

**POWER AND IDEOLOGY IN BORIS JOHNSON'S SPEECHES  
AS PRIME MINISTER OF UK**

**THESIS**

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FACULTY OF HUMANITIES  
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK  
IBRAHIM MALANG  
2022**

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AS PRIME MINISTER OF UK**

**THESIS**

Presented to  
Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang  
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S.)

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2022**

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Malang, September 30, 2022



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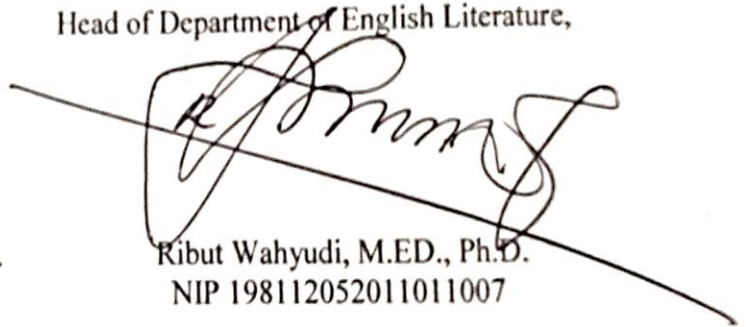
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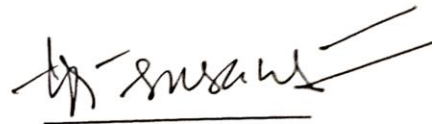
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## **MOTTO**

**“Great power comes with great responsibility”**  
(Uncle Ben – Spiderman Movie)

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is proudly dedicated to:

My beloved parents, my father, Drs. H. Mukhlis, M.Si, and my mother, Ns. Hj.

Mariati, S.Kep, who always patiently give supports, prays, and advices to me,

My aunt, Almh. Herawati, S.Pd, who wanted to see me graduating from this

university.

All of my family, who also always support me,

And I, myself, Muhammad Reynaldi Marlis, who never give up in finishing this thesis.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First of all, I express my gratitude to Allah SWT, the most gracious and merciful, who has given me power to accomplish the thesis entitled “Power and Ideology in Boris Johnson’s Speeches as Prime Minister of UK”. Secondly, *sholawat* and *salam* are delivered to the prophet Muhammad SAW, the savior of humanity and the one who has guided people from the wrong path to the right path namely Islam.

I already has finished this thesis. It is not an easy way to accomplish it due to facing the outbreak of Coronaviruses (Covid-19), which affect all activities. It is not even possible without the help and support from people around me. Thus, I would like to deliver my gratitude for:

1. My beloved father and mother, Drs. H. Mukhlis, M.Si, and Ns. Hj. Mariati, S.Kep, who always given me loves, advices, supports, prayers, and facilities or finances. I am really lucky to have them in my side.
2. Prof. Dr. H. M. Zainuddin, M.A, as the Rector of Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.
3. Dr. M. Faisol, M.Ag. as the Dean of Faculty of Humanities of Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.
4. Mr. Ribut Wahyudi, M.Ed., Ph.D. as the Head of English Literature Department of Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.
5. My thesis advisor Dr. Hj. Meinarni Susilowati, M.Ed. who has patiently guided me to finish my thesis. My academic supervisor, Dr. Agwin Degaf, M.A. who has given me advices and supports.



6. All lectures of Faculty of Humanities, especially the Department of English Literature for their valuable knowledge, experiences, motivations that have been shared to me.
7. My friends from South Sulawesi who study in Malang, especially Rumis, IKA Al-ikhlas JATIM. Thank you for having me.
8. My friends in English Literature Department. Thank you for the happiness that we shared together.
9. Lastly, everyone who comes into my life that I cannot mention one by one. Thank you for a lot of things that we have passed.

Malang, September 30, 2022

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of several overlapping loops and a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Muhammad Reynaldi Marlis

## ABSTRACT

**Marlis, Muhammad Reynaldi.** (2022). *Power and Ideology in Boris Johnson's Speeches as Prime Minister of UK*. Minor Thesis (Skripsi). Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Advisor: Dr. Hj. Meinarni Susilowati, M.Ed.

*Keywords: Power, Ideology, Discursive strategies*

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Power and ideology have a relation and significant role in speech. It can be seen from two speeches that Boris Johnson delivered at different times and situations. This research aims to find how a speech could influence people's ideology through power. Power and ideology represent how a speaker uses words or language. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is applied in this research, especially by Wodak (2009), that is discursive strategies. This theory is utilized to find the representation of power and ideology, which Boris Johnson uses in his speeches. The researcher finds that there are 11 data in the first speech, which are 4 nomination strategies, 3 predication strategies, 1 argumentation strategy, 2 perspectivation strategies, and 3 intensification strategies. In comparison, the second speech consists of 12 data, which are 4 nomination strategies, 2 predication strategies, 1 argumentation strategy, 4 perspectivation strategies, and 2 intensification strategies. The findings show that Boris Johnson used power and ideology in his speeches, which can be seen in his discursive strategies.

## مستخلص البحث

مارليس، محمد رينالدي. (2022). القوة والإيديولوجيا في الخطابة Boris Johnson كالموكل الوزير. الرسالة. قسم الأدب و الإنجليزية، كلية العلوم الإنسانية، جامعة الإسلامية الحكومية مولانا مالك إبراهيم مالانج. المشرفة: الدكتور مينارني سوسيلواتي، م. إد.

الكلمات المفتاحية: القوة، الإيديولوجيا، الإستراتيجيات استطرادية

للسلطة والإيديولوجيا علاقة ودور مهم في الكلام. يمكن ملاحظة ذلك من خطابين ألقاهما *Boris Johnson* في أوقات ومواقف مختلفة. يهدف هذا البحث لمعرفة كيف الخطاب أن يؤثر على إيديولوجيا العامة من خلال السلطة. القوة والإيديولوجيا كيفية استخدام المتحدث للكلمات أو اللغة. في هذا البحث، ينطبق على *Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)*، وخاصة من قبل (Wodak 2009)، وهي استراتيجيات استطرادية. تستخدم هذه النظرية لإيجاد تمثيل للسلطة والإيديولوجيا الذي استخدمه *Boris Johnson* في خطابه. وجد الباحث أن هناك 11 بيانات في الخطاب الأول، وهي 4 استراتيجيات ترشيح، و 3 نبوءات، و 1 حجة، و منظورين، و 3 كثيفين. بما أن في الخطاب الثاني يتكون من 12 بيانات، وهي 4 استراتيجيات ترشيح، و نبوءتين، و 1 حجة، و 4 منظورين، و كثيفين. بناء على النتائج أن *Boris Johnson* يستخدم القوة والإيديولوجيا في خطابه وهو ما وجدنا في استراتيجيات استطرادية.

## ABSTRAK

**Marlis, Muhammad Reynaldi.** (2022). *Kekuasaan dan Ideologi dalam Pidato Boris Johnson sebagai Perdana Menteri Britania Raya*. Skripsi. Program Studi Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing: Dr. Hj. Meinarni Susilowati, M.Ed.

*Kata kunci: Kekuasaan, Ideologi, Strategi diskursif*

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Kekuasaan dan ideologi saling berkesinambungan dan memiliki peranan penting dalam sebuah pidato. Hal ini dapat dilihat dari dua pidato yang pernah disampaikan oleh Boris Johnson dalam waktu dan situasi yang berbeda. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan bagaimana sebuah pidato dapat mempengaruhi ideologi masyarakat melalui kekuasaan. Kekuasaan dan ideologi pembicara dapat dilihat dari bahasa atau pilihan kata yang digunakan. Dalam penelitian ini, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) digunakan, terkhusus yang dikemukakan oleh Wodak (2009), yaitu strategi diskursif. Teori ini digunakan untuk menemukan representasi kekuasaan dan ideologi yang dipakai oleh Boris Johnson dalam pidatonya. Peneliti menemukan terdapat 11 data dalam pidato pertama, yang meliputi 4 strategi nominasi, 3 predikasi, 1 argumentasi, 2 perspektif, dan 3 intensifikasi. Sedangkan dalam pidato yang kedua terdapat 12 data, yaitu 4 strategi nominasi, 2 predikasi, 1 argumentasi, 4 perspektif, dan 2 intensifikasi. Berdasarkan temuan tersebut menunjukkan bahwa Boris Johnson menggunakan kekuasaan dan ideologi dalam pidatonya yang dapat ditemukan dalam strategi diskursif.

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## **CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION**

### **A. Background of The Study**

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) has been applied in many kinds of research investigating power and ideology genres, especially those that occur in political speeches. The studies explored the politicians' efforts to obtain people's voices by utilizing the power of their speeches. The studies show the involvement of power and ideology that has a massive impact on political speeches. Therefore, this study investigates power and ideology in Boris Johnson's speeches through critical discourse analysis.

Furthermore, it is stated that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) will be applied in this research, which is the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) of Wodak (2009), especially discursive strategies. The field of this analysis is in mental representations, views, opinions, attitudes, and evaluations which belong to a person or members of a particular social group. This theory is related to power and ideology. However, Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) is going to employ due to several reasons. Firstly, CDA is critically used to analyze discourse that addresses social change problems, including political speech. Political speech influences people in society. Secondly, it is suitable to investigate how the speaker applied power and ideology in his speech. It is caused by power and ideology are used to influence people, where using this terms needs various strategies from the speaker. Therefore, five discursive strategies will be applied, which are used to analyze power and ideology in this research.

Analysing power and ideology in speech deals with the concept of CDA. Different experts have proposed the concept of power and ideology. One of them was proposed by Van Dijk, who argued that ideology is a general abstract mental representation that influences the knowledge and attitude of social groups (Dijk T. A., 2000). Ideology means a set of beliefs that includes a person's beliefs, values, goals, and anticipations. It is developed as an important means to establish the hegemonic identity by controlling the discourses. Van Dijk (2006) provides an ideological analysis that is related with in-group (Stating positive things) and out group (Mentioning negative values). Therefore, based on explanation above, ideology strengthens the speaker's words that can influence other people.

Power and ideology analysis tackles how speakers formulate words to dominate and to control people's ideas (Sameer, 2016). Power and ideology are related to the usage of language. Language indexes power, expresses power, and is involved in any contention and a challenge to power (Meyer & Wodak, 2001). Power and ideology are not used to control and dominate the social occasion. Power and ideology can be applied in speech, especially political speech. It is utilized to dominate the situation and influence people's idea.

Some researchers observe the form of power and ideology in speech. Power refers to differences and effects in social structures, to control people (Meyer & Wodak, 2001). Nye Jr. (2008) proved in his analysis of public diplomacy and soft power that the scope of power and ideology is connected with persuasion, which concerns the way of someone is close with other people. He further proposed that power is divided into hard power and soft power. Then, it is stated that soft power



focuses on how people build relationships through communication that uses words. In contrast, hard power refers to the ability of a speaker to control the audience by offering deals, promises, etc. (Joseph S. Nye, 2008). Then, Chiang (2015) stated the dimension of power that are connected with resource control, productive and political power. Also, Fairclough (1980) mentioned his view that the concept of power relates to knowledge, social, and interactions. Therefore, power and ideology take massive roles in organizing speech because it consists of the goals that must be informed to others. Also, it could reveal why people are affected by the speech whether due to the words, voices, etc.

Furthermore, political speech is chosen as an object of this research. It is delivered by a politician to inform or decide things. Boris Johnson is a politician who has a substantial role in United Kingdom, where he is settled as Prime Minister. He delivered his first speech as Prime Minister, showing his motivations and hopes for UK. This research tackles Boris Johnson's first speech as PM because it shows Mr. Johnson's power gathered with his faith or ideology. However, when this speech was delivered, some people protested and he called them as "Doubters, Doomsters, and Gloomsters". Boris' speech consists of messages maintaining the hard-line stance on Brexit. Mr. Johnson's speech also caused many people to trust him and stay by his side, some people said he has a glorious speech under the pressure of people who protested around him. Also, he promised to maintain the economic situation in UK. Then, to secure the people's trust, he always declared that he worked for citizens. By stating those hopes and promises, Boris Johnson managed to gain the trust of many people.

In addition, another speech addressed to Ukrainian Parliament also shows the seriousness of Mr. Johnson in maintaining the relation of UK with other countries. He supported the freedom of Ukraine these days, as he stated that Ukraine will win the war with Russia. He also declared that the government of UK will be in the same side with Ukraine in this war. This speech caused the citizens to believe the government to protect and help Ukraine during the war. Therefore, the researcher considers that these speeches become the stage for Boris to show his power that influence people with his arguments which consist of his ideology to develop and maintain the United Kingdom. It could be used to reveal the strategies of Boris Johnson applied to gain attention through his power and ideology.

There are several studies that have been done previously, which relate with this research. Purwanto (2017) observed discursive strategies that are found in Ridwan Kamil's status update, which result that it is used to gain people's reaction and attention. Then, Nazla (2017) discovered the use of ideology in Nara Marsista Rakhmati's speech, which shows that it focused on representing her beliefs. Sugiharti (2018) in her analysis used DHA to find the purpose of a local culture in *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* book. She found that the book is full of local wisdom. Power relations and ideology in Donald Trump's speech was analysed by Ulkhasanah (2019), which resulted the form power relations and ideology that influenced people. Puspita, Al Farauqy and Sunarti (2019) analysed Vladimir Putin's speech by applying Van Dijk's CDA, which showed the Putin's courage to offend any action from American.

Furthermore, Kadhim and Jawad (2020) investigated Boris Johnson's

speech on Brexit, which resulted the instruments that were applied in the speech, such as power, providing facts, and etc. Ramanathan, Paramavisam and Hoon (2020) observed the intended meanings in Najib and Modi's tweets by using discursive strategies, which showed their future actions. Arasy (2020) used the CDA of Fairclough's analysis model in Lizzie Velasquez's speech, which resulted that he focused on her experiences to motivate people. Then, Lafta, Hassan, Al Manseer and Al Mawla (2020) analysed Donald Trump's speech at United Nations by combining Fairclough and Van dijk's theory, which resulted Trump influence people by stating achievements and ambitions. Therefore, Haider and Gujjar (2021) investigated Boris Johnson's speech by using Fairclough's CDA, which showed that Mr. Johnson use idioms, euphemism and etc.

Based on those previous studies, this research is focused on identifying and analysing power and ideology in Boris Johnson's speeches. However, the previous studies still lack in their research. Firstly, most of them applied Fairclough and Van dijk's theory to analyse their objects. It opens the probability that the other theory could show a different results. Secondly, the previous researches above provide different objects, which did not analysed the Boris Johnson's speeches about solidarity to Ukraine and first speech as PM. These speeches are important because it contains the first image of Mr. Johnson in front of citizens and his position as delegation of UK to help Ukraine government. In addition, this research will compare the results of analysis between the two speeches, especially in terms of each power, ideology and discursive strategies that are applied. Therefore, this research would be an essential study that helps the readers know how power and

ideology should apply.

### **B. Problems of The Study**

There are two problems that are raised in this research:

1. How is the power represented in Boris Johnson's speeches?
2. How is ideology depicted in Boris Johnson's speeches?

### **C. Significance of The Study**

This research practically provides a reference of linguistic studies, especially in Critical Discourse Analysis for students of English Literature Department. However, it also supports to strengthen the capability of speakers when delivering their speech. They can improve it by applying power, ideology and discursive strategies. It also could help other researchers who study a similar area to reveal power and ideology in speech.

### **D. Scope and Limitation**

This research is focused on analysing the power and ideology that appear in Boris Johnson's speeches by applying CDA approach of Wodak (2009). However, this research restricts the data which is only from the speech of Boris Johnson, when he became Prime Minister of United Kingdom on 24<sup>th</sup> July 2019 in Downing Street and Mr. Johnson's speech about his support to Ukraine Parliament during the war between Russia.

### **E. Definition of Key Terms**

Critical Discourse Analysis : CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, and legitimized by

language use (Wodak & Reisegl, 2009).

Discursive Strategies : Discursive strategies mean elaborate and systematic ways of using language to reach a particular social, political, psychological, or linguistic goal (Wodak & Reisegl, 2009).

Nomination Strategy : Nomination strategy is one of discursive strategies that are focused on categorizing people or someone in a speech (Wodak & Reisegl, 2009).

Predication Strategy : Predication strategy means how the speakers label people or someone positively and negatively by showing their actions (Wodak & Reisegl, 2009).

Argumentation Strategy : Argumentation strategy shows the speaker's view of something that aims to justify the act (Wodak & Reisegl, 2009).

Perspectivation Strategy : Perspectivation Strategy is a strategy that mentions about the

speaker's involvement or convinces people to do the same thing (Wodak & Reisegl, 2009).

Intensification or Mitigation Strategy : It is a strategy that is used to state something implicitly or explicitly (Wodak & Reisegl, 2009).

Power : Power means the ability of Boris Johnson to control people by using position or strength. There are two kinds of power which are hard power (capability in position) and soft power (language involvement).

Ideology : Ideology means the perspective of someone that could be identified from his convictions, attitudes, and statements, especially Boris Johnson's idea.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

This chapter contains theories that relate with this present study. It explains theories about power, ideology, Discourse Historical Approach of Ruth Wodak, and previous studies.

#### **A. Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical Discourse Analysis highlights the substantively linguistic and discursive nature of social relation of power in society. CDA assesses discourse with its functions in society, especially related to inequality, and it analyses the way it is produced and legitimised (Abdelaal, Alisood, & Sase, 2015). According to Van dijk (2003), CDA is concerned with the social power, dominance, and inequality that can be found in text of social or political contexts. Therefore, this research applies CDA concept which is proposed by Wodak, namely Discourse Historical Approach.

#### **1. Discourse Historical Approach of Wodak's CDA**

CDA provides vehicle which is Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) embraces a critically concept that combines three interrelated aspects: textual or discourse criticism, social criticism, and prospective criticism. DHA involves three aspects: critic, ideology and power (Wodak & Reisegl, 2009). Moreover, the DHA is distinguished by the three dimensions, which relate with textual meanings and structure, that are spoken or written, discursive strategies and linguistic means (Meyer & Wodak, 2001).

Ideologically, Discourse Historical Approach is often seen as a field composed of mental representations, views, opinions, attitudes, and evaluations belonging to a person or members of a particular social group. Ideology is critical in establishing and maintaining differences in power relations in discourse. In DHA, power is related to the social actors' differences. Therefore, the dimension of DHA which is applied is discursive strategies.

Wodak's discursive strategies are meant to be a systematic language use. It is noted that discursive strategies can be adopted to implement certain purposes, such as social, political, psychological, or linguistic. However, there are five aspects of discursive strategies that contain positive self- and negative-representation (Wodak & Reisigl, 2009).

TABLE 4.1 *Discursive strategies*

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
Referential/nomination	Construction of in-groups and out-groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● membership categorization</li> <li>● biological, naturalizing and depersonalizing metaphors and metonymies</li> <li>● synecdoches (pars pro toto, totum pro pars)</li> </ul>
Predication	Labelling social actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits</li> <li>● implicit and explicit predicates</li> </ul>
Argumentation	Justification of positive or negative attributions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● topoi used to justify political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential treatment</li> </ul>
Perspectivation, framing or discourse representation	Expressing involvement Positioning speaker's point of view	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● reporting, description, narration or quotation of (discriminatory) events and utterances</li> </ul>
Intensification, mitigation	Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of (discriminatory) utterances</li> </ul>



Firstly, Referential and Nomination Strategy is a strategy that is concerned with the speaker's attempt in representing people into in-group and out-group. It is applied through some devices, such as membership categorization (deictics, anthroponyms, etc.), tropes (metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches), verbs and nouns. Therefore, the examples are the words previous presidents, other researchers and etc.

Secondly, Predication strategy refers to the intention of speakers to label social actors positively and negatively. However, the devices of this strategy are in the form of stereotypical, collocations, explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors, allusions, and etc. The examples are the sentences "other researchers refuse to utilize the recent method", "the citizens argue to have a same side with President", and etc.

Then, argumentation strategies is used to reveal the moments when speakers attempt to legitimize or justify the negative or positive acts they produce. It utilizes topoi and fallacies as the vehicles to analyse speakers' act. Meanwhile, topoi are parts of argumentation that belong to the obligatory premises of an argument with the central claim or conclusion. For instance, the sentence "Government should provide many methods to release the Coronaviruses from the country, such as using mask, keeping the distances among people".

Furthermore, perspectivation strategy is the attempt of speaker to get his audience involved throughout a variety of techniques such as reporting, describing, narrating or quoting sentences. The vehicles are deictics, direct or indirect speech, quotation marks, metaphors and etc. The example is a sentence "a researcher stated

that his preparation since the beginning of the project is massive, where it results the project is succeed”.

The last is Intensification or Mitigation strategy. It shows the moment when the speaker intends to intensify utterances implicitly or explicitly. It can be an important aspect of the presentation in as much as they operate it by either sharpening it or toning it down. For instance, the sentence “a president mentioned that in making his decision, it is followed to fulfil the hopes of citizens”.

Therefore, this theory is applied to analyse power and ideology in Boris Johnson’s speech for some reasons. Firstly, the strategies are contained in the utterances. It has relation with the implementation of power and ideology in speech. Secondly, power and ideology are strengthened by using the strategies. For example, the speaker mentioned “Our previous government have failed to solve this problem. So, I stand here to inform that we will not repeat the same thing again”. It shows that the speaker labels the previous government negatively, because they fail to do their job, and positively present government can perform better than the previous.

## **B. Power**

Power is associated to language. There are number of ways that language is entwined in social power, which are language indexes power, expresses power, it involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power (Meyer & Wodak, 2001). However, power does not derive from language, but language is used to subvert power and to change power in short or long term. Therefore, power and

language are connected each other, where this instrument analysis is utilized to investigate power that appear in discourses, such as speech.

Power is commonly defined as the capability of someone to control and influence people. It is a relation among people, where it involves interactions. Power is consisted of a set of force relations, which is built into daily relations and practices (Orlowski, 2012). According to Van dijk (2000), power is not only a way to control the acts of other people, but also their minds or such a mind control. The concepts of power has been proposed by many researchers.

Chiang (2015) stated in his research that there are three dimensions of power which is from Marx and Engels. Firstly, power is connected with the resource control which relates with material power. It refers to the production tools to apply it, for example economic power. Secondly, the human capabilities refer to the productive power. It means the person has more skill than others, which can be used to dominate them. The last is domination and oppression power which means political power. For instance, the speaker has a high position to rule the group.

In Fairclough's (1980) view, he developed the power concept. Power is related with knowledge, settled in social relations, and presented in interactions of among people. It needs more action rather than possessing. Power involves domination and control to influence through ideas, relationships, and attitudes. However, individuals are both included into subject and object of power. For example, a speaker is defined as subject and people who hear the speech are object. Fairclough sees that power is formative because it results order, structure institutions, and provide subjectivities of individual in society.

Furthermore, power is divided into two kinds which are hard and soft power (Joseph S. Nye, 2008). Hard power is defined as the ability purposefully to inflict pain that could become a threat. It also refers to the capability of a speaker in his position that could control others. For example, the speaker is a leader of group that can rule other people. Then, soft power is the ability to achieve influence which becomes the opposite of hard power. It shows the skill of a speaker to dominate and influence audiences by his words or utterances. For instance, the speaker in a group sets a new rule by mentioning it in his speech which can be used as a stage to inform the group.

However, the analysis of power in speech means the way of a speaker controls people by showing that they understand speakers' goals. There are many examples of the implementation of power in a speech. For example, a President delivers his speech and states "I gather a lot of young people who passionate in teaching to develop our education quality, so that we would not be left behind by other countries". This statement shows that he has a capability to order many people to follow him, which generates people who listen his speech think that they also should obey his command. This is the way of a speaker represents his power to dominate or control people.

### **C. Ideology**

Ideology refers to the belief of someone in something. Generally, it is constructed with ideas, beliefs, understanding, and attitudes because it represents human in social life. According to van Dijk (2000), ideology exist cognition, society and discourse. It becomes a set of shared basic beliefs of a group or its members.

He also assumes that ideology is symbolizing the principles underlying social cognition. Generally, it is constructed with ideas, beliefs, understanding, and attitudes because it represents human in social life.

Furthermore, ideology is also entwined with language. Language is ideological or every use of languages is contained for ideological or political purposes. Focusing on language ideology shows how linguistic options and language change are affected by the way people understand language and its use. Then, Zheng (2015) states that language will have an ideology that results people are inadvertently influenced by the ideology that exist in words or utterances. For example, it is stated that “it is hot” and “it feels hot”. These two sentences are likely same, even though it is different. The first sentence shows the condition around him, while the second expresses the speaker’s emotion. By stating this, it could influence person or people who hear it will think the same thing.

The importance of ideology could show the representation of group. It can be used to evaluate them whether they could provide positive or negative impacts. However, the goal in politic is to enhance reputation, values, and spread influences to citizens. Van dijk (2006) offered ideological analysis to identify the ideology which is represented by individual or group. He mentioned that there are two groups in politics, namely in group and outgroup. In group refers to the speaker action which tends to stating achievements, goals and all positive things that he and his group did. On the contrary, outgroup is shown by resulting negative values, such as discrimination, war, racism, and etc. Therefore, the involvement of the concept of

in group and outgroup in analysing ideology has important role. The speaker applies this terms in his speech to provide evidences that convince people.

Based on the explanation above, the use of ideology in speech has a crucial role. It is utilized to strengthen speaker's utterances and influence people to have a same thought. For instance, a Minister delivers his speech in front of citizens and states "For now, we are moving to the improvement of our medical facilities to face and prevent the outbreak of a new virus. We cooperate with many countries that could support us to provide some medical facilities". This announcement shows the Minister's ideology that is to strengthen the country's health facilities. The government did this because the outbreak of virus before affected many problems. So, to prevent this problem happened again, they do some preparation. By stating this, the citizens could understand the government's purpose which results that they are influenced by the Minister's utterances.

The relation of power and ideology in speech are used to strengthen the quality of a speech. There are many people who have critical argumentations, but some of them could not express appropriately by attaching ideology and power. A good speech commonly contains ideology and is expressed by power, which shows the speaker's self. Then, after applying these, the speaker is expected to influence his audiences.

## **CHAPTER III RESEARCH METHOD**

This chapter contains the research frameworks that are used in this study. It consists of research design, data sources, data collection techniques, and data analysis techniques.

### **A. Research Design**

In this research, the study is focused on the analysis of power and ideology that can be found in Boris Johnson's speeches. The data of this research will be in a form of words, phrases, sentences, or utterances, which are suitable with Qualitative research methodology. It is also used because the data need deep elaboration. However, in analysing the data, Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) from Wodak (2009) is applied, especially the discursive strategies. It is utilized because the speaker must show his ideology to have a same thought and power to control other people. The discursive strategies are contained how the speakers strengthen their power and ideology that could be stating his argumentations about things, declaring a new policy, and etc.

### **B. Data Source**

The first data of this research are obtained in the video <https://youtu.be/6jfSAWCHRts> and script of Boris Johnson's first speech <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-49102495>. It was documented on 24<sup>th</sup> July 2019. The second data is taken from Mr. Johnson's speech on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2022 which is about supporting Ukraine during the war between Russia, the video <https://youtu.be/hmxgikmh9Kg> and the text of speech in the website

**<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/prime-minister-boris-johnsons-address-to-the-ukrainian-parliament-3-may-2022>** . Therefore, the data are in the

form of words, phrases, and sentences. Those links are valid because it is taken from Youtube of BBC and 10 Downing Street, while the script is from Website of BBC and GOV.UK, where all of them are verified sources.

### **C. Data Collection**

The process of collecting data in this study is arranged into several steps. Firstly, the script and video of Boris Johnson's speeches are downloaded. Secondly, the scripts are confirmed comprehensively with the videos to validate that the scripts and videos are the same. Furthermore, the next step is reading the script several times to understand messages which contain power and ideology. Lastly, the words or utterances are collected, especially that have power and ideology. Then, it is arranged sequentially according to the speeches.

### **D. Data Analysis**

The analysis are done by following several steps. Firstly, the researcher classifies the data into five discursive strategies. The strategies are explained by providing the signs, forms, and purposes. Secondly, it is followed by elaborating the representation of the power, which is proposed by Wodak and Meyer (2001), and ideology (2000), which is from Van dijk that are contained in the words, phrases, and sentences, which have been classified. Then, the results are compared,, which are done by mentioning and explaining the similarities and differences. Lastly, the research is concluded by drawing a conclusion that answers the problems of the study.



## **CHAPTER IV FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS**

This chapter provides the finding and discussion. The finding consists of analysis of the data which is based on Wodak's CDA theory of discursive strategies (2009) that could reveal power and ideology in the speeches. Therefore, the results of the analysis are presented in the discussion.

### **A. Findings**

This research analyses power and ideology, which Boris Johnson used in his speeches. There are two speeches that are observed in this study. The first is the first speech of Mr. Johnson when he was inaugurated as a new Prime Minister of UK. It was held on 24<sup>th</sup> July 2019 in Downing Street. In the speech, he announced his role and purpose to build and maintain the sustainability in the UK. Then, the second speech is Mr. Johnson's statements about the condition in Ukraine's war with Russia. It was stated on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2022 in Prime Minister's Office, Downing Street. He declared that the government of UK would support Ukraine in the war. Therefore, these speeches will be analysed by using discursive strategies which is proposed by Wodak (2009). It has five types, which all of them are involved in positive self-presentation and the negative other presentation, such as nomination and referential (Nn), predication (Pr), perspectivation (Pp), argumentation (Ag) and intensification or mitigation (Mg). It is used to find power from Wodak and Meyer (2001) and ideology (2000), which are contained in the speeches.

From the two speeches that are analyzed, there are many data, which are found. The first speech contains 21 data while the second speech has 19 data.

However, some of those data have similar patterns, which are from its contexts and analysis. Then, to avoid the same results, data reduction is used to optimize it. From 21 data in the first speech, it becomes 11. The 19 data in the second speech are also reduced into 12. Therefore, this is done because some of the data show a same results in terms of its context and analysis.

This research applies Wodak's DHA, especially discursive strategies. The data are analysed through discursive strategies because it contained of power and ideology. Discursive strategies consist of five aspects, which are nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivation, and mitigation or intensification.

### **The First Speech: Boris Johnson's First Speech as Prime Minister**

#### **Excerpt 1**

The first excerpt is when Boris Johnson delivered his speech in Downing Street in front of Prime Minister's office. He started his speech by giving salutation to the Queen and his predecessor. He appreciated the sacrifices of his predecessor who dedicated for the country.

*"I have just been to see Her Majesty the Queen who has invited me to form a government  
 Nn  
 and I have accepted. I pay tribute to the fortitude and patience of my predecessor and her deep  
 Nn Nn  
 sense of public service."*

From the data above, Boris Johnson was shown as a person who put respect to those who had authority above him. The word "I" in first sentence represented himself as a person who had right to meet the Queen. It also indicated Mr. Johnson's power that is his authority to accept invitation to meet the Queen and carry out the mandate as a new prime minister. His ideology could be found by the way he

praised the Queen by using “her majesty”. The word “I” in second sentence showed the act of Boris Johnson who appreciated the previous prime minister’s services. On the contrary, the phrase “my predecessor” represented the previous prime minister (Theresa May) who was from the same party, which committed the development of the UK. For example, the referendum was made by the previous PM to decide whether to do Britain Exit (Brexit) from EU or not. Mr. Johnson used the word and phrase to signify his ideology that his party and the previous prime minister who were from the same party had dedicated themselves to support the development of the UK. Therefore, those underlined words are identified as nomination because it is used to represent Mr. Johnson himself, the previous prime minister and their party positively.

### **Excerpt 2**

The second excerpt is contained the statement of Boris Johnson that showed his displeasure with some people who opposed to their own country or government’s decision about Brexit. The previous government did not show the good results during its period because they made unsatisfactory decision in Brexit problem. It caused some of citizens doubted to the present government due to the developments of the country were not significant before.

*“But in spite of all her efforts, it has become clear that there are pessimists at home and  
**Pr**  
abroad who think that after three years of indecision, that this country has become a prisoner to  
**Pr**  
the old arguments of 2016 and that in this home of democracy we are incapable of honouring a  
basic democratic mandate.”*

Boris Johnson stated that there are some people whose jobs were only doubt to the government since the period of the previous minister. Mr. Johnson labelled

some people, which were citizens inside and outside of UK negatively in the phrase “are pessimists at home and abroad” that showed their trust issue to the government. For example, the government still could not make important move in Brexit. They wanted Brexit must be successful because people thought that the UK could develop even without receiving significant help from the EU. However, it still had not happened and only become a hope. It caused the citizens were reluctant to the present government. Also, the word “abroad” referred to people in outside of the UK who thought that the government of UK was not improved in Brexit matter. However, Boris Johnson also used the phrase “has become a prisoner” to assert the people who opposed the government closed their mind tightly. It was also supported by the next statement that described the bad condition of this government in their mind. The decision of Brexit had appeared since 2016, which still became a problem until Boris Johnson period. The citizens hoped that the government should put more their focus on Brexit. Those phrases contained of same power and ideology. Boris Johnson’s power could be identified by his position as prime minister and the way he labelled some people negatively. By labelling people, it implied his ideology that he believed those people still opposed the government’s decisions after three years. He also emphasized it with a metaphor “prisoner”, which referred to their assumptions were still same since 2016. However, Boris Johnson applied predication strategies to label people who doubt with the government.

### **Excerpt 3**

In this section, Boris Johnson mentioned again that there are some people who refuse to believe with the Parliament. It was caused by the failure of previous

Parliament promised to secure and maintain the situation in United Kingdom since 2016. Even though, this kind of people would always appear in any government, they influence others to join where it become a disease for this country.

*“The doubters, the doomsters, the gloomsters - they are going to get it wrong again.”*

**Pr**

**Nn**

From the excerpt above, Boris Johnson applied predication and nomination strategy. Firstly, he labelled the people of the UK that have no trust in the government as the doubters, the doomsters, and the gloomsters. It was taken from its each meaning, the doubters (people who reluctant), the doomsters (people who predicted that it would be a disaster). Those words referred same meaning, which was their actions of refusing to trust the government because of the fake promises that the previous government made. He also thought that those people were inaccurate because they decided to doubt or did not believe with his government era. Then, the phrase “are going to get it wrong again” used nomination strategy, which represented that those people would see different government in Boris Johnson period, which meant it would be better than before. It showed Mr. Johnson’s power as a prime minister who guaranteed the dedication of current government. His ideology also portrayed that the improvement of government in his era would be significant as if he had prepared a good offer regarding the Brexit.

#### **Excerpt 4**

Boris Johnson faced many critiques from British people because the previous Prime Minister failed in her job, especially the Brexit matter. He was chosen to become a new Prime Minister by his own conservative party. Theresa May who became the Prime Minister chose to resign and was replaced by Boris

Johnson. Then, Mr. Johnson must continue the substantial job, which was to carry the UK out from European Union (EU).

*“The people who bet against Britain are going to lose their shirts, because we are going to restore trust in our democracy and we are going to fulfil the repeated promises of Parliament to the people and come out of the EU on October 31, no ifs or buts.”*

This excerpt contains two strategies, which are nomination and predication. The phrase “the people who bet against Britain” is defined as nomination strategy because it represented them negatively as the people who believe that UK would fail again. It also described people’s idea that the failures of government already became usual thing, which affected the public’s trust had decreased. Then, it is supported by the following predication strategy “are going to lose their shirts”. It can be seen from this phrase that Mr. Johnson used it to label those people negatively. It was caused by the metaphor words “lose their shirts”, which implied feeling ashamed for their mistakes not to believe the government. By asserting that those people made mistakes, it showed Boris Johnson’s ideology. He felt disappointed with them because the bet for the failure of the country same as they sold their own country. Furthermore, the nomination strategy also could be found in the words “we” twice. It represented that he and his government could fulfil the demand to leave the European Union. It could be seen from the words “no ifs or buts”, which referred to Mr. Johnson’s power to ensure citizens that his government could finish the Brexit matter.

### Excerpt 5

In this data, Boris Johnson declared to take a sit in the position of UK's Prime minister with confidence. Boris convinced people that they did not need to wait for a long time to see the development of the country.

*"...I have every confidence that in 99 days' time we will have cracked it. But you know  
 what - we aren't going to wait 99 days, because the British people have had enough of waiting.  
 The time has come to act, to take decisions, to give strong leadership and to change this country  
 for the better."*

This data shows that Boris Johnson utilized nomination strategies. The words "I" and "We" in the first and second sentence represented positively his confidence of solving the problems in the UK and position was on the same side with people in Britain. The power of Boris Johnson was indicated by his authority to unite all elements of people. It can be seen from the word "cracked", he thought that by working together could ease and solve the development process. Also, the second sentence contained the words "you", "we", and "British people" that had different purpose in representing citizens. The word "you" referred to all people in the UK, while the word "we" represented the government, and the words "British people" meant the people who supported or critiqued the government. The third sentence also contained of nomination strategies. The phrases "to act", "to take", "to give", and "to change" represented all aspects to do that could help to build a better country. His idea was portrayed that the development of the country could be reached by the movement of citizens.

### Excerpt 6

In this section, Boris Johnson started to share his job was to serve the citizens. Even all the previous Prime Minister said this statement, but in this situation, Mr. Johnson tried to emphasize it again by providing the examples of his jobs.

*“My job is to make your streets safer - and we are going to begin with another 20,000  
**Mg**  
 police on the streets and we start recruiting forthwith. My job is to make sure you don't have to wait  
**Mg**  
 3 weeks to see your GP - and we start work this week, with 20 new hospital upgrades, and ensuring  
 that money for the NHS really does get to the front line. My job is to protect you or your parents or  
**Mg**  
 grandparents from the fear of having to sell your home to pay for the costs of care.”*

Boris Johnson applied intensification strategy in this utterance. He intensified himself by saying “my job” several times, which meant he ensured people that he dedicated himself for his duty. The words “my job” signified that it was more than a promise that he mentioned, but it must be done by all parts of government. Then, the power of Boris Johnson was implicitly illustrated that he had authority to produce public service policies that could protect people. However, his ideology could be seen in the way he asserted the word “my job”. He identified himself as the person who must be responsible for the citizens’ safety by providing health and security facilities. It was caused by the huge amount of senior citizens in the UK, which were around 11.8 million residents aged 65 years and over in 2016.

### Excerpt 7

Boris Johnson announced his action in front of citizens in Downing Street. He intended about the security for older people by preparing a plan that could solve this problem.



*“And so I am announcing now - on the steps of Downing Street - that we will fix the crisis  
**Mg**  
 in social care once and for all with a clear plan we have prepared to give every older person the  
 dignity and security they deserve.”*

After he explained his movement that he would do everything to complete his job in the previous excerpt, he stressed it again by mentioning that they prepared a plan to solve the social care problem. He used intensification strategy again to enhance the people’s trust in him. It could be found in the phrase “we will fix” that intensified the focus of himself and the government was to provide better facilities for the senior citizens in the UK. Furthermore, the phrase also contained of Mr. Johnson’s power. He showed his responsibility as prime minister to fix the problem of the public safety. By stating the phrase, it also portrayed his ideology, which was to ensure people that all senior citizens deserved the best safety place for all their dedication before.

### **Excerpt 8**

In this data, Boris Johnson stated his seriousness of governing the UK by uniting all citizens. The development of the country that must be achieved by the present government era was in some important sectors, such as human resources.

*“And I will tell you something else about my job. It is to be prime minister of the whole  
**Mg**  
 United Kingdom. And that means uniting our country, answering at last the plea of the forgotten  
 people and the left-behind towns by physically and literally renewing the ties that bind us together.”*

From the data above, Boris Johnson used intensification strategy again. It is caused by Mr. Johnson used the phrase “I will tell you”, which emphasized his statement about his job. He would like to citizens must underline his duty as a PM who must be responsible for this country. Furthermore, power was applied by the

way he ordered people to be more focused on his job to unite all people in the UK. His ideology was indicated that his statement was significant that was to unite United Kingdom. Also, he wanted to develop each sectors significantly so that there would be no area, which had not improved.

### **Excerpt 9**

In this data, Mr. Johnson underlined that the improvement of United Kingdom should not only occur in the area of England. It also should be followed by all areas of the government of UK. Then, the symbols of the UK's flag portrayed the unity in diversity between Britain's countries.

*“Because it is time we unleashed the productive power not just of London and the South East, but of every corner of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The awesome foursome that are incarnated in that red, white, and blue flag - who together are so much more than the sum of their parts, and whose brand and political personality is admired and even loved around the world.”*

According to the data above, Boris Johnson applied perspectivization strategy in this utterance in order to describe the meaning of UK's flag. It presented four countries, which were England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland that included as part of Britain. By using this strategy, Boris Johnson told the British people to understand deeply about the flag. The development of Britain would not only focus on certain area, but it must be occurred in whole area of Britain. Furthermore, power is presented in this statement by showing his position as prime minister and the way Mr. Johnson tried to influence all people to be united. Then, his ideology can be seen from how he interpreted the flag's meaning. His ideology showed that if the unity of all countries could be achieved, it would help to strengthen all sectors in the UK.

### **Excerpt 10**

In this part, Boris Johnson revealed the power of UK in many areas. It showed that Mr. Johnson wanted to citizens realized that the UK was already great in some sectors. It could be seen from the way he stated below that the future generation were already being prepared with job fields.

*“Do not underestimate our powers of organisation and our determination, because we know the enormous strengths of this economy in life sciences, in tech, in academia, in music, the arts, culture, financial services. It is here in Britain that we are using gene therapy, for the first time, to treat the most common form of blindness. Here in Britain that we are leading the world in the battery technology that will help cut CO2 and tackle climate change and produce green jobs for the next generation.”*

Boris Johnson is found applying perspectivation strategy in the utterance above. Obviously, he managed to tell everyone to do not look down on the UK because it had led some areas in the world. He informed the strengths of the UK, such as economy in life sciences, health in leading gene therapy and technology in making battery technology. Therefore, by mentioning all of them, it meant he underlined the power of Prime Minister, which was to ensure citizens that he could guarantee even if the UK out from EU, the effect was not significant. However, it could be seen that he thought that the UK had a good development because of its strengths. It referred his ideology that he interpreted the UK did not need to rely on the European Union again due to its improvement were already better, which also could provide the future public facilities for the next generations

### **Excerpt 11**

In this data, Boris Johnson called for people to work and achieve together the goals of this government. The United Kingdom must be developed significantly

because Boris Johnson believed that the country was filled people who skilful in many areas.

*“So let us begin work now to create free ports that will drive growth and thousands of high-skilled jobs in left-behind areas. **Ag** Let's start now to liberate the UK's extraordinary bioscience sector from anti-genetic modification rules, and let's develop the blight-resistant crops that will feed the world.”*

He applied the argumentation strategy to influence the citizens of UK. It can be seen that he wanted to share and have same idea with people by stating “let us begin work now” and “let’s start now”. After becoming a Prime Minister, he needed supports from citizens of the UK by working and improving the vital sectors, especially the sector of bioscience, which the world saw the UK was the centre. However, this data also shows the power of Boris Johnson to rule and influence the government and citizens. By inviting the citizens to improve every areas of skills, he could notice the will of citizens that must be actualized. Therefore, his ideology represented that to develop the country, it needed people’s involvement so that it could be happened better UK than before.

### **The Second Speech: Prime Minister Boris Johnson’s address to the Ukrainian Parliament**

#### **Excerpt 1**

Boris Johnson delivered his speech to show the UK’s involvement in supporting Ukraine during the war with Russia. It became one of crucial moment in the history because Putin already attacked some areas. As a Prime Minister, Mr. Johnson was expected to support Ukraine over Russia because the government of UK and Ukraine had a closed relationship.

*“In the south and the east of your wonderful country, Putin continues with his grotesque  
**Pr**  
and illegal campaign to take and hold Ukrainian soil and his soldiers no longer have the excuse of not knowing what they are doing. They are committing war crimes, and their atrocities emerge wherever they are forced to retreat – as we’ve seen at Bucha, at Irpin at Hostomel and many other places”*

This data shows that Mr. Johnson tried to defame Putin’s action, which started this war. He influenced people to believe that Ukraine should be supported over Russia, who were the invaders. It could be seen that he used predication strategy. He stated “continues his grotesque and illegal campaign”, which labelled Putin as a cruel person who lead his soldiers to invade Ukraine. They pushed some areas so that the land of Ukraine decreased gradually. Furthermore, the power and ideology of Boris Johnson was also depicted. He could argue and blame Putin and his government for their action without any hesitation. It was caused by his position as the Prime Minister of UK, which must support Ukraine over Russia. However, from the statement above, his ideology clearly showed that he did not support Russia that began the war because the war should not be existed again in the world. He even defamed Putin and his government, who attacked the land of Ukraine.

## **Excerpt 2**

Boris Johnson started in the beginning parts of his speech by giving the government and citizens of Ukraine hopes. He mentioned his purpose by stating that Ukraine could win this war and live normally again. Also, he added a reason for his statement that Russia could not conquer Ukraine.

*“I have one message for you today: Ukraine will win, Ukraine will be free and I tell you  
**Mg** **Mg**  
why I believe you will succeed, members of the Rada. When they came to me last year, and they said that the evidence was now overwhelming that Putin was planning an invasion and we could see his Battalion Tactical Groups – well over 100 of them – gathering on the border”*

Ukraine indeed was in the heart of many people. Boris Johnson tried to announce his point of view by stating that Ukraine should be free. He utilized perspectivation strategy. It could be seen in the phrases “Ukraine will win” and “Ukraine will be free”. The government of UK supported the Ukraine’s freedom by providing information about the Putin’s tactical planning. Then, He intensified the word “Ukraine” twice due to his commitment was not only a promise, but it would happen later. He used that to give hopes that they could win the war and to encourage the Ukrainians’ spirit. Therefore, the excerpt above is also contained with power and ideology that Boris Johnson used. He gave some information about the situation of this war in his speech. The information was from one of parliaments in Ukraine, Rada, which already predicted the movement of Putin since 2021. It means that he had power that could receive a huge amount of information and also announce it in front of citizens. He also claimed that Ukraine could win the war and got its freedom. It shows that his statement portrays his ideology, which was the Ukrainians deserved to be free from the invasion. However, Boris Johnson and UK’s government fully supported the right of Ukraine.

### **Excerpt 3**

During his speech, Boris Johnson tried to touch the Ukrainian’s heart. He stated that he already felt the bad effect of this war. He saw the fears, which were spread in the areas of Ukraine. Then, he also visited some places and saw some people who tried to protect their own country from the invaders.

*“I also, I remember a sense of horror but also of puzzlement. Because I had been to Kyiv on previous visits - and I actually met some of you and I had stood in the Maidan and seen the tributes to those who had given their lives to protect Ukraine against Russian aggression”*

Boris Johnson revealed the tragedy that happened in Kyiv and expressed his condolences. He utilized the word “I” for several times to show his closeness to Ukrainian. The words “I” in the first sentence were represented himself as fellow human who felt scared and sad about this war. The ideology of Mr. Johnson shows that the war only resulted sadness everywhere. Then, the words “I” in the next sentence were represented Boris Johnson as a delegation of UK who visited some war areas and delivered condolences. He saw that the citizens in Maidan still protested and drove the Russia’s soldiers away. Therefore, power still showed the authority of Mr. Johnson, which became a delegation of UK could visit some war areas. Then, his ideology could be seen by the way he tried to touch the people’s perspectives by honoring Ukrainians who still defended their lands.

#### **Excerpt 4**

In this part, Boris Johnson reported that Ukraine could still survived. He said that there were many resistances in some places. Although, the Ukrainians protested everywhere, which resulted that they could push the soldiers of Russia back.

*“And today you have proved them completely wrong, every one of those military experts who said Ukraine would fall. Your farmers kidnapped Russian tanks with their tractors. Your pensioners told Russian soldiers to hop as we say, although they may have used more colourful language. Even in the parts of Ukraine that were temporarily captured, your populations, your indomitable populations turned out to protest, day after day”*

The excerpt above showed that Boris Johnson utilized perspectivation strategy in whole utterances. Firstly, he stated that the people who said that Ukraine would fall were going to wrong. It is followed by describing some situations in the

war. He reported that the Ukrainians still survived even without good weapons. They could hold the aggression even if they were pensioners, farmers, etc. However, Boris Johnson told all people about this thing to assert that Ukraine need other supports and to strengthen the Ukrainian's spirit. By reporting the war situation, it indicated the Prime Minister of UK's power and ideology. His power could be found in whole utterance. He could receive many important information about the war, which showed the power of his position. He also described it in details the war situation without hesitation. Then, his ideology reflected that he believed that Ukraine could win the war, which could be seen from their power, which could hold the Russian's soldier who were facilitated well with weapons than Ukraine. Therefore, it showed Mr. Johnson's dedication truly was for the freedom of Ukraine.

#### **Excerpt 5**

In this section, Mr. Johnson tried to influence Ukrainians' spirit. He emphasized that the moments of the war would affect not only to the sectors of economy, education, etc. but also to the future generations of Ukraine.

*“This is Ukraine's finest hour that will be remembered and recounted for generations to come. Your children and grandchildren will say that Ukrainians taught the world that the brute*

**Nn**

*force of an aggressor counts for nothing against the moral force of a people determined to be free”*

From the data above, Boris Johnson applied nomination strategy. It could be seen that the words “children” and “grandchildren” represented young Ukrainians. He used this strategy to explain that their fight against Russians would be remembered. The young Ukrainians learned about the superiority of their country who fought to reclaim their rights. However, it could also affect their



mental health was disrupted due to depression. It could probably remind them about their family and beloved country was being invaded. Furthermore, Boris Johnson's ideology also appeared. He thought that the Ukrainians survived because they were in a right position. They secured their land from the aggressor who attacked them because they would like to protect their next generations.

### **Excerpt 6**

Boris Johnson stated a quote from an old English, which related with the Ukraine situation. It described how he depicted the struggle of Ukrainians in facing the war.

*"You have proved the old saying – it's not the size of the dog in the fight, it's the size of the fight in the dog – which is an old English saying, I'm not sure how well that translates in Ukrainian but you get what I'm trying to say."*

From the excerpt above, Mr. Johnson used perspectivation strategy. He underlined a quote by the old English, which depicted the condition of Ukraine during the war. His purpose was that Russia was described as a small dog who liked to attack a bigger animal, while Ukraine was the big dog who did not show its fierceness. It showed that Ukraine was calmer than Russia in making decisions during the war. Even though, Russia forced Ukraine with their attacks, Ukraine responded it by protecting their lands and hold the Russians' aggression. Therefore, Boris Johnson used the quote also indicated his ideology. He thought that the Ukraine stood in a good side, while the Russia was in the bad side because the one who started this war was the Russia.

### Excerpt 7

This data showed that Boris Johnson critiqued on Putin's decision during this war. As a Prime Minister of UK, he was in the opposite position with Russia. This was because the UK was trying to strengthen the relation with their allies, which showed that Ukraine was one of them. He always criticized the mistakes of Putin, which showed his displeasure.

*“He is sowing the seeds of catastrophe, for himself and for his country, because there will be nothing to prevent him committing another terrible mistake. Putin's mistake was to invade Ukraine, and the carcasses of Russian armour littering your fields and streets are monuments not only to his folly, but to the dangers of autocracy itself.”*

The statement above contained of Boris Johnson's dislike of Putin. He applied Nomination strategy to represent Putin's mistakes. Putin was recognized in the words “he”, “himself”, “him”, and “his” in the first sentence. These words represented Putin as the one who must be responsible for this war. His decision to start this war had an impact on various sectors, such as the economy that became unstable, education in Ukraine that had to be stopped, as well as rampant sadness and fear. Then, he also used predication strategy in the phrase “sowing the seeds of catastrophe” to label Putin's action negatively. Putin's decision caused many disasters that occurred in various areas. He labelled Putin as disaster bearer because he caused various havoc. The Prime Minister of UK also sorted the mistakes that Putin made during his war with Ukraine, which could result his people died. However, in defaming Putin, Mr. Johnson truly revealed his power as the delegation of UK and his ideology for hating Putin. He was brave to announce in his speech that Putin made mistakes to attack Ukraine. Putin was also mentioned that he

decided folly decisions, which could hurt his own country. It is in line with Mr. Johnson's idea that he really hated Putin as a leader. Russia invaded Ukraine because of his will, which resulted the war.

### Excerpt 8

The Ukraine were already invaded by the Russian since 2014, which resulted the defeat of Ukraine. However, Boris Johnson took this incident as an example for the government of Ukraine to learn from their mistakes.

*“We know what happens to the people left in the in clutches of this invader and we who  
 Nn  
 are your friends must be humble about what happened in in 2014, because Ukraine was invaded  
 before for the first time, when Crimea was taken from Ukraine and the war in the Donbas began.  
 The truth is that we were too slow to grasp whatwas really happening and we collectively failed to  
 Nn Nn  
 impose the sanctions then that we should have put on Vladimir Putin.”*  
 Nn

Boris Johnson mentioned that they must have a good preparation during the war to avoid mistakes that could lead them to defeat. He used nomination strategy, which can be seen in the word “We” in the first and second sentences. Both those sentences, he utilized the word to represent that the government of UK and Ukraine were in same side. Then, he underlined the lost in Crimea because the government of Ukraine did not prepare well. The territory in Crimea was successfully taken over by Russia because the government of Ukraine was negligent with some Russian sympathizers who lived there. Furthermore, both those sentences above contained of power and ideology. He showed his power as a delegation of UK, his job was to remind the government of Ukraine about their mistakes before, so that they did not repeat them. Then, his ideology was shown by the way he told the Ukraine government to remember about the invasion of Russia in 2014, where they lost their

land in Crimea. He asked them to be prepared well, so that they could avoid the same results.

### **Excerpt 9**

Since the war had started, many Ukrainians feel panic and fear because the land, which they lived in would soon become a battlefield. This excerpt showed that Boris Johnson had prepared a lot of information for the citizens of Ukraine in order to reduce their worries. He announced that the supports had already arrived in Ukraine, so that they could use it to strengthen their vital power.

*“In January of course– just before Putin launched his onslaught - we sent you planeloads of anti-tank missiles, the NLAWS which I think have become popular in Kyiv, and we have intensified that vital effort, working with dozens of countries, helping to coordinate this ever- bigger supply line, dispatching thousands of weapons of many kinds, including tanks now and armoured vehicles.”*

Boris Johnson stated that the supplies had been arrived. He applied perspectivation strategy in this utterance by reporting the news of the supplies. He listed the data of the supplies since January, when Putin started the war. The supplies were in form of weapons, which would be used to strengthen the vital power of Ukraine. It was because the weapons were needed by the government of Ukraine. The procurement of weapons were running low while the war was still ongoing. However, the reports also showed that Boris Johnson had a power to decide the supplies that should be sent to Ukraine. He strengthen the power of Ukraine, especially the vital part with thousands of weapon. By sending those supports, it signified that he thought the needs of Ukraine on that day was the weapon supplies that could help them to protected and attacked back to Russia military.

### **Excerpt 10**

In this section, the Prime Minister of UK asserted that they supplied Ukraine many things again. It could be seen that the supplies would be used to force the Russia soldiers back to their ground.

*“And I can announce today from the UK government a new package of support totalling £300 million, including radars to pinpoint the artillery bombarding your cities, heavy lift drones to supply your forces, and thousands of night vision devices. We will carry on supplying Ukraine, alongside your other friends, with weapons, funding and humanitarian aid, until we have achieved our long-term goal, which must be so to fortify Ukraine that no-one will ever dare to attack you again.”*

Mr. Johnson utilized perspectivation strategy by reporting the supports that came to Ukraine in detail. The government of UK spent £300 million totally. He stated that not only weapons would come, but also healing equipment were supplied too. Various battles had happened and caused many injured in Ukraine side. So, the UK government focused in this vital sector that needed more attention. Therefore, it also showed that Boris Johnson’s power that could announce the details of the UK’s helps. It was because he was the delegation of Britain. Then, his ideology was depicted that he hoped the invasion of Russians would be stopped because they saw the supports, which were provided by UK to Ukraine.

### **Excerpt 11**

The citizens of Ukraine were worried but still hoped that a miracle would happen so that the war could be ended soon. Boris Johnson emphasized in his statement that Ukraine had a right to attack Putin’s soldiers because it was a self-protection. It was also about to fight for what Ukraine should have.

*“This is about the right of Ukrainians to protect themselves against Putin’s violent and  
**Ag**  
murderous aggression. It is about Ukraine’s right to independence and national self-determination, against Putin’s deranged imperialist revanchism. It is about Ukrainian democracy against Putin’s*

*tyranny. It is about freedom versus oppression. It is about right versus wrong. It is about good versus evil And that is why Ukraine must win”*

He applied argumentation strategy as the way he tried to raise up the fighting spirit of people in Ukraine. It could be seen in the sentence “This is about the right of Ukrainians” that he wanted to share his opinions. By using this strategy, he would like unite many supports from other countries who felt that Ukraine had the right to be free. He said that the war was about right versus wrong. He also would like to show to citizens of Ukraine that there were still many people who supported Ukraine. It was because he saw fear in the eyes of Ukrainians who thought about his fate later. Therefore, his power is shown when Boris Johnson named the government of Putin was tyranny due to the invasion. He was brave because Putin was wrong the start the conflict with Ukraine. He showed his ideology that tried to influence people that they should realize the situation of Ukraine was the responsible of everyone to stop the conflicts.

### **Excerpt 12**

In the last part of his speech, Mr. Johnson stressed his position again. He and the government of UK would help and support Ukraine during this war.

*“And we in the UK will do everything we can to restore a free sovereign and independent  
Mg  
Ukraine”*

The last data showed that Boris Johnson emphasized himself and government of UK as the one who would support Ukraine. He utilized the phrase “We in the UK will do everything” to intensify that he and the government of UK were closed with the Ukraine. Their top goal was the freedom of Ukraine could be achieved from Russia who invaded their land. They had shown the evidence with

various supports and supplies. However, it also depicted Boris Johnson's power as a Prime Minister who represented UK. He guaranteed that the UK would provide supports until the Ukrainians got their freedom. Then, his ideology could be seen that as a human being, he would like to help each other. He would struggled to end this war, because he wanted to Ukraine to get their rights.

As a result, the two speeches above contain power and ideology, which can be seen through the utterances that apply discursive strategies. The first speech has 11 data. It is found that nomination strategies consist of 4 data that are in data 1, 3, 4, and 5. Then, predication strategies locate in data 2, 3, and 4. The third is argumentation strategy, which is only in data 11. The next is perspectivation strategies that consist of 2 data and could be found in data 9 and 10. The last is intensification strategies in data 6, 7, and 8. However, power and ideology are contained in all excerpts of the first speech.

Furthermore, the second speech contains 12 data. Firstly, nomination strategies are located in excerpt 3, 5, 7, and 8. Secondly, predication strategies are used in excerpts 1 and 7. Thirdly, there is only 1 data for argumentation strategy, which is in excerpt 11. Fourthly, perspectivation strategies could be found in excerpt 4, 6, 9, and 10. The last strategy is intensification, which can be discovered in excerpts 2 and 12. Therefore, power and ideology also can be found in the second speech. Power appears in all excerpts, except in the 5 and 6 while ideology can be discovered in all excerpts.

## **B. Discussion**

The findings above showed that Boris Johnson used his power to emphasize his ideology in delivering his speeches. He applied the types of discursive strategies that contained his power and ideology. The two speeches above that Boris Johnson utilized all five discursive strategies in the two speeches above, including nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivation, and intensification strategy. However, the current research contains different results with the previous studies. It is found that this research has similarities and differences because it analyzes two speeches.

Based on the findings, there are similarities that are found in the way Boris Johnson used discursive strategies. Nomination strategy was used to represent someone or people as a positive-self and negative-self representation. Predication was utilized to label someone or group negatively, which is based on the action. Then, he applied argumentation strategy to engage people to do his political will. Furthermore, perspectivation strategy expressed Boris Johnson's point of view by reporting, quoting, and describing the situation. He used intensification strategy to intensify the action of someone or group. Therefore, the two speeches contained power and ideology, which were applied to influence people in order to gain supports.

The findings also provide the differences between the two speeches. Firstly, it is located in the implementation of strategies. The first speech produced nomination strategies more than other discursive strategies. Specifically, it showed that Boris Johnson would like to express himself because the speech was delivered



to announce his position as a new Prime Minister. It was also applied because he wanted to get the citizens' attention that could become support in the future. However, the second speech was more focused on reporting the situation of the war because Boris Johnson's position was a delegation of UK who supported Ukraine. It means that he applied perspectivization strategies more than other strategies to get acknowledgement from Ukrainians that UK really supplied them. Secondly, the way of Boris Johnson used power and ideology in the speeches were also different. The second speech used power and ideology to express Boris Johnson's job as a delegation of the relation with Ukraine. It could be seen from his goal, which was to inform people of Ukraine that the supports of UK would help them during the war with Russia. He also defamed Putin who must be responsible for this situation because he was the one who started the war. On the contrary, the first speech emphasized power and ideology to present the new Prime Minister that it was him. He mentioned that he would contribute everything for the development of UK. He also would like to confirm that under his control, people would see the better UK than before with mentioning some of his focuses. Therefore, those similarities and differences show the way of Boris Johnson applied power and ideology, which can be seen from discursive strategies that are contained in his speeches.

Furthermore, the forms of power and ideology in Mr. Johnson's speeches are found. In the first speech, Boris Johnson used power to show his authority and capability in front of the citizens. There were a lot of demands from the people that should be accomplished, such as Brexit (Britain Exit), health facilities, safety places, and development in many sectors. His power as a prime minister was shown

by how he mentioned some of his programs and guaranteed the development of the UK. Then, the ideology depicted that Mr. Johnson would like to gain many supports from the citizens. He emphasized that his job was to serve them and believed that the helps from citizens had significant role to reach the better UK.

In the second speech, Boris Johnson represented his power and ideology. His power was shown by his involvement as a delegation of the UK in front of the Ukrainian Parliament. He could gain many information about the war situation, such as supplies that would come in Ukraine, the battlefield, and etc. He showed that the government of UK and Ukraine were in a same side. Also, he was brave to defame and blame Putin as the one who must get consequences for his decision, which started the war. Therefore, Mr. Johnson's ideology was shown that as a delegation of the UK, he fully supported Ukraine to get their freedom. He thought that Ukraine should be free from the invasion and Russia must get the consequences.

The discussion above shows the different results of this research with the previous studies because of the theories and objects. It is obvious that this research used three theories, which are discursive strategies (2009), power (2000), and ideology (2000). It shows that these three theories are connected each other. It could be seen from the result of the analysis that discursive strategies showed the effective use of power and ideology in speech. Then, the Boris Johnson's speeches in this research have not been analyzed before. It also shows different results by comparing Boris Johnson's speeches, which have time interval around 3 years. It was because the promises that he mentioned in his first speech had happened, which became a

dream came true for all citizens in the UK. It caused Boris Johnson were more confident than himself in three years ago, which could be seen that he was chosen as a delegation of the UK in Ukraine to strengthen their diplomacy. He also always guarantee the savior of citizens in Ukraine by giving them hopes that the UK would fully supported Ukraine in the war. Therefore, this research was different with the previous studies in terms of theories and objects, which resulted new findings. It was significant because the results could inform to the reader how they could influence people by delivering a speech.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION**

This chapter contains the conclusion and suggestion of the research. It summarizes the findings of the excerpts in previous part in order to answer the research question. Additionally, this chapter provides suggestion to those who study the similar linguistic research.

#### **A. Conclusion**

This research analyzed the power and ideology, which contain in Boris Johnson's speeches. From the findings, it is found that the involvement of discursive strategies become supports for showing intended meaning in the speeches. Also, there are some strategies can occur together in one statement. The speaker used many strategies to attract people. Therefore, Boris Johnson combines power, ideology and discursive strategies in order to influence and control people to obey and believe him.

Besides that, the five types of discursive strategies (nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivation, and intensification) portray the power and ideology of Boris Johnson. Those strategies are successfully delivered because he really understood the way to influence audiences' feeling and thought. For example, he used to reflect himself as a same position with other people. He utilized this strategy to show that they have a similar perspective so that people could trust to him.

To conclude, this research is useful to discuss the effect of power and ideology in speech in terms of critical discourse analysis area. It provides a significant result, which is the way of a politician deliver his speeches based on

their situation. It can be seen that the two speeches use different strategies and approaches due to the speaker's position. Thus, by comparing the two speeches, the reader could find how those strategies and its roles strengthen Boris Johnson's power and ideology influencing public trust.

## **B. Suggestion**

From the conclusion, this research discusses the use of power and ideology in the area of critical discourse analysis. The researcher suggested the next researcher who observe the similar study to analyze different object types and theory. It could use some media, which are popular now, such as podcast, Youtube video, and etc. It helps to broad the object area not only in speeches. However, it should must be underlined that the speaker has a position to influence, which could be influencers, politicians, and so on. It is recommended to find power and ideology, which are shown by influencers, which could be in their podcast or video.

Furthermore, the future researcher also could use different theories to analyze power and ideology. It is used to result different findings of critical discourse analysis. Also, the next researcher could combine two or more different theories to enrich the findings. The studies would give broaden insight in linguistic field analysis because it follows the development of media.

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## CURRICULUM VITAE



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