Constructing The State's Financial Identity: A Critical Discourse Analysis Of The Indonesian Government's Fiscal Narrative In Sri Mulyani Indrawati's 2025 Budget Speech

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes how the Indonesian government constructs its fiscal narrative and financial identity through Sri Mulyani Indrawati's 2025 Budget Speech. Using Fairclough's three-dimensional Critical Discourse Analysis, it examines linguistic features, production processes, and the socio-political context surrounding the speech. The qualitative analysis focuses on lexical choices, modality, rhetorical structuring, intertextual references, and the institutional setting of the national budgeting process. The findings show that the speech functions as more than a fiscal report; it strategically shapes public understanding of state finance. Technical economic terminology is interwoven with greetings, moral cues, and nationalist references to project authority, responsibility, and cultural legitimacy. Institutional framing and references to established economic doctrines further reinforce credibility. The speech ultimately serves two purposes: to legitimize fiscal decisions before lawmakers and to cultivate public trust by stressing stability, resilience, and collective responsibility. This demonstrates how budget speeches construct coherent narratives that support policy direction and state authority.

ARTICLE LICENCE

1. Introduction

Language is not merely a medium of communication but a social practice through which power, ideology, and identity are produced and reproduced (Muhammad & Muhamad, 2025; Tussa'diah & Kartika, 2022; Aswad et al., 2019). In contemporary public life, especially in political, economic, and media domains, discourses shape how people understand institutions, social relations, and events (Supatmiwati et al., 2025; Prihandoko et al., 2019; Karubaba et al., 2024). Because discourse is deeply intertwined with social structures, its analysis becomes essential for revealing how dominance, inequality, and ideology operate within society (Tussa'diah & Kartika, 2022). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) emerges as a methodological and theoretical approach that investigates the interconnections between language and power (Pesic, 2022). Among various CDA models, Norman Fairclough's framework remains highly influential and widely applied (Alassiri, 2024; Said et al., 2021). Fairclough (1995) conceptualizes discourse as a dialectical relation between text, discursive practice, and social practice. This means that any piece of discourse is simultaneously a linguistic product (text), a process of production, distribution, and consumption (discursive practice), and a reflection of broader sociopolitical structures (social practice) (Alassiri, 2024). Fairclough (1995) three-dimensional model makes CDA particularly relevant for analysing institutional discourses such as government speeches, policy documents, media reports, educational texts, and corporate communications (Hagren & Bellander, 2023; Hallén & Tryselius, 2024; Rautalin & Alasuutari, 2024; Dalyan et al., 2025). Such texts not only convey information but also shape public perception, legitimise power, and circulate ideologies (Kopf, 2025). By emphasising the relationships between textual features such as vocabulary, grammar, and rhetoric, intertextual relations and discursive strategies, and the sociocultural contexts in which discourse is embedded, recent methodological and empirical CDA studies continue to extend this analytical logic (Alejandro & Zhao, 2024; Hallén & Tryselius, 2024; Yaumi et al., 2024).

The relevance of studying discourse through Fairclough (1995) lens has grown in parallel with the increasing role of communication technologies and mass media in shaping public consciousness (Pesic, 2022). Political and governmental actors now rely on carefully crafted narratives to maintain legitimacy, construct identities, and guide public opinion, which critical discourse analysis reveals as a form of power negotiation in digital policy communication (Muhammad & Muhamad,

2025). Analyzing these discourses helps uncover how particular values, norms, and ideologies are embedded and normalized through language, especially in institutional social media posts where the language both legitimates authority and fosters public trust (Muhammad & Muhamad, 2025). Therefore, research grounded in Fairclough's (1995) CDA is crucial for understanding how discourses function within power-laden contexts and how linguistic choices contribute to maintaining or transforming existing social orders (Farhadytooli, 2025). By applying Fairclough's model, this study aims to reveal the ideological structures and power relations embedded within the selected discourse and provide deeper insight into how institutional narratives shape social reality, legitimise authority, and influence public perception (Farhadytooli, 2025).

Government fiscal speeches are more than formal reports on economic performance; they function as strategic communicative acts through which the state constructs legitimacy, frames national challenges, and guides public perception (Clark, 2024; van Hulst et al., 2024). In Indonesia, the annual budget speech delivered by the Minister of Finance is one of the most important state discourses because it simultaneously informs, persuades, and reinforces the government's ideological stance (Muhammad & Muhamad, 2025). Through carefully chosen language, such speeches shape narratives about stability, growth, national unity, and moral responsibility, making them powerful instruments for shaping public understanding of economic realities (Gong et al., 2023; Mesquita et al., 2025). As the state's authoritative voice on national finance, the speech operates as a discursive arena where economic data, political vision, and national identity intersect (Clark, 2024; van Hulst et al., 2024). Sri Mulyani Indrawati's budget speeches hold particular significance due to her position as a globally recognized economist and one of Indonesia's most credible technocratic figures (Wijaya, 2025). Her discourse does not merely describe fiscal policies but performs the rational, ethical, and developmental identity of the Indonesian state (Hilmi et al., 2025; Wijaya, 2025). Through her narrative strategies, she positions economic management as both a technical and moral duty, articulating the government's role in safeguarding national welfare, promoting transparency, and guiding the country through economic uncertainties (Hilmi et al., 2025; Tilman et al.,2025). The combination of technocratic precision, political accountability, and nationalistic sentiment in her speeches creates a dense ideological terrain that invites critical examination of how authority, responsibility, and progress are linguistically constructed (Wijaya, 2025).

Research using Critical Discourse Analysis has expanded internationally in recent years, including studies of political communication, legitimation, and ideological narratives (Wang, 2022). However, within this broader development, research that examines Sri Mulyani Indrawati's budget speeches from a CDA perspective remains scarce. Existing international work typically focuses on how political actors construct authority, articulate crises, or embed ideological meanings in institutional discourse (Floriano, 2025). Such insights demonstrate the importance of examining how leaders employ discursive strategies to frame national challenges and justify state action, yet studies that apply these approaches to Indonesia's fiscal discourse and to Sri Mulyani Indrawati's role as a technocratic figure are still limited. As a result, the ways in which her speeches shape public understandings of national finance and contribute to the construction of state legitimacy remain underexplored, highlighting the need for a comprehensive CDA investigation that integrates linguistic analysis with sociopolitical context.

Critical Discourse Analysis offers a rigorous framework for examining these dynamics because it connects textual features with broader social practices and ideological structures (Pesic, 2022; van Hulst et al., 2024; Dalyan et al., 2022). By applying Fairclough's three-dimensional model, the research explores how Sri Mulyani Indrawati's speech constructs particular representations of economic challenges, legitimizes state action, and fosters public alignment with government priorities (van Hulst et al., 2024). This analytical approach allows for an exploration of how intertextual references, discursive mixing, and narrative framing work together to produce a persuasive fiscal narrative (Zhu, 2024). In a sociopolitical context where language plays a central role in sustaining trust, governance, and national coherence, analyzing the discourse of the budget speech provides deeper insight into how the Indonesian state constructs its financial identity and communicates economic legitimacy (Floriano, 2025; van Hulst et al., 2024; Adinda et al., 2025).

Although Critical Discourse Analysis has extensively examined political legitimation and institutional communication (Hansson & Page, 2023), existing scholarship has not sufficiently explained how fiscal discourse operates as a distinctive mode of state legitimation. In particular, budget speeches are often treated as technical or economic texts, even though they also function as discursive sites through which governments portray competence, construct authority, and normalize particular national priorities (Rajandran, 2019). This leaves an important analytical gap in understanding how technocratic language functions not only to present financial policy, but also to justify state action, shape public perception, and reinforce government credibility. In the Indonesian context, this gap becomes especially significant in Sri Mulyani Indrawati's budget speeches, where economic expertise, moral accountability, and national commitment are articulated simultaneously.

Therefore, this study addresses that gap by examining how her budget speech discursively constructs fiscal governance as a legitimate, rational, and socially responsible exercise of state power through Fairclough's three-dimensional model.

2. Methodology

This study employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine how the Indonesian government constructs a fiscal narrative and financial identity through Sri Mulyani Indrawati's 2025 Budget Speech (Kementerian Keuangan Republik Indonesia, 2024). CDA is used to reveal how linguistic choices carry ideological force and shape public understandings of state finance. Following Fairclough (1995) three dimensional model, discourse is treated as a social practice that reflects and reinforces power relations. Because budget speeches function as political communication rather than neutral reports, CDA is an appropriate framework for uncovering how authority, legitimacy, and fiscal responsibility are discursively produced.

The primary data is the official 2025 Budget Speech obtained from the DPR's public archive. It is treated as a purposively selected institutional text articulating fiscal conditions, priorities, and governmental identity. The analysis applies Fairclough's three stages: textual analysis, focusing on vocabulary, modality, rhetorical patterning, and structural features; discursive practice analysis, examining how the speech is produced, circulated, and interpreted within parliamentary budget approval; and social practice analysis, linking the discourse to wider sociopolitical structures, including narratives of economic stewardship, national responsibility, and technocratic authority. This sequence enables movement from linguistic detail to broader ideological implications.

The study adopts a qualitative, descriptive interpretive design. The speech is repeatedly reviewed to identify segments related to fiscal identity such as stability, growth, responsibility, and welfare and these are coded for discursive features. Intertextual references, institutional norms, and genre conventions of budget speeches are examined to assess how the narrative is shaped for legislative and public audiences. Analytical rigor is maintained by documenting interpretive decisions and supporting claims with textual evidence. CDA is well suited to this inquiry because it clarifies what is communicated in the speech and how discourse is used to legitimize fiscal policy, naturalize economic decisions, and shape public imagination of the state's financial identity.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Text Description

The table below lists some of the words and phrases that Sri Mulyani Indrawati used in the speech, along with the English translations and the reasons they were employed in communication. It shows how some words and phrases work not only to convey meaning but also as strategies for building legitimacy, authority, and ideological position. The table shows how religious, institutional, and technocratic language work together to change the overall budgetary story by grouping them into various groups.

Table 1. Vocabulary and Lexical Choices

Section	Indonesian	English	Key Function
Religious and cultural greetings	*Bismillahirrohmanirrohiim; Assalamu'alaikum Warohmatullohi Wabarokatuh; Salam sejahtera bagi kita semua; Om Swastiastu; Namo Buddhaya; Salam Kebajikan*	*In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. Peace and blessings of Allah be upon you. Greetings of peace to us all. Om Swastiastu, Namo Buddhaya, Greetings of Virtue.*	*Signals inclusive pluralism; acknowledges diverse religions; uses Arabic and Sanskrit to convey respect and formal legitimacy.*
Honorifics and formal address	*Pimpinan dan para Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat yang kami hormati,*	*Honorable Leaders and Members of the House of Representatives,*	*Reinforces hierarchy and institutional respect; formal political etiquette.*

Positive evaluative terms	*Semangat keberlanjutan, optimisme, transparan, terbuka, konstruktif, demokrasi yang sehat*	*Spirit of sustainability, optimism, transparent, open, constructive, healthy democracy*	*Frames government actions in a positive ideological light; promotes a narrative of progress and integrity.*
Religious gratitude	*Alhamdulillah, puji syukur kehadirat Allah Subhanahu Wa Ta'ala*	*Praise be to Allah Subhanahu Wa Ta'ala*	Embeds religious *legitimacy*; provides moral grounding for political statements.
Institutional and technical terms	*a. APBN 2025 merupakan instrumen demokrasi yang penting*	*a. The 2025 State Budget is an important instrument of democracy*	*a. These terms reflect a technocratic and institutional register, reinforcing the authority and legitimacy of the state apparatus.*
	b. APBN merupakan instrumen kebijakan makro fiskal…	*b. The State Budget is a macro-fiscal policy instrument*	*b. These choices construct the APBN as a moral and protective tool, emphasizing responsibility, justice, and national welfare.*
	c. Itulah esensi Trilogi Pembangunan… Pertumbuhan, Pemerataan, Stabilitas.	*c. This is the essence of the Development Trilogy… Growth, Equity, Stability.*	*c. Invokes national economic heritage and intellectual authority to legitimize current policy directions.*
Economic and Crisis-Resilience Vocabulary	*gejolak global, pandemi Covid-19, ketegangan geopolitik, perang, disrupsi rantai pasok, gejolak harga komoditas, inflasi, suku bunga global, bencana, perubahan iklim, ancaman, konsekuensi besar, Keuangan Negara, tantangan, dinamis, kompleks, pertumbuhan ekonomi, alhamdulillah, inflasi terkendali, konsolidasi fiskal, defisit APBN, PDB, capaian, prestasi, tingkat kemiskinan, kemiskinan ekstrem, Gini koefisien*	*global turmoil, Covid-19 pandemic, geopolitical tensions, war, supply chain disruption, commodity price volatility, inflation, global interest rates, disaster, climate change, major consequences, State Finance, challenges, dynamic, complex, economic growth, praise be to God, controlled inflation, fiscal consolidation, budget deficit, GDP, achievement,*	*Blends economic-technocratic register with crisis and resilience framing. Urgency appears in terms like gejolak and ancaman, while prestasi, capaian, and alhamdulillahproject achievement and gratitude. Statistical indicators construct quantified legitimacy.*

		accomplishment, poverty rate, extreme poverty, Gini coefficient	
Technocratic and Developmental Vocabulary	*merancang, waspada, risiko, tensi geopolitik, perang, perlambatan ekonomi, mitra dagang, kelesuan ekonomi, dinamika kebijakan, fragmentasi global, perang dagang, investasi, mengancam, melemahkan, bank sentral, suku bunga, volatilitas, pasar keuangan, arus modal, emerging market, diproyeksikan, harga komoditas, lesu, surplus, penurunan, indeks PMI manufaktur, kontraksi, stabilitas, inklusivitas, keberlanjutan, transisi pemerintahan, sehat, kredibel, reformasi struktural, produktivitas, daya saing*	*design, vigilant, risks, geopolitical tension, war, economic slowdown, trading partner, economic sluggishness, policy dynamics, global fragmentation, trade war, investment, threaten, weaken, central bank, interest rate, volatility, financial market, capital flow, emerging market, projected, commodity prices, sluggish, surplus, decline, manufacturing PMI index, contraction, stability, inclusivity, sustainability, government transition, healthy, credible, structural reform, productivity, competitiveness*	Dominated by economic, geopolitical, and institutional *registers*. The discourse promotes technocratic vigilance and strategic planning. The trio *Stabilitas–Inklusivitas–Keberlanjutan*introduces ideological framing, while *reformasi struktural* and *daya saing*invoke developmentalist logic.

The lexical choices in the text integrate cultural, religious, institutional, and technocratic registers to construct a layered ideological and policy discourse. Religious and cultural greetings such as *Bismillahirrohmanirrohiim, Assalamu'alaikum Warohmatullohi Wabarokatuh, Om Swastiastu,* and *Namo Buddhaya* signal pluralism, formality, and respect for Indonesia's diverse religious landscape. Honorifics and formal addresses, including *Pimpinan dan para Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat yang kami hormati*, reinforce hierarchical relations and institutional protocol. Positive evaluative terms such as *optimisme, transparan, and demokrasi yang sehat* frame government performance and democratic processes favorably, while expressions of gratitude like *Alhamdulillah* embed moral and spiritual legitimacy.

Institutional and technical vocabulary positions the APBN as both a macro-fiscal instrument and a moral safeguard. Statements such as *APBN 2025 merupakan instrumen demokrasi yang penting* and references to the *Trilogi Pembangunan* invoke national economic heritage to justify fiscal direction, blending historical and ideological authority with technocratic reasoning. Crisis and resilience terms, *gejolak global, inflasi, kemiskinan ekstrem*, convey urgency and stability, while indicators such as *GDP* and the *Gini coefficient* provide quantified legitimacy. Developmental and technocratic terms including *reformasi struktural, daya saing, stabilitas, inklusi, and keberlanjutan* construct a narrative of strategic planning and developmental rationality.

Fiscal and governance terminology further reinforces technocratic competence and reformist intent. Terms such as *pendapatan negara, PNBP, tax reform, sustainabilitas, pengarusutamaan gender*, and *global supply chain* highlight fiscal

sophistication and global awareness. Concepts like *sinergi, efisien, and produktif* underscore performance-oriented governance. Across these lexical domains, the text integrates religious, moral, historical, and technical registers to craft a speech that is ceremonially resonant, institutionally authoritative, and policy focused. The result is a discourse aimed at persuading parliamentary and public audiences while projecting competence, inclusivity, and national stewardship.

Table 2. Grammar and Modality

Section	Indonesian	English	Key Function
Passive constructions	*telah sampai pada pembicaraan tingkat II*	*have reached the second level of discussion*	*Avoids specifying agency, allowing processes to appear neutral and non-personal.*
Modality and certainty	*dapat diwujudkan, tetap hati-hati dan waspada*	*can be achieved, remain cautious and vigilant*	*Balances optimism with prudence, projecting controlled confidence.*
Modality and evaluation	a. Use of modal expressions:		*Signals uncertainty and caution; frames the government as alert and forward-looking.*
	tetap waspada, berpotensi menimbulkan, masih menantang	*remain vigilant, has the potential to cause, still challenging*	
	b. Use of evaluative adverbs/adjectives:		*Reinforces positive judgment and moral evaluation of achievements.*
	sangat baik, sungguh tidak mudah, terjaga, terkendali	*very good, truly not easy, maintained, controlled*	
	c. Use of evaluative and goal-oriented expressions:		*Signals purpose, intentionality, and strategic planning.*
	untuk mendukung, dalam rangka memperkuat, agar efisien dan produktif	*to support, in order to strengthen, so that it is efficient and productive*	
Religious modality	*Alhamdulillah*	*Praise be to God / Praise be to Allah*	*Introduces spiritual gratitude and embeds divine acknowledgment into economic or political discourse.*
Tense and aspect	a. Present and future-oriented:		*Emphasizes anticipation, planning, and future-facing policy orientation.*
	diproyeksikan, dirancang untuk menjaga, dalam rangka memperbaiki		

		projected, designed to maintain, in order to improve	
	b. Present perfect and simple past dominate: *telah mampu, dicapai, mengalami*	*has been able, achieved, experienced*	*Suggests completed actions with ongoing relevance, enhancing credibility and continuity.*
	c. Dominantly present and future-oriented: *tahun 2025 mencapai, ditetapkan, dikelola secara prudent*	*in 2025 will reach, established, managed prudently*	*Reinforces forward-looking fiscal planning and sustained policy direction.*
Nominalization	*a. pengambilan keputusan, proses pembahasan*	*a. decision-making, deliberation process*	*Abstracts actions into concepts, depersonalizing responsibility and foregrounding procedure.*
	b. reformasi, optimalisasi, peningkatan, penguatan, pengendalian, pembiayaan	*b. reform, optimization, enhancement, strengthening, control, financing*	*Constructs governance as technical, systemic, and bureaucratically rational.*
Agency and voice	*a.* Predominantly *active voice:* *Indonesia telah mampu mengatasi…, pertumbuhan ekonomi terjaga…, defisit APBN turun…*	*Indonesia has been able to overcome…, economic growth is maintained…, the budget deficit has declined…*	*Emphasizes competence, agency, and national achievement.*
	b. Frequent use of passive *constructions:* *diperkirakan, ditopang, dicapai, ditingkatkan, didorong, ditetapkan, dikelola, dilaksanakan*	*estimated, supported, achieved, increased, driven, established, managed, implemented*	*Highlights institutional processes while minimizing individual agency.*

Predominantly active and passive constructions	*kita tetap waspada, Bank sentral telah mulai menurunkan, APBN dirancang, APBN dijaga*	*we remain vigilant, the central bank has begun to lower, the state budget is designed, the state budget is maintained*	*Mix of collective agency and institutional objectivity, balancing human vigilance with systemic design.*

The text employs a mix of passive and active constructions to shape agency and responsibility within the discourse. Passive constructions, such as *telat sampai pada pembicaraan tingkat II* and *APBN dirancang*, avoid specifying the agent, thereby emphasizing institutional procedures and systemic governance over individual actors. Active constructions, in contrast, highlight national or collective agency, as in *Indonesia telah mampu mengatasi…* and *pertumbuhan ekonomi terjaga…*, underscoring competence and achievement. This strategic alternation between active and passive voice allows the speech to balance accountability with a depersonalized presentation of bureaucratic processes, signaling both human vigilance and structural design.

Modality and expressions of certainty further nuance the discourse. Modal verbs and expressions like *dapat diwujudkan*, *tetap waspada*, and *berpotensi menimbulkan* convey cautious optimism, indicating that goals are attainable but contingent on careful action. Evaluative adjectives and adverbs such as *sangat baik*, *sungguh tidak mudah*, and *terjaga* reinforce moral judgment and positive appraisal, while goal-oriented phrases like *untuk mendukung*, *dalam rangka memperkuat*, and *agar efisien dan produktif* signal intentionality, strategic planning, and normative guidance. Religious modality is embedded through expressions such as *Alhamdulillah*, which introduces spiritual gratitude and aligns divine acknowledgment with economic discourse.

Tense and aspect choices underscore both historical achievements and forward-looking planning. Present and future-oriented forms, including *diproyeksikan* and *dirancang untuk menjaga*, emphasize anticipation and fiscal planning, while present perfect and simple past forms, such as *telah mampu* and *dicapai*, highlight completed actions with ongoing relevance, lending credibility and continuity to policy narratives. Nominalization, with terms like *pengambilan keputusan*, *proses pembahasan*, *reformasi*, and *optimalisasi*, abstracts actions into concepts, depersonalizing responsibility and emphasizing institutional procedure. Collectively, the interplay of voice, modality, tense, and nominalization constructs a discourse that balances technical bureaucratic rationality, forward-looking strategic planning, and national or institutional agency, shaping the speech as both authoritative and morally grounded.

Table 3. Cohesion and Text Structure

Section	Indonesian	English	Key Function
Sequential logic	*1. Alhamdulillah… 2. APBN 2025 adalah…*	*1. Praise be to Allah… 2. The 2025 State Budget is…*	*The numbered sequence and shift from religious invocation to political content signal orderly rhetorical structuring.*
Concessive and additive connectors	*…namun tetap, …yang tetap berjalan, …namun kesepakatan tetap dapat diwujudkan…*	*…yet still, …which continues, …yet consensus can still be achieved…*	*Indicates balance, negotiation, and deliberation, aligning with democratic discourse.*
Opening address	*Ibu Bapak Pimpinan dan Anggota Dewan yang kami hormati (repeated)*	*Honorable Leaders and Members of the House of Representatives(repeated)*	*Maintains ceremonial tone, institutional respect, and hierarchical protocol.*
Thematic progression	*Global crises → Indonesia's resilience → Economic indicatorsGlobal risks →*	*(same sequence in English)*	*Uses problem–response– outcome logic; frames governance as competent, structured, and solution-*

	Domestic resilience → Economic projections → Policy designRevenue → Reform → Spending → Regional Transfers → Deficit → Financing		*oriented; mirrors budget formulation logic.*
Referential cohesion	*(1) kemiskinan, inflasi, APBN, pertumbuhan ekonomi(2) ekonomi, APBN, risiko, pertumbuhan, komoditas(3) APBN 2025, PNBP, pembiayaan, belanja, program prioritas*	*(1) poverty, inflation, state budget, economic growth(2) economy, state budget, risk, growth, commodities(3) 2025 State Budget, non-tax revenue, financing, expenditure, priority programs*	*Repetition reinforces thematic unity, ideological coherence, and policy focus.*
Ideological cohesion	*Stabilitas, Inklusivitas, Keberlanjutan*	*Stability, Inclusivity, Sustainability*	*Triadic framing anchors fiscal planning to normative ideological goals.*

The speech demonstrates a carefully organized textual structure and cohesive strategies that guide the audience through complex fiscal and policy content. Sequential logic is evident in the progression from religious invocation, such as *Alhamdulillah*, to political and technical content like *APBN 2025 adalah*, establishing a clear rhetorical flow that moves from moral grounding to policy substance. Concessive and additive connectors, including *namun tetap* and *yang tetap berjalan*, signal balance and negotiation, reinforcing the democratic deliberation theme and highlighting that challenges are acknowledged yet managed. The repeated opening address, *Ibu Bapak Pimpinan dan Anggota Dewan yang kami hormati*, maintains ceremonial tone, hierarchical respect, and institutional decorum throughout the text.

Thematic progression further structures the discourse, following patterns such as Problem → Response → Outcome, which link global crises to Indonesia's resilience and economic indicators, or Global risks → Domestic resilience → Economic projections → Policy design, emphasizing a move from external threats to strategic national responses. Similarly, revenue → reform → spending → regional transfers → deficit → financing mirrors the logic of budget formulation, guiding audiences through fiscal planning from income generation to expenditure management and sustainability. Referential cohesion is reinforced through repetition of key terms like *kemiskinan*, *inflasi*, *APBN*, and *pertumbuhan ekonomi*, which strengthens thematic focus, ideological coherence, and policy unity. Ideological cohesion is maintained through triadic framing, exemplified by Stabilitas, Inklusivitas, and Keberlanjutan, which anchor fiscal planning to normative goals. Numerical anchoring through precise data points such as 9.03%, 0.83%, 0.379, Rp3.005,1 trillion, 2.53% of GDP, and Rp775.9 trillion enhances credibility, situates the speaker within a technocratic rationality, and aligns the discourse with quantitative governance practices, reinforcing both authority and persuasive impact.

3.2 Discourse Practice

3.2.1 Production and Distribution

The analysis of discourse practice shows that the government's budget-closing speech is shaped fundamentally by its institutional authorship, the hybrid nature of its genre, the constraints surrounding its production, and the modes through which it is distributed. Produced by the Minister of Finance as the formal representative of the Executive branch, the text carries a high degree of institutional authority. This legitimacy is central to its communicative force: the speech is not merely a procedural requirement within the national budget cycle but acts as an authoritative narrative that positions the government's fiscal interpretation as objective and credible. In Fairclough's terms, the institutional location of the author

functions discursively to naturalize particular viewpoints and limit the visibility of alternative stances within the legislative process.

The findings further reveal that the speech operates through a hybrid ministerial genre that blends technical, ceremonial, and normative registers. On the one hand, the text conveys detailed macroeconomic indicators, fiscal allocations, and programmatic priorities, which together project a rational and expert voice. On the other hand, the speech incorporates ritualized greetings, religious invocations, and expressions of gratitude, aligning it with the ceremonial expectations of Indonesian parliamentary communication. Additionally, moral references to national duty, democratic values, and collective responsibility embed the fiscal message within a broader ideological narrative. This hybridity is not incidental; rather, it functions to balance bureaucratic authority with cultural resonance, enabling the government to articulate its fiscal agenda while reinforcing shared norms and values. Such layering of registers aligns with Fairclough's observation that institutional discourse often mixes expertise with moral legitimation as a means of consolidating power.

The production of the speech is also shaped by procedural deadlines and inter-institutional negotiations that define the national budget process. As the government's final statement before the legislative vote, the text must reconcile technical rigor with political acceptability. It is produced under conditions where ministries have competing priorities and where legislators demand justifications that are both substantive and publicly defensible. Consequently, the speech adopts a tone of coherence and consensus, downplaying potential conflicts and presenting the fiscal plan as a product of unified national effort. From a CDA perspective, this demonstrates how institutional constraints shape discourse toward stabilizing meanings and minimizing ideological contestation.

Finally, the text is crafted with an awareness of its circulation across both formal and public domains. Once delivered, the speech becomes part of parliamentary archives and ministry publications, but it is simultaneously disseminated through media channels, including press releases, online news, and digital platforms. This dual distribution encourages a rhetorical style that fulfills legal-procedural precision while remaining accessible and persuasive to a wider audience. The need to operate effectively in both domains influences the speech to present fiscal policy not only as an administrative matter but also as a narrative of governance, stability, and public accountability. In this way, the discourse practice surrounding the speech illustrates how governmental texts are shaped by, and in turn shape, the broader communicative environment in which public policy is interpreted.

3.2.2 Intertextuality and Interdiscursivity

The analysis indicates that the speech employs multiple forms of intertextuality and interdiscursivity to strengthen its legitimacy and persuasive force. One notable feature is its use of referential intertextuality, where the Minister cites well-known thinkers such as Keynes, Prof. Soemitro, and Sutan Sjahrir. These references position the fiscal narrative within established intellectual and nationalist traditions, suggesting that the government's policy choices are grounded in recognized economic theory and Indonesian ideological heritage. By drawing on concepts such as the Trilogy of Growth, Keynesian ideals of balancing efficiency, justice, and liberty, and Sjahrir's humanitarian nationalism, the speech constructs policy decisions as theoretically informed and morally anchored.

The speech also reproduces familiar patterns of state discourse through intratextual recycling. Recurrent official tropes—such as framing the APBN as an "instrument," invoking the Trilogi Pembangunan, and presenting standardized lists of macroeconomic assumptions and program indicators—reinforce continuity with earlier budgetary texts. This repetition situates the speech within the established communicative traditions of Indonesian fiscal governance. It also performs ideological work by framing current fiscal decisions as consistent with long-standing state logic, thereby stabilizing institutional identity and reducing the visibility of contestation or policy shifts.

Interdiscursivity further characterizes the text through its blending of technocratic, democratic, moral-religious, and nationalist-emotive discourses. Technical language involving indicators, projections, and fiscal prudence coexists with democratic-procedural vocabulary that highlights transparency and legislative oversight. These are interwoven with moral and religious expressions, including invocations, blessings, and plural greetings, as well as nationalist rhetoric emphasizing devotion, service, and independence. This fusion broadens the speech's resonance across institutional and public audiences, enabling it to appeal simultaneously to expectations of expertise, accountability, cultural morality, and patriotic sentiment.

Overall, the intertextual strategies observed in the speech appear highly deliberate. By shifting between technical, ceremonial, moral, and historical registers, the text cultivates an image of both competence and character. Technical passages demonstrate mastery of fiscal policy, while moral and historical references provide ethical justification and

symbolic continuity. This strategic orchestration of voices strengthens the speech's persuasive durability, enabling it to justify government policy on empirical, cultural, and ideological grounds at once. In Fairclough's terms, the speech exemplifies how intertextuality and interdiscursivity operate as resources through which institutional power is exercised and legitimized.

3.2.3 Consumption and Interpretation

The speech's intended interpretive work for its primary audience—the DPR members—centers on closure and persuasion. It legitimizes the government's proposed numbers, frames them as prudently designed for a period of transition, and reassures legislators that the processes of consultation and transparency have been fulfilled. In doing so, the speech functions as a political seal meant to facilitate smooth ratification.

For the broader public, including media and citizens, the speech works to offer reassurance amid global uncertainty. It highlights resilience, improvements in poverty and inequality indicators, and programmatic commitments that suggest strengthened social protection. Its plural religious salutations and inclusive language contribute to a framing that emphasizes national unity and social cohesion.

At the same time, the speech invites multiple readings and potential contestation. Supportive audiences may interpret its technical precision and moral tone as evidence of competent governance, whereas critics may view its optimism regarding projections, deficit levels, or policy promises as political smoothing or performative rhetoric. The interdiscursive blending of technocratic, moral, and nationalist registers enhances rhetorical robustness but also opens space for selective uptake and critique.

Finally, the speech will be mediated into policy debates and expert scrutiny. Analysts and policy communities are likely to recontextualize it within technical discussions about the feasibility of macroeconomic assumptions, the sustainability of deficit and debt strategies, and the effectiveness of targeted programs. While the speech attempts to pre-empt criticism by asserting prudence and ongoing reform, its longer-term discursive success will depend on how empirical realities align with these claims.

3.2.4 Social Practice and the Political Economy of Fiscal Governance

The speech delivered by Sri Mulyani Indrawati represents not only an institutional act of fiscal reporting but also a significant ideological performance within Indonesia's broader sociopolitical landscape. It emerges from the intersection of governance, economics, and national identity, functioning as a symbolic reaffirmation of state legitimacy during a period of political transition. In Fairclough's terms, the discourse operates within and reproduces dominant social structures: the technocratic authority of the state, the legitimacy of democratic procedures, and the moral unity of the nation. Through her language, the Minister situates economic management not as a neutral technical activity but as a moral duty to safeguard national welfare. This aligns with Indonesia's long-standing ideological frame of pembangunan nasional (national development), where economic growth, social justice, and stability are presented as mutually reinforcing moral imperatives.

Within this social context, the text reflects the consolidation of a technocratic-nationalist ideology that has characterized Indonesia's economic governance since the reform era. Sri Mulyani Indrawati's speech projects the image of a rational, prudent, and globally competent state, while simultaneously embedding spiritual and emotional appeals such as invoking God, gratitude, and collective responsibility. This hybrid discourse reinforces a social order where economic expertise and moral leadership coexist as twin foundations of authority. It also reproduces a hierarchical relationship between the government as rational caretaker and the people as beneficiaries, maintaining trust in bureaucratic expertise as the moral center of governance. Such positioning helps stabilize the legitimacy of the state amid global uncertainty and domestic transition, presenting fiscal discipline as both an economic necessity and a patriotic act.

Furthermore, the speech exemplifies how discourse functions as a vehicle of power in shaping public perception and social consciousness. By emphasizing transparency, collaboration, and "check and balance," the text constructs a narrative of participatory democracy, even as the communicative power largely remains centralized within the executive institution. The rhetorical integration of moral, religious, and economic language naturalizes the government's authority, presenting fiscal policy as an ethical consensus rather than a site of ideological contestation. This depoliticization of fiscal discourse serves to align public understanding of the APBN with the state's technocratic rationality, making alternative perspectives such as critiques of inequality, regional imbalance, or environmental cost less visible within mainstream interpretation.

At a deeper level, the speech reflects Indonesia's socioeconomic ideology of developmental pragmatism, where growth, equity, and stability are balanced within a single moral narrative. References to figures like Keynes and Sutan Sjahrir, along with the invocation of gotong royong and keadilan sosial, create a bridge between global economic rationality and local ethical wisdom. In Fairclough's framework, this blending demonstrates how discourse reproduces and legitimizes existing hegemonies by linking global neoliberal logic efficiency, competitiveness, fiscal prudence with culturally resonant values such as solidarity, spirituality, and national pride. The result is a coherent moral economic discourse that upholds both modern governance and traditional virtue, reinforcing Indonesia's self image as a resilient, inclusive, and spiritually grounded nation state.

Ultimately, the speech exemplifies how social practices of discourse in Indonesia's political economy are intertwined with ideology and identity. The act of delivering the APBN speech is not merely administrative but performative, reaffirming the government's role as the moral, economic, and symbolic guardian of the nation. Through the ritual of parliamentary address, the state reproduces its authority and sustains social cohesion by narrating fiscal policy as an expression of collective faith, unity, and national destiny. Thus, under Fairclough's third dimension, Sri Mulyani Indrawati's speech serves as a powerful instance of how language, power, and ideology converge to maintain the stability of Indonesia's sociopolitical order and to frame economic governance as an act of devotion to the republic.

4. Conclusion

The analysis demonstrates that Sri Mulyani Indrawati's APBN speech functions as far more than a technical presentation of fiscal data; it is a carefully orchestrated discursive performance that legitimizes the government's financial narrative and reinforces the state's ideological foundations. Through its interweaving of ceremonial greetings, moral expressions, historical references, and technocratic terminology, the speech constructs a hybrid register that is inclusive, authoritative, and culturally resonant. Grammatical choices, modality patterns, and cohesive structuring work together to project prudence, competence, and continuity, framing fiscal governance as both historically grounded and future-oriented.

At the level of discourse practice, the speech derives its power from its institutional setting, its ministerial genre, and the procedural context of the national budget cycle. Intertextual references to prominent economic and nationalist thinkers, along with the recycling of familiar state tropes, situate the fiscal message within long-standing intellectual and administrative traditions. This interdiscursivity strengthens the government's credibility while broadening the speech's appeal across ideological, cultural, and political audiences.

The text's interpretive effects reveal its dual function: to reassure legislative stakeholders by justifying fiscal decisions, and to cultivate public confidence through narratives of stability, resilience, and collective responsibility. While supporters may interpret the speech as evidence of responsible governance, critics may detect strategic optimism or selective framing. Nevertheless, its broader ideological impact lies in how it shapes public understanding of national economic management and institutional authority.

Overall, the speech exemplifies how governmental fiscal discourse operates as a site where language, power, and ideology converge. By fusing technocratic rationality with moral, spiritual, and nationalist appeals, the text constructs fiscal policy as a collective moral project and reaffirms the state's role as rational steward and moral guardian of the nation. In this way, the speech contributes to the ongoing construction of Indonesia's financial identity and sustains the sociopolitical order through a narrative of unity, responsibility, and national purpose.

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