In political communication theory, a political power requires legitimacy (Habermas, 2006; Karppinen et al., 2008). This is what politicians strive for through their political communication in the public sphere. In the new media era, political communication experiences a change in orientation (Klinger & Svensson, 2015; McNair, 2019; Savigny, 2002). The presence of the Internet is a potential challenge for politicians and political parties to shape public opinion. The utilisation of internet technology is maximised to present patterns of political communication that have a large-scale impact (Barnhurst, 2011; Bennett & Iyengar, 2010). In principle, political communication in the new media era is constructed by taking into account public tendencies. On the one hand, politicians dramatise the existing political situation to gain public support. While on the other hand, they affirm their legitimacy in the media system to present a distinctive model of political communication (Bennett & Pfetsch, 2018; Bohman, 2007). This reality generally makes political speech the object of political discourse analysis. Through this study, a discourse analyst reveals the empowerment of political communication on various media platforms to reap electoral benefits.

METHODOLOGY

This research is qualitative and critical in nature. According to the argument (Neuman, 2007), the qualitative nature of this study lies in the description of the lingual elements of AHY's speech by involving the context of the speech at the level of analysis. Data collection was carried out in a natural setting without intervention from researchers (Moleong, 2005). Meanwhile, the analysis was carried out inductively using (Van Dijk, 2009a) theory as a guide in analysing data, not hypotheses to be verified (Hadi, 2001). The critical category of research lies in the orientation of data investigations on the ideological aspects of discourse producers (Fairclough, 2013; Sawirman, 2016; Van Dijk, 1997a, 1997b). In this context, the lingual reality in AHY's speech was used as data to map the ideological aspects of AHY as a discourse producer.

The research lingual data are words, phrases, clauses, and sentences in AHY's speech on February 1, 2021. The data is taken from AHY's speech in a video entitled *Konferensi Pers Ketua Umum Partai Demokrat Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono* which was broadcast on Agus Yudhoyono's YouTube channel. The video has a duration of 19 minutes 14 seconds and can be accessed on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6YwzJqv5s30. To strengthen the validity, the researcher supplemented the video data with a photo of the speech text posted on the Twitter account of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY) on the same date. Meanwhile, non-lingual data are social, political, cultural, and cognitive aspects related to AHY's personality in his capacity as chairman of the DP. The non-lingual aspects of the data include AHY's life history as a soldier, SBY's son who was president of the Republic of Indonesia for 2 periods and founder of DP, as well as political conflicts that occurred internally and externally to DP. Non-lingual data were collected from various news documents in the mass media. Lingual data was used to answer research questions on the textual dimension, while non-lingual data was used to answer research questions on social cognition and social context dimensions.

Lingual data were collected using a listening method with free listening technique (Mahsun, 2005; Rahardjo, 2002). Data collection was carried out by the stages of transcription, reading and observation, sorting, storing and printing, re-reading, and determining the research subject. The data was then stored in data cards classified into 3 types: macrostructure, super structure, and microstructure. Meanwhile, non-lingual data were collected using the internet archive documentation method (Gunn & Faire, 2011). During the data collection stage, researchers wrote field notes relevant findings to answer the research questions (Lune & Berg, 2017). Based on these field notes, the researchers classified the data into two categories: data related to social cognition analysis and data related to social context.

Lingual data analysis was displayed by using the matching method (Sudaryanto, 2001). At this stage, the writer analysed AHY's speech by linking it to other elements outside of the language. Meanwhile, non-lingual data were analysed using hermeneutics and phenomenology (Errasti-Ibarrondo et al., 2018; Mihalache, 2019; Sikh & Spence, 2016). Existing data in various mass media were analysed by involving the context of time and events that occurred at that time. In analysing the entire data, the writer refers to the qualitative analysis stages proposed by (Lune & Berg, 2017): data reduction; data display; conclusion and verification. Meanwhile, according to the framework proposed by (Van Dijk, 2009a), the

analysis model includes text analysis, social cognition analysis, and social context analysis. In the first stage, the writers analyse the elements of the text by explaining the topic, structure, and language style used. In the second stage, the authors correlate the findings in the form of the text with AHY's social cognition personally, whether as a former soldier, son of SBY, or chairman of DP. Meanwhile, in the third stage, the social context analysis explains the wider social reality surrounding AHY, both the internal and external political situation of PD. The discourse structure analysis according to Van Dijk can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1: Van Dijk discourse structure analysis

Element	Analysis
Text	Macrostructure
	Superstructure
	Microstructure
Social Cognition	Knowledge
	Opinion and Attitudes
Social Context	The social context of discourse producers
	The social context of society

RESULT

Textual Analysis

i.   *Macrostructure*

The title of AHY's political speech is *Konferensi Pers Ketua Umum Partai Demokrat Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono*. The title implies two important meanings related to AHY's leadership. First, the political speech he delivered was official and open to the public. It is confirmed by the presence of many journalists and broadcasting directly through various media. Second, he emphasised his existence as the highest leader of DP which has an organisational structure up to the neighbourhood level. From the title used, AHY represents himself as a leader who becomes a symbol of the organisation. As the general chairman, he has the authority to deliver statements representing the DP.

As a description of the title, AHY's speech contains two themes which are the main ideas. First, as one of the parties that have won in the General Election, DP has never stopped observing the situation of the Indonesian state. In line with that, AHY touched on the development of national issues as evidence of DP's contribution to advancing the nation. Second, as a plural political party, DP has many members who come from various backgrounds. AHY explained about the existence of differences of opinion and massive political dynamics in internal circles. The two themes which are the elaboration of this title are the basis for developing the ideas and content of the speech. The title and theme of AHY's political speech can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2: AHY political speech title and themes

Title	Theme
Konferensi Pers Ketua Umum Partai Demokrat Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono	Development of national issues Political dynamics within the Democratic Party

ii.   Superstructure

Two main themes in AHY's political speech were developed in the speech narrative. The theme of the development of national issues highlights various disasters that occurred in early 2021 and the situation of the spread of Covid-19. Through these two narratives, AHY explained the grief he felt for all victims and patients. The two narratives can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3: Superstructure of the theme of the development of national issues

Theme	Narration
Development of national issues	Disaster in early 2021
	The situation of the spread of Covid-19

A series of disasters in early 2021 included plane crashes, flash floods, landslides, earthquakes, and volcanic activity. The disasters that occurred in these areas caught the attention of most people. As one of the parties representing the people's aspirations, the DP has contributed directly to assist. Meanwhile, regarding the situation of the spread of Covid-19, AHY highlighted the increasing number of cases that are worrying. This situation will have a significant impact on economic conditions. Therefore, AHY emphasised to all DP members to be disciplined in implementing the health protocols by the government and continue to carry out MSME development activities in Indonesia.

The theme of political dynamics in DP circles has a large portion of AHY's political speech. Through this theme, AHY built a narrative of a movement for the forced takeover of the DP leadership. According to several witnesses from DP members, the movement involved important government officials. Therefore, AHY emphasised the importance of maintaining DP's sovereignty and honour. The Honorary Council and the Party Court have taken action to address it. AHY also invited members to be solid and committed to protecting DP from outside interference. Table 4 is a narrative developed from the theme of political dynamics in the DP environment.

Table 4: The Superstructure of the theme of political dynamics in the circle of DP

Theme	Narration
Political dynamics within the Democratic Party	Forced leadership takeover
	The involvement of important government officials
	Chronology of events according to witnesses
	Actions of the Honorary Council and the Party Court
	Efforts to strengthen solidarity and commitment

In the narrative built by AHY, the forced takeover of the DP leadership was carried out systematically and planned. AHY explained that important officials in Joko Widodo's government were actively involved in summoning members to be invited to participate in the movement. Based on the statements of the witnesses who are also members of DP, the takeover of the DP leadership will be conducted through the Extraordinary Congress. The top government official targets 360 voting rights holders, who must be invited and influenced in

exchange for large sums of money. Based on the chronology obtained from the members' reports, the target of taking over the leadership of the DP is to advance the government official as a presidential candidate in 2024.

Due to the reports from witnesses, AHY took action to defend the DP's sovereignty and honour. He emphasised that he would take a constitutional path and pay attention to moral values. AHY said that the Honorary Council and the Party Court were following up on the members' reports by referring to the legal mechanisms and working procedures in the party constitution. Therefore AHY emphasised that he had received a statement of loyalty and determination from all DP leaders at the regional and branch levels throughout Indonesia. It has become an important capital for the DP to consolidate internal power against this political movement.

iii. Microstructure

In terms of semantics, AHY's political speech has backgrounds, details, and presuppositions that support his ideas. In general, the three elements of semantic analysis are used to reinforce AHY's leadership and reject the DP leadership takeover movement. The background and intention of the speech can be seen in Table 5.

Table 5: AHY political speech background and intentions

Background	Intention
Leaders' meeting or *commander's call*	AHY's democratic leadership
Horosophical narrative of natural disasters and the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic	AHY's caring leadership
A serious threat within DP	AHY's vigilant leadership
The involvement of important government officials	Rejection of external parties
Unconstitutional vis-à-vis constitutional	Rejection of external parties

Based on the background in the table above, it can be seen that AHY wants to emphasise his leadership and authority in DP. The leaders' meeting held before a scheduled press conference is proof that AHY is a democratic and egalitarian leader. He also built a narrative which portrays him as a caring character through disaster narratives and a vigilant attitude by emphasising the existence of serious threats within the DP. Meanwhile, through the narrative of the involvement of important government officials who are external parties, AHY intends to construct resistance among DP internal circles. AHY invited members to obey the constitution and the results of the party's last congress, he was appointed as the legitimate chairman of the DP.

Meanwhile, detailed elements in AHY's political speeches are also used to construct a conscientious AHY leadership. AHY said that the number of positive cases of Covid-19 has increased, which reached 11,000 to 12,000 people per day. He also detailed the chronology of the members' reports from the previous 10 days. AHY mentioned that the perpetrators who drafted the DP leadership takeover plan were 5 people consisting of 1 active member, 1 member who has been inactive for 6 years, 1 member who has been dishonourably dismissed for 9 years due to a corruption case, 1 former member who has left 3 years ago, and 1 external party from important government officials. Details on AHY's political speech can be seen in Table 6.

Table 6: Details and Intention of AHY's Political Speech

Detail	Intension
An increase in positive cases of Covid-19	AHY's conscientious leadership
Chronology of members reports on the process of taking over the leadership of DP	AHY's conscientious leadership
The number of actors taking over the leadership of the DP	AHY's conscientious leadership

Another semantic feature found in AHY's political speech is a presupposition. By using this feature, AHY emphasises the solidity of DP in fighting destructive threats coming from outside. AHY said the involvement of important government officials. Through this speech, AHY reminded all DP members about their status as an opposition party. In another part, AHY also repeatedly mentioned the importance of solidarity among DP members. AHY reminded all members to keep their commitment to DP. members should still recognise AHY as the sole leader of the DP, nothing else. The presupposition features in AHY's political speech can be seen in Table 7.

Table 7: Presupposition and Intention of AHY Political Speech

Presupposition	Intention
The involvement of important government officials	Rejecting outsiders
DP members solidity	Commitment to the party

In the syntactic aspect, all verbs used by AHY are active forms. The use of this construction is an attempt by AHY to portray himself as an agent of an act. He becomes an actor who consciously acts in his leadership capacity. Meanwhile, the use of passive constructs in AHY sentences was not found. It affirms his image as a leader who acts, not as an object of an action. All active constructs in AHY's speech can be seen in Table 8.

Table 8: List of Active Verb Forms in AHY Political Speech

Subject	Verb	Construction
AHY	*Invite, perform, respond to, discuss, instruct, encourage, ask, view, give, identify, transmit, deliver, receive, consider, maintain, heed, consolidate, face, be grateful, realise.*	Active

In the stylistic aspect, AHY uses superlative diction. Explicitly, these dictions illustrate the existence of a massive external threat to the DP leadership. AHY emphasised the dangers that are targeting DP as an organisation. Among the diction used by AHY is a serious threat. This diction represents the magnitude of the impact that the political movement will have on the takeover of the DP leadership. The movement involving external parties may eliminate the existence of his leadership and the unity of the DP as an organisation.

In addition, AHY also used tendentious diction to describe the process of taking over the leadership. AHY used the diction of forced takeovers to emphasise that the parties involved will not follow the prevailing constitutional path. The diction of forced takeovers represents a movement against the law and ignoring prevailing moral values. In addition, AHY also used the diction of a number of ministers and important officials. This diction emphasises

the great power behind the movement to take over the leadership of the DP by force. Indirectly, AHY wants to say that those who were threatening his leadership in DP are elements of power who have great political power.

Social Cognition Analysis

As a first step, AHY's social cognition mapping as a text producer can be seen from the sources of information he has obtained. In this context, AHY stated that the informant was a DP member. On the theme of developing national issues, AHY obtained information from members who were directly involved in natural disaster management and the spread of Covid-19. AHY built a network of information with trusted people. Therefore, the validity of the information obtained and processed in the form of discourse can be carefully verified. In addition, the active involvement of DP members in supplying information also builds an image that DP is always actively contributing to society.

In the next stage, the threat narrative developed by AHY is closely related to his background as a military officer. In his education process, AHY is one of the best graduates of military academies in the United States. He had a brilliant career record shortly after returning to Indonesia. The military background built AHY's self-awareness. He was educated to be prepared for various threats that can destroy the organisational order. Due to his background, AHY reminded members of the threat of disaster, the spread of Covid-19, and most importantly the movement to take over the leadership of the DP by force. Given the military background, the narrative built by AHY in his speech could not be separated from the strategy and war tactics he designed to protect the DP's sovereignty and honour.

The name AHY in the Indonesian political constellation is new. In addition to not having a good record of experience, many parties even questioned his capacity and capability. Since deciding to resign from the military and participate in the contest for the 2017 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election, AHY does not yet have a clear electoral track record. He is still in the process of adapting to various unpredictable dynamics of the political world. Therefore, AHY uses various strategies to gain the voice of the younger generation. One of which is through the publication of his activities on social media (Santosa, 2021; Muslikhin & Mulyana, 2021). This situation also plays an important role in building AHY's social cognition. The amplification of DP's internal issues into the public domain is a political decision he makes in his adaptable context. If not based on careful consideration, AHY's political move could be a loss for DP.

In less than 4 years of his involvement in the political world, AHY was trusted to be the general chairman of the DP. He was elected by acclamation at the congress held in 2020. The status of the general chairman becomes an important social cognition context in the production process of his discourse. The status requires AHY to speak to the public. Every narrative he builds in his speech is a political calculation that he does as party leader. In line with that, the events he discussed in his speech could not be separated from political pragmatism either. In his speech, AHY saw the event from his emotional perspective as the party leader in the hope of gaining benefits in the form of increasing electoral numbers.

Based on these facts, AHY did a series of cognitive processes in producing discourse. AHY carried out a process of selecting information, reproduction, inference, and local transformation. Every cognitive process that he did is influenced by his various backgrounds. The way he chooses the source of information reflects himself being selective. The military

background that builds awareness and the way he responds to threats represents his strategic character. Meanwhile, his status as chairman of the DP has led him to consider political benefits carefully. Thus, it can be concluded that the political speech represents AHY's selective, strategic, and political social cognition. Through his political speech, AHY confirmed his legitimacy as general chairman. It is important for him to do so considering there are many assumptions that he was elected due to the strength of his father's political position in DP. AHY has also proven himself worthy of being the successor to his father's leadership, even though his younger brother, Edhie Baskoro Yudhoyono (Ibas) has actually been active in politics (Azeharie & Sari, 2015; Prasojo et al., 2021; Sulaiman, 2009).

Social Context Analysis
As a unit of discourse, AHY's political speech cannot be separated from the social context. The first context is the minimum number of DP votes achieved in the 2014 and 2019 elections. In the 2014 election, DP won 10.19% of votes (Pahlevi, 2014), while in the 2019 election 7.7% of votes (Komisi Pemilihan Umum Republik Indonesia, 2019). This bad situation is inversely proportional to the 2004 and 2009 elections. In 2004, the DP, which is a new party, won 7.46% of the vote and brought SBY as president (Komisi Pemilihan Umum Republik Indonesia, 2009). Meanwhile, in 2009, DP became the winner of the election by 20.81% vote acquisition and bringing SBY back to the presidency (Komisi Pemilihan Umum Republik Indonesia, 2009). In contrast, in the last 6 years, DP has had a difficult time maintaining its existence in the political constellation of Indonesia.

The second context is the declining number of DP electability. This situation began when the DP lost in the 2014 election and decided to become an opposition party. When the government succeeded in consolidating political power, DP began to lose sympathy from the people. The narrative of corruption painted by DP members during the SBY administration became a weakness that was always attacked by political opponents. In the 2014 election, the DP electability figure was 6.6% and it was ranked 4 from 12 parties (Poltracking, 2014). Meanwhile, in the 2019 election, the electability figure for DP was 6.4% and was ranked 6th from 13 parties (Poltracking, 2019). Based on the latest survey, the electability figure for DP was 3.5% and ranked 7th of 15 parties (Wibowo, 2020).

The third context is the internal problems of the DP. The focus of this context is AHY's leadership competence as general chairman. The election of AHY as the general chairman of the 2020 congress was an oddity because he had only joined as a member of DP for the last 4 years. In addition, AHY also has no political experience and achievements. He lost in the 2017 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election contest, was not elected as a vice presidential candidate in the 2019 elections, and was not considered as a candidate for the government cabinet. This situation raises speculation that AHY's status as general chairman is not motivated by sufficient competence. He was elected due to the great influence of his father, SBY, in the internal domain of DP. Thus, there are concerns about the formation of dynastic politics within the DP.

DISCUSSION

Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis shows the consistency of the narrative built by AHY in his political speech discourse. AHY wants to build his leadership authority within the DP and emphasise his leadership capacity for the wider community. Analysis at the text level shows that AHY's speech aims to build an image of himself as a leader who is democratic, caring, vigilant, rejects external parties, conscientious, and committed to the party. From the aspect of social cognition, military background and status as chairman of the DP have built AHY's way of thinking that is selective, strategic, and political. He represented himself as a conscientious figure in verifying sources of information, calculating strategic work steps, and considering the political benefits of his actions for the DP. From the dimension of social context, AHY's speech is a response to the decline in the electability level of DP in the last 10 years and various internal conflicts of DP.

The most dominant representation of AHY's social cognition in the speech is his background as a military and his status as chairman of the DP. According to the perspective (Van Dijk, 1997b; Van Dijk, 2006, 2009b), these two things are the main competencies in AHY's thinking as a discourse producer. His representation as a selective and strategic figure is the result of his experience as a military. The military world builds his cognition to be a person who is alert to threats and tactical in action. Meanwhile, his representation as a political person was influenced by his status as chairman of the DP. His actions were dominated by electoral considerations in order for the DP to reclaim his existence in the national political constellation.

Referring to the argument of Van Dijk (2006, 2009a), AHY's political speech discourse can be seen as a reflection of his social cognition. Based on the concept of social cognition, each of his experiences shapes his way of thinking as a leader. The way AHY represents his leadership through speech confirms the findings of the studies of Hammer (2010) and Salama (2012). Every political figure will always take advantage of the public communication medium to build a positive image of himself. Political figures demonstrate lingual features as a means of constructing their meaning in society. According to the findings of the study Amalia et al. (2018), Chen (2018) and Fanani (2012), social effects are the main part noticed by AHY in delivering political speeches. He targeted the audience who listened to the speech to be in line with him. In line with that, the main objective of AHY is to construct his leadership authority, both at the internal level of the DP and at the level of society. The value of AHY's speech is in line with the findings of the study by Sarah and Oladayo (2018) which emphasises that political speech is an effective forum for constructing a leadership identity. Based on the argument of Van Dijk (2006, 2009a), these factors become the social context. As a discourse that contains power, AHY's political speech is clearly shaped by that social context and is also oriented to respond to that social context.

In addition to the similarities, the research findings on AHY's political speech discourse have a distinction from some of the previous findings. AHY is a leader who is struggling to emphasise his leadership authority. It is in contrast to the study by Altikriti (2016) about Barack Obama, study by Otieno (2017) about Donald Trump, study by Fanani (2012) about SBY, and study by Harwiyati and Siagianto (2016) about Joko Widodo. All of these figures are the highest leaders of the country who already have authority. All of these studies reflect the existence of efforts to maintain an identity and leadership image (Fetzer & Bull, 2012). In contrast to these studies, AHY is not the highest leader in the country. In addition, AHY is also

a leader who is still fighting for his authority and building his political identity. In line with that, the findings of this study have an important meaning. In AHY's speech, there are struggles and persistent efforts to demonstrate his capacity as a leader.

Seen from the perspective of implications, the narrative built by AHY in his speech has the opportunity to increase his electability as a political figure and DP as a political party. Reflecting on the findings of Capone (2010), political speech can effectively build public trust and increase trust in a political figure. It was also found in the studies of Kusumawati (2016) and Noermanzah et al. (2018) that the language of political speech plays a role in influencing the image of political figures in society. Based on these facts, AHY's political speech can be the first step for emphasising his leadership authority. Through this speech, he was able to build solidarity with DP members in various regions to build the party more seriously. It will certainly realise the main target of delivering political speech. It is for gaining electoral benefits from the wider community (Gusthini et al., 2018).

CONCLUSION

According to the results of the research and discussion above, it can be concluded that AHY's speech represents a sociocognitive aspect of himself as the leader of a political party. As a discursive product that he produces in a social context, the sociocognitive elements in AHY's speech can be categorised into personal elements and social elements. The personal element relates to AHY's personal experiences in the military world. Meanwhile, the social element is related to AHY's political experience which he has just built in the last 4 years.

Motivated by various existing social contexts, AHY used political speech as an instrument to build his leadership authority. The selective, strategic, and political nature of a leader as a result of sociocognitive experience becomes the leadership character constructed by AHY through the speech. The results of AHY's speech analysis provide a theoretical contribution in the form of novelty in the study of political speech texts. In previous studies, political speeches were used as a means to expose the achievements of a politician. Meanwhile, for AHY who does not have much experience, political speeches are used as an opportunity to emphasise the legality and authority of his leadership. This phenomenon presents new theoretical findings and perspectives in the study of political speech.

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