

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

#### 5.1 Conclusions

The present study is conducted to examine the social actors in the 1945 Constitution, investigate their linguistic representation, and reveal the ideological postures behind the representations. The analysis finds that there are 29 social actors in the 1945 Constitution. They include civilians and Indonesian State's administration in the preamble part, and include the executive agent, the legislative agent, the judicative agent, the state, and civilians in the body part. In the preamble part, civilians are linguistically represented in inclusion, activation and association, while Indonesian State's administration is in exclusion and activation. In the body part, civilians are represented in exclusion, activation and assimilation, while the executive is in inclusion, activation and individualization. The analysis also reveals ideological postures that can be inferred from the representation of the social actors are socialism, religion, and democracy.

The preamble part of the 1945 Constitution presents two social actors, the people that are represented by civilians and the executive agent that is represented by Indonesian State's administration. The people that are represented in inclusion, activation and association are more dominant than the executive that is represented in partial exclusion and activation. The dominance of the people together with their representations suggests that the people are considered as the main subject of discussions. The ideology that considers the people as the ultimate subject of discussions is socialism. Thus, it can be inferred that the preamble part depicts some

elements of the ideological posture of socialism that constitutes as the most dominant posture.

As the less dominant ideological postures, religion and democracy are as well identified in the preamble part. The ideology of religion is realized by the naming of God as the circumstance of the process of declaring independence, while the ideology of democracy is realized by the mentioning of “*kerakyatan*” (democracy) in the fourth paragraph as the manner of the process of achieving the socialist aspirations.

Meanwhile, the body part presents 29 social actors. There are four actors that are more dominant than others: the executive agent, the legislative agent, the judicative agent, and civilians. Among the four most dominant actors, the executive that is represented in inclusion, activation and individualization is the most dominant and outstanding one. The legislative and the judicative are the next most dominant actors in the text. Different to that in the preamble part, civilians that is represented in inclusion, nontransactive activation, and indetermination is less dominant than the executive. This suggests that the main subject of discussions is not civilians anymore but is shifted to the executive, the legislative and the judicative. The ideology that is fundamentally characterized by such principle is democracy. Thus, it can be inferred that the body part of the 1945 Constitution depicts the ideological posture of democracy as the most dominant ideology.

It also can be inferred that the body part depicts the ideological posture of religion. This is realized by the specific chapter that regards religion, i.e. Chapter XI, meaning that the 1945 Constitution makes special place for religion. This is also realized by the guaranty from the state for religious freedom. Finally, the ideology of religion is inferred from the acknowledgments of religious value in nation contexts, such as in the president’s/vice president’s oath and promise.

Although the ideology of religion, which is previously established in the preamble part, is consistently maintained in the body part, the ideological postures depicted in the preamble part and in the body part in general are not in conformity. The preamble part of the 1945 Constitution, which is the most influential discourse because of containing Pancasila thus cannot be amended, shares some elements of socialism as the most dominant ideology. However, this ideology tends to be altered and shifted into democracy in the body part which until today has been amended for four times since it was ordained and established in 1945.

## 5.2 Suggestions

One of the principles of critical discourse analysis is that CDA is a form of social action that attempts to intervene and change socio-political practices. Thus, analyzing the 1945 Constitution from linguistic perspective using van Leeuwen's Critical Discourse Analysis framework to reveal and uncover what is in it such as ideologies is interesting and at the same time challenging task, since it is perhaps the most important discourse of Indonesian country. The findings and interpretation will enlighten and give the people linguistics-based knowledge about the text that determines the practices and regulations in Indonesia country. However, to get to that point, the study must be comprehensive. This current study only critically analyzes the text using van Leeuwen's social actor network, putting aside the social action network and other discourse elements such as performance modes, presentation styles, times, spaces, resources, and eligibility conditions. I suggest the future study to analyze the 1945 Constitution using the representation of other elements simultaneously.

Analyzing the 1945 Constitution by examining two elements of discourse at the same time such as actors and actions will contribute in a more thorough interpretation and a better credibility. The study will be even more thorough and credible if the all elements of discourse are analyzed.

I also suggest the future study to analyze the derivative discourses of the 1945 Constitution, such as laws (*undang-undang*) about specific issues, president's decrees (*dekrit presiden/peraturan pemerintah*), and minister's official regulations (*peraturan menteri*), to compare the findings in the 1945 Constitution and in the derivative discourses. This is because, very possibly, the findings of the present study may raise further questions about other discourses that precede and follow the discourse of the 1945 Constitution. As well it is very possible that the findings of the present study and the following studies emerge contradictions.

Such study then will initiate more new studies, and in turn will contribute to a better comprehension of the consistency of the ideologies found in the 1945 Constitution as the highest source of laws and regulation in the Republic of Indonesia. Such study as well will in turn contribute in enlightening and educating the people, in mitigating and eliminating social wrongs, in improving the condition of human being, and finally in the development of the nation.

Finally, I suggest the future study to analyze the 1945 Constitution using discourse-historical approach. The historical orientation will allow the reconstruction of how recontextualization functions as an important process connecting texts and reality intertextually and interdiscursively over time. The historical context and the understanding of the socio-political condition at the time the 1945 Constitution was established and ordained, in turn, may contribute to the better understanding of the text.