



Reproduction of Knowledge for Power: Critical Discourse Analysis of Scientific Articles and Speeches of Megeawati

Febi Putri Utami¹, Rustono², Bernadus Wahyudi Joko Santoso³

¹ Indonesian Language Education, Postgraduate
Semarang State University
Jl. Kelud Utara III No.15 Petompon
Gajah Mungkur District, Semarang, Central Java

E-mail: Febiputri.utami22@gmail.com

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Abstract

The inauguration of Megawati Soekarnoputri as an honorary professor at the Defense University of the Republic of Indonesia became a topic of conversation among the public because this was the first time this had happened in Indonesia. Megawati wrote a scientific work entitled "President Megawati's Leadership in the Era of Multidimensional Crisis, 2001-2004" and gave a speech at her inauguration as Non-Permanent Professor. The two texts discuss the problems that occurred during the era of Megawati's leadership, policies to overcome problems, and the emergence of a model of "strategic leadership based on Pancasila". The leadership discourse formed by Megawati is interesting to discuss considering Megawati's position, who is the general chair of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), as well as chair of the Steering Committee of the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP) and the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN). This research uses a qualitative approach with a critical paradigm. The research method uses critical discourse analysis coined by Fairclough, where Megawati's scientific work and inauguration speech are reviewed from the perspective of text, discursive practice and social practice. Fuchs, Habermas, and Foucault's views on knowledge and power are used to help uncover discursive practices and their impact on social practice. Based on the results of the analysis, Megawati is building a positive image as an influential strategic leader to this day. The leadership model he initiated focuses on the leader's ability to influence others and pay attention to the role of the people in decision making. The knowledge that is built is Pancasila, which is the basis for every social activity which actually reduces its values to a controlled knowledge system. The impact that arises is that the state's control over individuals is increasingly tight, down to the cognitive level. When drawn to the momentum of the 2024 general election, leadership discourse was used to help Megawati and her group return to power.

Keywords: *Controlled knowledge, critical discourse analysis, leadership discourse, Pancasila.*

Abstrak

Pengukuhan Megawati Soekarnoputri menjadi professor kehormatan di Universitas Pertahanan Republik Indonesia menjadi perbincangan masyarakat karena baru pertama kali terjadi di Indonesia. Megawati membuat karya ilmiah berjudul "Kepemimpinan Presiden Megawati pada Era Krisis Multidimensi, 2001-2004" serta memberikan pidato dalam pengukuhan sebagai Guru Besar Tidak Tetap. Kedua teks tersebut membahas masalah-masalah yang terjadi pada era kepemimpinan Megawati, kebijakan untuk mengatasi masalah, hingga mencetuskan model "kepemimpinan strategis berlandaskan Pancasila". Wacana kepemimpinan yang dibentuk Megawati menarik untuk dibahas mengingat posisi Megawati yang merupakan ketua umum Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P), serta ketua Dewan Pengarah Badan Pembinaan Ideologi Pancasila (BPIP) dan Badan Riset dan Inovasi Nasional (BRIN). Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan paradigma kritis. Metode penelitian menggunakan analisis wacana kritis yang dicetuskan Fairclough, dimana karya ilmiah dan pidato pengukuhan Megawati ditinjau dari sisi teks, praktik diskursif, dan praktik sosial. Pandangan Fuchs, Habermas, dan Foucault mengenai pengetahuan dan kekuasaan digunakan untuk membantu membongkar

praktik diskursif serta dampaknya pada praktik sosial. Berdasarkan hasil analisis, Megawati sedang membangun citra positif sebagai pemimpin strategis yang berpengaruh hingga masa kini. Model kepemimpinan yang digagasnya berfokus pada kemampuan pemimpin mempengaruhi orang lain dan mengindahkan peran rakyat dalam pengambilan keputusan. Pengetahuan yang dibangun adalah Pancasila, yaitu sebagai landasan bagi setiap aktivitas sosial yang justru membuat nilai-nilainya tereduksi dalam sistem pengetahuan terkontrol. Dampak yang timbul adalah kontrol negara atas individu yang semakin ketat hingga ke tataran kognitif. Ketika ditarik ke momentum pemilihan umum 2024, wacana kepemimpinan digunakan untuk membantu Megawati dan kelompoknya agar dapat kembali berkuasa.

Kata Kunci: Analisis Wacana Kritis, Pancasila, Pengetahuan Terkontrol, Wacana Kepemimpinan.

Introduction

The confirmation of Megawati Soekarnoputri as an Honorary Professor or non-permanent professor at the Defense University of the Republic of Indonesia (UNHAN) has become a topic of conversation among the Indonesian public. Controversy arose because he never completed undergraduate studies, whereas professor is a position that requires an academic degree. Various speculations have emerged regarding this inauguration. Therefore, the media texts produced by Megawati need to be dismantled to see the motives behind her appointment as Honorary Professor and their impact on the world of Indonesian academia.

Megawati is the fifth president of the Republic of Indonesia, the first female president in Indonesia, and general chair of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP). Chancellor of the Indonesian Defense University, Vice Admiral TNI Prof. Dr. Amarulla Octavian announced that he would inaugurate Megawati as an Honorary Professor on January 8 2021. This plan has actually been around since 2020 and is based on three reasons, namely her strategic leadership abilities during her time as President of the Republic of Indonesia, having fulfilled academic and administrative requirements, and it is hoped that the data will be exemplary for society (Judge, 2021).

Megawati wrote a scientific work entitled "President Megawati's Leadership in the Era of Multidimensional Crisis, 2001-2004" to fulfill the requirements for an academic degree. In this article, he describes the efforts he made while serving as president in an era he called a "multidimensional crisis". Multidimensional crises refer to economic crises, political crises, crises of trust, and national security crises (Soekarnoputri, 2021). Through these efforts, he succeeded in bringing Indonesia out of a multidimensional crisis.

Megawati's inauguration sparked various opinions in the public sphere. Sulfikar Amir,

Associate Professor at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, said that the inauguration hurt and polluted the academic process (CNN Indonesia, 2021). However, the Chancellor of Padang State

University considered the title worthy of being awarded because it had undergone a series of due diligence by the promoter team (Rafiq, 2021). Netizens are also busy talking about Megawati's scientific work which is considered to be self-praising. However, the UNJ Professor assessed that this scientific work inspired the international world (Pangestu, 2021).

Megawati is not the first president to write scientific articles. United States President Barack Obama also did something similar in 2016 by publishing an article entitled "United States Health Care Reform: Progress to Date and Next Steps". The article was published when he was still active president. Different from Megawati, Obama more specifically discussed the factors that influenced the decision to reform the Affordable Care Act (ACA) health policy. (Obama, 2016). The article also received various criticisms, especially regarding the use of the pronoun "I" which could cause bias in the blind peer review process.

In her inauguration speech as non-permanent professor, Megawati discussed strategic leadership. According to him, strategic leadership is needed to solve various problems in a country. Strategic leaders don't just solve existing problems, but also think about how to ensure that the same problems don't happen again. The benchmark for the success of this type of leadership is how the efforts made are still relevant today and the leader's responsibility for the future of the nation. (Soekarnoputri, 2021). The concept of strategic leadership at first glance is similar to Habermas's idea of strategic action; both are equally success oriented.

Megawati initiated a new leadership model which she called "strategic leadership based on Pancasila". Previously existing leadership theories

were not directly related to ideology. Therefore, Megawati's efforts made Pancasila the moral basis of dance leadership theory to be studied.

Critical theorists base their views on epistemology, namely the branch of philosophy that discusses the nature of knowledge; talks about how human knowledge is formed ("The Classification Of Habermas Epistemology And Its Implications Toward Social-Cultural.," 2015). Knowledge itself has many forms, for example Machlup who divides knowledge into practical, intellectual, entertainment, spiritual and unwanted, or Habermas who divides knowledge into instrumental, hermeneutic and critical emancipatory. Apart from that, there is also Foucault who views knowledge as a discourse regime, namely another form of power. Discursive practices have been widely used in political communication studies regarding language use. Foucault's view of discourse practice focuses on what drives someone to make a statement rather than what the statement means, which involves materials and symbols, and is a way to form knowledge (Bacchi, 2014). is a tool for understanding the relationship between mediated communication and politics. Habermas takes a more optimistic position because he sees political communication in the public sphere as contributing to the process of deliberative legitimacy (Habermas, 2006). He refers to research that proves political communication as a mechanism for enhancing mutual learning and collective problem solving.

According to him, political power requires legitimacy, where the legitimation process must go through a public space that is able to maintain public opinion under consideration (Habermas, 2006). Habermas here sees opportunities for society to be actively involved in policy making through open and inclusive public spaces, which implement communicative action.

Knowledge is defined by Fuchs (2016) as a material dialectical process, where humans connect their ideas with each other and create knowledge structures. Humans are social creatures who communicate with each other, exchanging the knowledge they have. They form new knowledge or replace existing knowledge in the process.

Collective knowledge systems are formed by social groups, social systems and society which start from individual knowledge, which is then communicated with collective knowledge. Collective knowledge represents the class structure and domination that occurs in the communication

process. In the political field, knowledge is related to rules and influence, considering that knowledge comes from individual political understanding and collective political views.

Collective decisions that determine human life in a social system are influenced by political actors (Fuchs, 2016). Thus, individual and collective political knowledge influence each other so that it is dialectical.

Habermas divides the knowledge paradigm into three, namely instrumental knowledge, hermeneutic knowledge, and critical emancipatory knowledge. He bases this on the three roots of social organization, namely work, language and power.

According to Fuchs (2016), the separation carried out by Habermas has several theoretical problems, where language and communication are often used as media and processes of control and power. Power is not only about politics, but also exists in culture and economics (Fuchs, 2016). For Habermas, communication is distorted by interests. Knowledge is not a neutral representation of the objective world, but is realized through language, determined by interests (Chilton, 2004a). From this, we can see that knowledge does not appear by itself. Knowledge arises from the interactions humans have with their environment and is strongly influenced by the interests of those who form it.

Someone who understands the process of knowledge formation is certainly able to turn their individual knowledge into collective knowledge through communication. However, message recipients are also not passive subjects, they match the message received with the knowledge they have before affirming the message into new knowledge. This is what makes knowledge become ideology, because reality is distorted in symbolic representation to justify the power of a group or person. Knowledge as an ideology is coercive, but domination seems to emerge by itself (Fuchs, n.d.).

This also explains why propagandists match messages with existing collective knowledge so that they are more easily accepted by the recipients of the message.

(Habermas, 1979) coined the concept of universal pragmatics to identify and establish general conditions of the possibility of understanding. There are conditions that enable the recipient of the message to understand the message sent correctly, such as saying something that can be understood, giving something to be understood, making himself

understandable, and reaching an understanding with others. From there, he is of the view that the goal of understanding each other is to reach an agreement based on mutual reciprocal understanding, mutual trust, and mutual compatibility with each other. A sentence is used to represent the world, to show the speaker's intentions, and to build legitimate interpersonal relationships (Habermas, 1979).

Foucault views knowledge as a regime of discourse. Knowledge does not evolve, but only shifts from one form of knowledge to another and is authoritative in nature. He considers the discourse regime as a form of power, because it has autonomy and claims to truth and contextualization of knowledge. These truth claims are a form of power operation, where discourse influences various social institutions and practices. The form of power becomes invisible. People are not aware that there is power at work, but it will only be felt when the impact begins to be seen (Mudhoffir, 2013).

Foucault discusses politics and the reasons behind it. He sees the relationship between rationality and politics clearly, that rationality drives the formation of power structures. Reason of state or the reason a state was formed, is considered by Foucault to be art. Reason of state is then understood as rational government which is able to increase the power of the state in accordance with its presupposition of forming a certain type of knowledge.

Government will be realized if the power of the state is known. Foucault also mentioned the issue of politicians having the task of "binding" - binding differences in virtue, binding different political tensions using a "shuttle" of popular opinion. In the study of power, he considers power as a type of relationship between people. The characteristic of power is that someone is able to determine the behavior of other people (Michel Foucault, 1998).

Foucault views power as something positive and productive, where everyone has their own power depending on the relationships they have. Power is no longer seen as large-scale authority based on sovereignty (sovereign power), but as disciplinary power that works in and on every social, economic, family and sexual relationship. Power is not centralized, it is distributed and exists in every human relationship. Knowledge also has a relationship with power, which can impact individual bodies through a form of social control (Mudhoffir, 2013).

The power currently at work is disciplinary power which aims to "discipline the body" and "make the body obedient and useful". This concept developed into governmentality, namely the mentality of managing the population. The state regulates people's behavior by internalizing subjection so that they become an obedient population. The state practices governance in violent and consensual ways in individual social relations.

The power relations that exist in every social relationship are embedded with the influence of state interests (Dhofar, 2013). Practices like this are common in democratic climates. People are given many choices in general elections, but many of them are controlled by one person or group through their social relations. There is no visible attempt at domination, because power has been rationalized so that it looks like freedom. People are given the illusion of freedom; they don't really have the option to escape state control.

Foucault also highlighted how knowledge must be utilized by intellectuals to fight for groups that have been oppressed in the operating system and ideology. Intellectuals must speak the truth to those who have not seen it, on behalf of those who are prohibited from speaking the truth. The role of intellectuals is to fight against forms of power that turn them into objects and instruments in the space of knowledge, truth, consciousness and discourse. The masses basically have their own knowledge, but the system of power blocks, prohibits, and does not validate that discourse and knowledge—power now covers the entire social network (Foucault, 1997)

Habermas divides two types of action, namely strategic action and communicative action. The fundamental difference between the two lies in action orientation, where strategic action is success-oriented while communicative action is oriented towards achieving understanding. Success here is assessed from the circumstances deliberately produced by the intervention, while achieving understanding is assessed from the agreement between communicators. Each type of action is also tied to characteristics of validity claims that can be criticized, defended, and which validity claims are potentially rational according to (Habermas, 1979) can be achieved when the recipient of the message acknowledges the symbolic structure of the message, namely recognizing that the sentence is literal (undersandability), the statement is true (truth), the expression of honesty (sincerity), and the accuracy of the utterance (rightness). This concept

relates to the social world and the objective world which together form the public space, and the subjective world which forms the private space. Rational truth will logically be achieved if validity claims can be freely tested (Chilton, 2004b).

Strategic actions are success-based actions by influencing other people's decisions. Habermas insists that this action is oriented only to the objective world of existing or potential states of affairs. Strategic actors focus primarily on the outcomes they desire. He considers other people to be equally rational and goal-oriented. People understand that pursuing individual plans also requires the help of others, which is why they need to think strategically. Even though they include strategic dependencies in their plans, that does not mean the actions they take are social in nature (Johnson, 1991).

The goal of strategic action is basically one's own benefit, one does not really think about others. Strategy has three functions according to (Chilton, 2004). Namely coercion which makes speech have a certain power, legitimacy and delegitimization which encourage people to obey or oppose someone's words, as well as representation and misrepresentation which control people's knowledge through information control. All three are interconnected in practice.

Legitimacy can be acquired by showing a positive image through praising oneself, explaining oneself, identifying oneself as a source of power, and so on. Meanwhile, delegitimization can be built through actions such as blaming, scapegoating, alienating, attacking the character of a person or group, attacking other people's communication cooperation, and so on. (Chilton, 2004c).

(Reunanen, 2019) explains how political communication can change communicative power into political power. They depart from Habermas' ideas regarding political communication in media society. However, they view that political discussions are actually dominated by strategic actions where validity claims are ignored, silenced, or exaggerated when actors are oriented towards success.

Communicative power itself is understood as the communicative part of political influence/power which is intertwined with the strategic part of political influence/power.

Communicative power is finally seen as a way for political actors to face critical and rational resistance from the people they are trying to

convince. Then, the media functions as the arena. The influence created in the public sphere can turn into political power in policy networks (a collection of actors involved in the policy process) (Reunanen, 2019).

People or groups have feelings of worry about control by others that continue to emerge. That's why they take strategic steps, so that their personal goals can be achieved first—maintaining power or sovereignty over themselves. In political communication, politicians use these methods to make themselves appear powerful so that they can be recognized as powerful by society.

Even though the strategic leadership theory based on Pancasila is a new breakthrough in the academic world, it should be remembered that he is actually a politician. Megawati is the general chair of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) which currently leads the parliament and executive. Therefore, this theory cannot be accepted at face value, especially because of the ideology embedded explicitly in the theory being built.

This research aims to uncover the dimensions of power behind the discourse developed by Megawati in her scientific work and inauguration speech as Non-Permanent Professor of Defense University. By dismantling these two texts, Megawati's motives and objectives for using the term Pancasila in her scientific dissemination can be seen, as well as the implications for the academic world.

The leadership discourse built by Megawati Soekarno Putri is a form of knowledge reproduction. Strategic leadership theory has been developed before, then reproduced by adding elements from Pancasila to produce a strategic leadership theory based on Pancasila. Megawati has long been known as the kingmaker in Indonesian politics. By analyzing the discourse, he built, we can understand what knowledge he wanted to instill in society.

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach with critical discourse analysis methods. Critical discourse analysis (AWC) compiled by Fairclough (2003) was chosen because it is biased in favor of oppressed groups. To see the relationship between discourse and ideology, the impact of semiosis of texts, as well as the relationship between texts and power, domination, struggle and resistance will be explored using social analysis. (Fairclough, 2006) The three scopes of critical discourse analysis are

texts, discursive practices (production and consumption of texts), and social practices, by drawing on the values that exist in each case.

(Munfarida, 2014) By analyzing these three things, we can see the power relations behind the discourse conveyed by Megawati in her scientific articles and inauguration speech as Non-Permanent Professor.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Megawati discussed the leadership methods she used when serving as president of Indonesia in her scientific work and inauguration speech. The scientific work entitled "President Megawati's Leadership in the Multidimensional Left Era, 2001-2004" discusses what problems occurred in Indonesia during that period and the policies taken by the president at that time to resolve and prevent these problems from recurring.

In her inauguration speech, Megawati discussed strategic leadership, a concept that was the basis of her scientific work to explain how she led while in office. In this speech, he discussed more about the characteristics of strategic leadership and how he used to apply them. The idea of strategic leadership based on Pancasila emerged to contextualize existing strategic leadership theories with Indonesian socio-cultural conditions. Table 1 shows the results of the analysis of the text created by Megawati based on three levels of critical discourse analysis.

Strategic leadership according to (Davies, 2004) is a strategic element in a broader leadership paradigm. Strategic leadership is not a new type of leadership, but rather how a leader sees problems from various perspectives so that he is able to provide more effective direction for his organization. The success of strategic leadership is determined by organizational capabilities and individual characteristics (Davies, 2004)

(Davies, 2004). Strategy in Davies & Davies' view is closely related to direction setting, seen as a holistic way of looking at problems so that they can be resolved completely. Meanwhile, for Habermas, strategy is seen as an effort to achieve goals by influencing other people. Both emphasize the aspect of leader influence, but Habermas views it negatively because this is not in accordance with universal pragmatic principles.

Megawati used a national security approach to explain the problems she faced when she was president of Indonesia. Five fields are the objects of

study, namely economic, political, social, environmental and military. The selection of five study objects (economic, political, social, environmental and military) is interpreted as Megawati's attempt to solve the nation's problems comprehensively.

This election also shows the governmentality practices carried out by Megawati. Megawati issued various policies to control existing resources in the country, because she felt responsible for bringing about social justice. From a political communication perspective, writing scientific papers is Megawati's effort to regain legitimacy as a national leader from the community. Megawati did not mention her shortcomings at all in her scientific works or speeches.

In discussing the economy, the main focus is "rebuilding the economy that was devastated... from 1998 to 2001". The choice of the phrase "ravaged" aims to describe a chaotic, disorderly situation. Megawati prioritized the economy, considering that the reform discourse so far has focused heavily on the current economic crisis. The BUMN privatization policy, which is still controversial, was also discussed to show the rationale for making this policy.

This policy does have its pros and cons because it is seen as selling state assets to foreign parties, but on the other hand, efficiency is needed to cover the budget deficit (Ma'arif, 2019). In this case, Megawati is making a counter argument to the narrative that is developing that she is a "seller of state assets", and has even been made into a meme by internet users. (Muzir, 2015). To strengthen the argument that he was successful in rebuilding the Indonesian economy, he included statements from five ministers from the gotong royong cabinet.

Level/Section	Micro Text	Practical Discriptive (micro)	Social Practices (Macro)
Strategic Leadership	An overview of how strategic leaders work	Megawati inspired subsequent presidents in making policies	Megawati claims to be a strategic leader.
Economy	A picture of the irregular pre-Megaawati economic situation.	Economic crisis during the Megawati government era	Counter form to the narrative that blames Megawati for the economic crisis in her government.
Political	A picture of success in improving democracy and overcoming terrorism	Efforts to handle conflicts that violate civil rights.	
Social	An overview of overcoming the problem of poverty due to the monetary crisis	Foreign debt governance has no impact on increasing welfare	A form of state control over people's social life.
Environment	An overview of the Megawati government's firm policy on mining sector businesses and greening efforts	Control of nature by the state which is utilized for individual/group interests.	Rationalization of the importance of the state as a resource management institution
Military		Encouragement of retired TNI/POLRI officers to enter politics, compensation for the prohibition on active military members holding civilian positions.	Emphasizing Megawati's services in improving the welfare of the TNI/POLRI family even though she comes from civilian circles.
Pancasila	Description of TNI/POLRI reform as an effort to stabilize the post-reform situation	The interpretation of Pancasila adapts to the interests of the ruling regime.	Rationalization of the deployment of intellectuals for economic interests.
	The description of Pancasila as the		

philosophical
basis of

Megawati demonstrated his efforts to implement amendments to the 1945 Constitution by establishing rules regarding general elections and state institutions. He quoted researchers who said his government had a sense of urgency and a sense of crisis. Then, Megawati demonstrated her success in resolving various terrorist and separatist conflicts. Megawati is building a perception that she really upholds democracy and pays high attention to all conflict areas. However, behind this counter-terrorism policy, there were many protests given by Muslims due to the actions of the Police and Densus 88 which violated many legal provisions and human rights. Conflict management is more detrimental to the rights of civil society, for example the kidnapping of Muslim activists which occurred in various provinces accompanied by torture in order to obtain information. In fact, the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) proposed a material review of Law Number 16 of 2003 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism which was later granted by the Constitutional Court because it was deemed to violate the constitution. (Thoiyibi, 2008)

Policies to overcome the problem of poverty due to the monetary crisis are also included to show themselves as new hope for the Indonesian people. However, research on the relationship between external debt and poverty shows that debt management in the Megawati era had no real impact on poverty alleviation, no better than the previous efforts of Suharto and Habibie. Foreign debt actually tends to reduce the level of prosperity (Junaedi, 2018) When viewed from a governmentality perspective, the actions taken by Megawati in politics and society are a form of state control over social life. The state forces rebellious communities to submit to the ruling regime with a security approach, creating a gap in power relations between the two. This also includes efforts to eradicate poverty which are basically carried out to reduce efforts to

delegitimize the government and bring society back into submission to the state.

In discussing the environment, Megawati discussed her firm policies on the mining business sector and the greening movement she initiated. In his speech, he discussed his focus on the environment as part of the geopolitical aspect. He discussed the climate crisis occurring in the world and its impact on Indonesia. He highlighted the practices of environmental destruction and excessive natural exploitation that occur in Indonesia. Then, he emphasized that strategic leadership must also think about the sustainability of the earth. The environment is seen as closely related to economic, social and national security so leaders must not ignore this. Megawati in this case is providing a rationalization for the importance of the existence of the state as an institution that manages resources. Geopolitics is considered to be the strength of a country, so the environment must be protected so that it can give leaders the power to control the country.

However, control of nature by the state can also be used for the benefit of groups who respect social justice.

On the military side, Megawati focused on discussing the reform of the TNI/Polri which was carried out as an effort to create post-reform stability. In this section, he brings up a lot of attention to the TNI/Polri, such as efforts to improve the welfare of members and encourage retired officers to enter politics. Megawati wants to show her concern for the security forces even though she comes from a civilian background. Throughout her leadership, Megawati did not interfere much in internal military management matters. He also did not rush to respond to pressure to accelerate military reform from civil society groups. Relations between civilians and the military became tense as the perception of internal threats grew so that a military approach was

used to deal with these threats. (Harpin, 2019). He wants to too emphasized that he plays an important role in the success of the TNI/Polri family in the civilian world. He wanted to send a message to them so they would not forget his previous service. This can also be interpreted as a form of invitation to the TNI/Polri family to join their ranks. What Megawati did was far from the spirit of TNI/Polri neutrality. The use of retired TNI/Polri positions in the civilian world creates a gap in power relations with civil society. Megawati mentioned the bodies that were formed during her reign which until now play an important role in administering the state. These bodies include the National Commission for the Protection of Indonesian Children (now KPAI), the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), the Constitutional Court (MK), and so on. In this section, he wants to show that the impact of his leadership is still felt today. In his final conclusion, he emphasized that it was his leadership that caused Indonesia to successfully emerge from the multidimensional crisis. In a speech given by Megawati, she praised President Jokowi's decision to integrate all research agencies into the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN).

Megawati wants to show that her strategic leadership inspired the leadership that followed her. This statement also dismissed the public's opinion that he was controlling Jokowi behind the scenes. In the 2014 presidential election, many narratives developed that Joko Widodo was a "puppet presidential candidate". Puppet itself means "playing tool" which in this context Joko Widodo is a PDIP "puppet", which means controlled by Megawati (Hasfi, Santosa, & Lukmantoro, 2015). The public is now focused on his positions at the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP) and BRIN which are technically under the president, implying that the President's power is above Megawati's. Many people are not aware that these two institutions intend to control public knowledge through educational channels. This shows the control efforts that Megawati wants to exercise over the knowledge system of every citizen.

The aim is so that people do not think about carrying out a rebellion. Megawati views that strategic leaders need a clear vision for the future, have geopolitical insight, and focus on sustainable competitive advantage. A leader must have a sense of direction or belief in the direction of the vision to be achieved, and a sense of discovery to help find breakthrough ideas. In the opening section, he states the measurements for strategic leadership that cover three time periods, namely the past, present and future.

"Strategic leadership is not only measured by past success, but must also be correlated with the present, and must also be attached to the leader's responsibility for the future." (Soekarnoputri, 2021).

The choice of the diction "success" shows the focus of analysis on success. The mention of three time frames indicates a strategic dimension that focuses on long-term actions. This statement provides a context for the relationship between the written scientific work and the speech that will be delivered. In the closing part, he stated that the task of strategic leaders is to motivate people.

"Tasks and strategic leadership roles that stimulate enthusiasm are like "a fire that never goes out"" (Soekarnoputri, 2021).

The phrase "unquenchable fire" means a spirit that lives forever. This proverb shows how strategic leaders must be able to encourage the nation to always be enthusiastic in achieving its goals. This proverb is also used to describe Megawati as a figure who "never stops", meaning she is always enthusiastic about building the nation.

Megawati sees three major changes that are disrupting humanity, namely changes at the cosmic (scientific) level, the genetic revolution, and advances in virtual reality technology. He highlighted how these changes would affect humans negatively if they did not have a humanitarian basis. The reforms that occurred in Indonesia did not produce thinkers who were able to offer solutions when reform occurred

again. Until the time he led, Indonesia did not have a clear and sustainable roadmap. That is the basis for practicing strategic leadership based on Pancasila. The role of ideology here is to provide insight into the basic philosophy of state direction and the way the Indonesian people view the world.

In her closing statement, Megawati said strategic leadership needed to include ideological, technocratic and character aspects. Pancasila is used as a guide for the sustainability of the Indonesian nation.

"The demographic bonus, biological and natural resources, really, really need strategic leadership that contains ideological aspects, technocratic leadership, and leadership with character that builds legitimacy for the consolidation of all national power."(Soekarnoputri, 2021).

"No matter how great the disruption and crisis that is occurring, I am sure, haqqul yaqin, as long as the Indonesian people have a grip on Pancasila, we can pass various historical tests."(Soekarnoputri, 2021).

Megawati used the expressions very-very-very and haqqul yaqin to emphasize her statement. Anonymous figures of speech and tautological figures of speech are used so that the public follows the beliefs expressed by Megawati. These sentences also provide an example of how strategic leaders must have a sense of direction that starts with themselves. The main goal is only one, namely to portray Megawati as a strategic leader. However, this effort actually distanced itself from the essence of democracy, somewhat reversing its democratic image (Supriadi, 2018).

Democracy should open up space for people to be able to express themselves freely and for the state to act as a servant for the people. However, Megawati's leadership method actually focuses on the leader's ability to influence to achieve goals. Democratic leadership should be based on general agreement, which in this case can be achieved through the people's representative council. However, Megawati actually thinks that parliamentary dynamics are hampering her

efforts. The president is placed at the center of the country. The people are placed as objects of command so that their participation escapes the scope of this discourse.

In her speech, Megawati based the ideas she expressed on Pancasila. According to Megawati, Pancasila must be included in the feelings of every citizen. He feels that Indonesian society must revive its *roso*. *Roso* refers to a traditional Javanese term which means taste. *Rasa* here is related to a person's cognitive ability to gain knowledge, in Javanese spirituality it takes precedence over rationality. Taste prioritizes the mind rather than the mind, training sensitivity to things that are beyond the human mind (Sa'adah, 2020).

Efforts to revive Pancasila in the spirit of every citizen are part of maintaining Pancasila so that it remains relevant to society. However, *roso's* irrational nature is counterproductive to the rational and open principles of Pancasila. Pancasila which enters the taste makes it dynamic. However, in terms of basic values, humans in general have implemented Pancasila in their lives because it is an expression of human nature. The existence of the Pancasila label actually makes it sacred, in the sense of being knowledge that is static and anti-criticism. Such practices were used by the New Order to control society—setting certain standards of interpretation to create uniformity of perception and knowledge (Sukoco, 2017).

Pancasila itself comes from life values that have long been adhered to by Indonesian people. The key concepts in Pancasila are philosophical, all of which are expressions of human nature (Fauzi, 2020). *Fitrah* is what one should have, often interpreted as utopia. In order for these values to be realized, Pancasila must be dynamic, it needs continuous changes both conceptually and operationally. Pancasila must be explained rationally and critically to create a climate of free and rational life. As an ideology, it must not be hampered, it must always be able to provide guidance, inspiration and support for society to develop the nation (Eddy, 2018).

Pancasila has been interpreted variously in many studies. The interpretation of Pancasila seen based on the times shows how President Soekarno used the USDEK paradigm (1945 Constitution, Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy, and the Personality of the Indonesian Nation), the New Order government launched the P4 program (Guidelines, Appreciation and Practice of Pancasila) to implement Pancasila and The 1945 Constitution is pure, and the reinterpretation of Pancasila in the reform era adapts to current developments (Apriliani & Dewi, 2021). Hajri, Idris, and Riantono (2019) also highlighted errors in interpreting Pancasila due to not using the right methods, and emphasized the importance of conforming the interpretation of Pancasila with religious teachings. The dynamics of implementing Pancasila shows how its values are reduced so that its meaning becomes static. The current reality increasingly makes Pancasila a utopia for the Indonesian people themselves (Sukoco, 2017). It is hoped that Pancasila revitalization efforts to revive Pancasila in everyday life will be able to overcome the lack of appreciation and belief in the primacy of the values contained in each of the Pancasila principles while also responding to the challenges of globalization (Fitrisari, 2020).

Pancasila in the development of science and technology (IPTEK) is often placed as a normative reference because of the belief that science and technology can threaten humanity, culture and national identity (Setyorini, 2018; Yanzi, et al., 2019). There have been many similar studies that highlight the importance of Pancasila orientation in the development of science and technology. However, Megawati actually highlighted the importance of this on economic grounds at the end of her inauguration speech.

As it currently develops, the economic system is increasingly moving to the left. Labor protection is decreasing along with the enactment of Law Number 11 of 2020 concerning Job Creation. This suggests that the

practical value of Pancasila has been reduced to suit the capitalist system. Intellectuals are directed to serve the interests of the state, which is inversely proportional to Foucault's spirit to fight for oppressed groups in the social structure and state. The existence of the Pancasila label seems to force researchers to carry out research that is constructive rather than enlightening. Pancasila, whose collective interpretation depends on the ruling regime, has the potential to limit efforts to represent marginalized groups in the academic world, allowing for formal restrictions on academic space such as prohibiting discussions or arresting activists in their academic activities.

CONCLUSION

The leadership discourse was built by Megawati Soekarnoputri through her scientific work and her inauguration speech as a Non-Permanent Professor at the Defense University. These two texts must be understood sequentially to provide context for the discourse she is building. In her scientific work, Megawati began to build discourse through presentations of her work when resolving the multidimensional crisis in the 2001-2004 period. The conclusion that emerges is that Megawati's leadership is a determining factor in Indonesia's success in emerging from this period of crisis. The discourse continued in his inauguration speech on January 11 2021, where he discussed the ideal model of strategic leadership in Indonesia. The idea of "strategic leadership based on Pancasila" emerged to connect with the Indonesian context. Here he touches on many of the nation's current problems and offers Pancasila as a solution to overcome the current disruption. He then appreciated President Joko Widodo for forming the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN) which is based on Pancasila.

Based on the critical discourse analysis carried out, the discourse built by Megawati aims to get the public to recognize their contribution to Indonesia and at the same time justify the exploitation of Pancasila as a tool to maintain their group's power. Communication is used to

influence, not to reach mutual agreement. The strategic efforts made were not accompanied by communicative actions to build a more open democratic climate. This discourse positions the people as passive subjects, ignoring their contribution to political discourse other than as voters and marginalizing their role in the decision-making process.

The knowledge that this leadership discourse wants to build is Pancasila as the foundation for every social activity. Megawati is building a perception among the public that Pancasila-based leadership is the best leadership model, and she has implemented that. In this case, Pancasila has its practical value reduced to become a tool to maintain power. The universal values contained in Pancasila are used to serve the interests of the state, justifying repressive and exclusionary actions carried out by the state against marginalized groups. Practically speaking, Pancasila should enlighten every

Conclusion

The learning component system uses demonstration methods and drill methods to support Sasando Biola music learning activities at the Edon Sasando Kupang Studio. The initial learning process starts from an introduction to Sasando material, basic theory, then fingering training, introduction to tone layout, chord playing to song accompaniment. From the results of the analysis of the data obtained as a whole, it shows that there is progress in the Sasando Biola learning process in class, there is a change in the learning patterns of junior students who previously did not know to know, playing Sasando Biola, besides that there is collaboration with Sasando Biola music accompaniment with several musical instruments electric which is adjusted to the development of the initial melody, rhythm and bass of the song which is a work of creativity from senior students.

citizen, but what is stated in this discourse actually increasingly restricts society's space for movement. The impact of this leadership discourse is the strengthening of state control over citizens, especially the scientific community. Megawati's appointment as professor aims to legitimize state control over the scientific community. The scientific community is targeted because it is considered a community that controls public knowledge through teaching and learning and research activities. In this case, society is forced to always serve the interests of the state. Considering that the interests of the state are determined by the regime in power, Megawati's group takes part in determining what is in the interests of the state. The momentum of the general election which will take place in 2024 strengthens the suspicion that the leadership discourse was deliberately built by Megawati to make it easier for her group to return to power

Based on these results it can be concluded that by applying the demonstration method and drill method can develop students' talents, creative abilities and curiosity in playing Sasando Biola music. Of course good support from parents, study buddies, community environment and infrastructure supporting creative behavior also plays an important role.

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