

**FORMALITY LEVELS IN OBAMA’S INTERVIEW AND JOKOWI’S
INTERVIEW**

SKRIPSI

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ABSTRACT

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This study deals with Formality Levels in Obama's Interview and Jokowi's Interview. The data in this research was taken from Obama and Jokowi's Interview Script. The data was collected with documentary technique and the instrument used was documentary sheet. Thus, in doing this research, descriptive qualitative analysis was applied in analyzing the data. The objectives of research were to find out the types of formality levels and the most dominant in the Obama and Jokowi's interview Script. From the data obtained, there were five types found in the Obama and Jokowi's interview Script. They were Frozen, Formal, Consultative, Casual, and Intimate. The result of the research in Obama's Interview, Frozen (0%), Formal (41,8%), Consultative (4,7%), Casual (53,5%), and Intimate (0%). And the result of the research in Jokowi's interview is Frozen (4,54%), Formal (6,82%), Consultative (9,1%), Casual (79,54%), and Intimate (0%).

Keywords: Formality Levels, Interview

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. The Background of the Study

Sociolinguistics is concerned with investigating the relationship between language and society with the goal being a better understanding of the structure of language and how function is communication (Wardaugh 2006:13).

According to Holmes (2013:1) sociolinguistics is the study of relationship between language and society. They are interested in explaining why we speak differently in different social context, and they are concerned with identifying the social function of language meaning. It can be concluded that sociolinguistics is the study of the relationship between language and society which can help people to understand how language is used in society and get better understanding in communication.

Based on the researcher's experience in studying Sociolinguistics at fifth semester academic Muhammadiyah University of North Sumatera, there were some element of language style. One of them is levels of formality. In studying levels of formality made the students found it difficult to determine and confuse to use the types of levels of formality it self because in levels of formality we examined how we speak in certain situation or field that need good manner or rule. For example speaking with parents and teacher would require less formal speech than at a company networking event, but more formal than a peer group. Another example is in interviewing president, the interviewer should ask the

president using formal language and it will be different when an interviewer interviews an actor or actress because they have different positions.

Language style according to Joos in Brown (2000:260-261) is classified into five types based on the levels of formality. Levels of Formality is the level of intimacy people assume with another which are divided into five levels, they are frozen, formal, consultative, casual, and intimate (Weinstein, 1984). Not only culture or way of speaking of them but also their capability in handling all the questions during interview influence levels of formality because their awareness to the formats of interview will avoid misinterpretation. Thus, it is important to pay attention on certain aspect styles of language or levels of formality to achieve successful and fluent communication.

President is one of important people in a country so when interviewing the president, interviewer should have good preparation in asking the questions by using formal style of language to respect him. It is same with a president, when he is interviewed about everything related to his country, he should answer the questions seriously but it could be serious when he is asked about family.

The difference of culture, way of speaking and personality between Obama and Jokowi as President influence the using of levels of formality. Not only culture or way of speaking of them but also their capability in handling all the questions during interview influence levels of formality because their awareness to the formats of interview will avoid misinterpretation. Thus, it is important to pay attention on levels of formality to achieve successful and fluent

communication, and also to find out the most dominant type used by Obama and Jokowi in their interview.

After learning about levels of formality in sociolinguistics, the students are expected to understand about levels of formality. But in fact, the students at 7 E Morning class in the academic year of 2016/2017 in Muhammadiyah University of North Sumatera did not know about levels of formality itself and the students seldom use appropriate levels of formality when they speak to the lecturers or teachers although in formal situation.

To solve this problem, the study was conducted about *Formality Levels in Obama's Interview and Jokowi's Interview*. It could motivate the researcher to study about levels of formality and make the student or people know the appropriate level to select language in speaking in order to build a good communication with others. The researcher encourages getting information about levels of formality by doing the research with the title "*Formality Levels in Obama's Interview and Jokowi's Interview*." For that, it is important to make the research about levels of formality so the students or people know and can determine of each respective type.

B. The Identification the Problems

The problem of this study is identified as follow:

1. The students found it difficult to determine the types of Levels of Formality.
2. The students seldom use appropriate levels of formality when they speak.

3. The most dominant type of Levels of Formality used in Obama's interview and Jokowi's interview.

C. The Scope and Limitation of the Study

The scope of this study is Sociolinguistics. It was limited on Formality Levels, they are Frozen, Formal, Consultative, Casual, and Intimate in Obama's and Jokowi's Interview.

D. The Formulation of the Study

The study was focused on the analysis of Formality in *Obama's* interview and *Jokowi's* interview. In line to background, the formulation of the study as follow:

1. What levels of formality used by Obama and Jokowi in answering the interviewer question?
2. What is the most dominant types of levels of formality used in Obama's and Jokowi's Interview?

E. The Objectives of the Problems

In relation to the problem stated above, this study is aims at describing objectively how formality describe in *Obama's* interview and *Jokowi's* interview.

More specific are as follow:

1. To describe levels of formality that used in Obama and Jokowi in their interview.

2. To find out the most dominant type of Obama's utterances and Jokowi's interview.

F. The Significances of the Study

1. Theoretically

This study is expected to enrich the study of English especially in Levels of Formality to help achieve successful and fluent communication.

2. Practically

It is hoped that the research findings of the study will give benefit to:

a. Researcher

The study is a very significant and useful. It will give some valuable experiences and it can be used for the preparation of the researcher as a candidate of teacher, and also as source in analyzing levels of formality in different object.

b. Students

The study is useful to enrich their knowledge about formality levels.

c. Lecturers

The study is useful as reference in guiding the research about formality levels.

d. Teachers

This study is expected to be careful in selecting levels of formality as input in teaching.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A. Theoretical Framework

1. Sociolinguistics

Hudson (1996:4) states that sociolinguistics as the study of language in relation to society, implying (intentionally) that sociolinguistics is part of the study of language.

Sociolinguistics is concerned with investigating the relationships between language and society with the goal being a better understanding of the structure of language and how language function is communication (Wardaugh 2006:13)

According to Holmes (2013:1) sociolinguistics is the study of relationship between language and society. They are interested in explaining why we speak differently in different social context, and they are concerned with identifying the social function of language meaning.

From all definition above, it can be conclude that sociolinguistics is the study of the relationship between language and society which can help people to understand how language is used in society and get better understanding in communication.

2. Varieties of Language

The term 'variety' according to Hudson can be applied to the different manifestations of language as a phenomenon or as a "specific", to use Ballard's term. Hudson defines a variety of language as "a set of linguistic items with

similar social distribution”. This definition, as he notes, merges the ‘specific forms’ like English and French with their ‘manifestations’ thus giving them equal status. This obvious ‘merger’ is no doubt responsible for his claim that varieties do not exist after all since there are no clear ways to delimit them.

According to him, “all that exists are people and items, and people may be more or less similar to one another in the items they have in their language”. Romaine on her part regards varieties “as a clustering of features”. In her view, variety and dialect are interchangeable. She characterizes dialect as “a subordinate variety of a language”. From Romaine’s position, a dialect or variety is a lower manifestation of the specific language; a ‘child’ of the ‘parent’ language. Her view recognizes a hierarchy between a variety and the specific language. Romaine’s observation clearly delimits one form of language from another which is albeit contestable in that some regional varieties may not correctly be given a “subordinate” ascription when speakers of such varieties have some linguistic autonomy, independence or prestige. If, for instance, American English and British English are both “subordinate varieties” of English, it then becomes difficult to say which of them constitutes ‘the English language’. It would then be more appropriate to simply refer to them as “varieties” of English.

3. Levels of formality

Formal style of speech with distinctive pronunciation, syntax, and vocabulary are the linguistic equivalent of formal dress on such occasions. Though status and solidarity are usually very important influences on appropriate language choice, the formality of the setting or speech event can sometimes override them.

Different communities put different degrees of weight on solidarity vs status, and formality vs casualness. In a conservative, status-based community, where differences are emphasized, interactions with acquaintances may be relatively formal. In groups where friendship or how well you know someone tends to override status differences, similarities are stressed, and interactions tend towards the informal in many contexts.

The way we use language is different style depending on the context of communicative act in terms of subject matter, audience, occasion, shared experience, and purpose of communication. Language style according to Joos in Brown (2000:260-261) is classified into five types based on the levels of formality, those are; Frozen, Formal, Consultative, Casual, and Intimate.

a) Frozen

Joos in Brown (2000:260) is used in public speaking before large audience; wording is carefully planned in advance, intonation is some what exaggerated, and numerous rhetorical are appropriate.

Frozen style refers to printed unchanging language, such as Biblical quotations, often contains archaisms. Example are the Pledge of Allegiance of the United States of America and other static vocalizations that are recited in a ritualistic monotone. The wording is exactly the same every time it is spoken ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Register_\(Sociolinguistics\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Register_(Sociolinguistics))).

The example of frozen style was taken from the Preamble to the United States Constitution:

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of *America*
 (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Preamble_to_the_United_States_Constitution).

Another example of frozen was taken from the translation of Surah Al-Fatihah (<http://quran.com/1>) :

1. *In the name of Allah, the Entire Merciful, the Especially Merciful.*
2. *[All] praise is [due] to Allah, Lord of the Worlds.*
3. *The Entire Merciful, The Especially Merciful.*
4. *Sovereign of the Day of Recompense.*
5. *It is You we worship and You we ask for help.*
6. *Guide us to the straight path.*
7. *The path of those upon whom You have bestowed favor, not of those who have.*
8. *Evoked (You) anger or those who are astray.*

b) Formal

Joos in Brown (2000:260) states that a deliberative style is also to addressing audiences, usually audiences too large to permit effective interchange between speaker and hearers, although the forms are normally not as those in frozen style. A typical university classroom lecture is often carried out in Formal style. According to Daniels (1985:26) the formal style is most often found in speeches,

lectures, sermons, television newscasts, and the like. This style is usually used in literary book, president speech, etc. The pattern is standardized and cannot be changed individually. For the patterns, it seems like a standard language that only used in formal situation. So, for conversation between friends, it do not use this kind of language variety. Gleason in Sulistyorini (2007) has substituted deliberative for formal style. He describes the formal style is characterized by more complex and varied sentence structures than consultative. The vocabulary is also more extensive. This style is usually used in speaking to medium or large groups. The speaker must plans ahead, framing whole sentences before they are delivered. It is also used in speaking to a single hearer.

Joos explained in Broderic (1976), Formal style is artificially explicit in it is pronunciation. Words take on specialized meanings. Sentence structure is not just complete; it is elaborate. The speaker's purpose is to keep the listener attentive but quiet. The speaker has decided in advance that listener need all the background information he can get. So there is no need to gauge the listener's needs by eliciting feedback. This conversation usually occur in conversation between stranger, or someone with his Bos. Another characteristic of this style is the speaker will call addresser with rank, not his name. The example of formal style :

“ Mr. Jhonson, do come in..”

“ please take a seat, your Majesty”

“ How are you, Mr. Jhonson, nice to see you”

c) Consultative

Joos in Brown (2000:260) states that a consultative is typically a dialogue, though formal enough that words are chosen with some care. Business transaction, doctor-patient conversation, and the like are usually consultative in nature.

Consultative produces cooperation without the integration profiting from the lack of it. In this style, speaker provides more explicit background information because the listener may not understand without it. This style used by strangers or near-stranger in routine transaction: co-workers dealing with a problem, a buyer making purchase from a clerk, and so forth. An important feature of this style is the participation of the listener =, who uses frequent interjection such as “yeah”, “uh-huh”, or “I see” to signal understanding (Daniels 1985:26).

The example of consultative:

Member : “How to get a slim body like you?”

Instructor : “One hour before you come to this place, please don’t eat too much.”

Member : “Ok, I will do it tomorrow.”

Instructor : “it is good for you because it burns the calories quickly.”

Member : “Oh, I see, I want to have a slim body like you.”

Instructor : “Don’t forget it, do it tomorrow.”

Member : “Yeah, I will do it tomorrow, thank you.”

Somia and Meisuri (2012:4) found that there are five types of language style in King’s Speech Movie. Consultative is dominantly used because the fact the

movie deals with the dialogue or consultative between two people. While one is speaking and the others give short response.

d) Casual

Joos in Brown (2000:260) states casual conversation are between friends or colleagues or sometimes members of a family; in this context words needs not be guarded and social barriers are moderately low.

The casual also depends on social groupings. When people share understanding and meaning which are not complete enough to be called intimate, they trend to employ casual style. The earmark of this pattern are ellipsis and slang. Ellipsis is the shorthand of shared meaning; slang often expresses these meanings in a way that define the group and excludes others. The casual is reserved for friends and insiders (Daniel, 1985:26).

The example of casual:

Fitri : “Hey, comin!”

Nadya : “No, no. I wanna go.”

Fitri : “Where?”

Nadya : “Supermarket, Wanna join me?”

Fitri : “Sorry, I’m busy now.”

Debora (2013) found that casual can be applied in teaching process and outside class activities or in daily life. Applying casual in classroom makes young learners understand the subject. Students will have more motivation to study and keep focusing on the material.

e) Intimate

Joos in Brown (2000:260) states intimate is one characterized by complete absence of social inhibition talk with family, loved one, and very close friends, where the inner self is revealed, is an intimate.

At the bottom of Joos's model is the intimate, a kind of language which fuses two separated personalities and can only occur between individuals with a close personal relationship. A husband and wife, for example, may sometimes speak to each other in what sounds like a very fragmentary and clipped code that they alone understand. Such utterances are characterized by their extraction, the use of extracts of potentially complete sentences, made possible by intricate, personal, shared system of private symbols. The intimate in sum is personal, fragmentary, and implicit (Daniels, 1985:26).

4. Interview

Interview means a private meeting between people when questions are asked and answered. The person who answers the questions of an interview is called an interviewee. The person who asks the questions of our interview is called an interviewer. It suggests a meeting between two persons for the purpose of getting a view of each other or for knowing each other. When we normally think of an interview, we think a setting in which an employer tries to size up an applicant for a job. According to Gary Dessler, "An interview is a procedure designed to obtain information from a person's oral response to oral inquiries." According to Thill and Bovee, "An interview is any planned conversation with a specific purpose involving two or more people". According to Dr. S. M. Amunuzzaman,

“**Interview** is a very systematic method by which a person enters deeply into the life of even a stranger and can bring out needed information and data for the research purpose.”

Types of interviews

There are many types of interviews that an organization can arrange. It depends on the objectives of taking the interview. Some important types of interviews are stated below:

1. **Personal interviews:** Personal interviews include:

- 1) Selection of the employees
- 2) Promotion of the employees
- 3) Retirement and resignation of the employees

This type of interview is designed to obtain information through discussion and observation about how well the interviewee will perform on the job.

2. **Evaluation interviews:** The interviews which take place annually to review the progress of the interviewee are called the evaluation interviews. Naturally, it is occurring between superiors and subordinates. The main objective of this interview is to find out the strengths and weaknesses of the employees.

3. **Persuasive interviews:** This type of interview is designed to sell someone a product or an idea. When a sales representative talk with a target buyer, persuasion takes the form of convincing the target that the product or idea meets a need.

4. **Structured interviews:** Structured interviews tend to follow formal procedures; the interviewer follows a predetermined agenda or questions.

5. **Unstructured interviews:** When the interview does not follow the formal rules or procedures. It is called an unstructured *interview*. The discussion will probably be free flowing and may shift rapidly from one subject to another depending on the interests of the interviewee and the interviewer.
6. **Counseling interviews:** This may be held to find out what has been troubling the workers and why someone has not been working.
7. **Disciplinary interviews:** Disciplinary interviews are occurring when an employee has been accused of breaching the organization's rules and procedures.
8. **Stress interviews:** It is designed to place the interviewee in a stress situation in order to observe the interviewee's reaction.
9. **Public interviews:** These include political parties' radio-television and newspaper.
10. **Informal or conversational interview:** In the conversational interview, no predetermined questions are asked, in order to remain as open and adaptable as possible to the interviewee's nature and priorities; during the interview the interviewer "goes with the flow".
11. **General interview guide approach:** The guide approach is intended to ensure that the same general areas of information are collected from each interviewee this provides more focus than the conversational approach but still allows a degree of freedom and adaptability in getting the information from the interviewee.

12. **Standardized or open-ended interview:** Here the same open-ended questions are asked to all interviewees; this approach facilitates faster interviews faster interviews that can be more easily analyzed and compared.

13. **Closed or fixed-response interview:** It is an interview where all interviewers ask the same questions and asked to choose answers from among the same set of alternatives. This formal is useful for those not practiced in interviewing.

B. Previous of The Study

There are some studies that related to this research had been conducted before. The first study is conducted by S.F karo and I. W. D Tangkas (2013) in journal of English Language Teaching and Learning of FBS Unimed ISSN: 2301-5225 Vol.3 (2) pp. 1-13 on his journal entitled: *Levels of Formality in Obama's Interview and SBY's Interview*. The basic purpose of this study is to investigate the differences and similarities between Obama's utterances and SBY's Interview in answering the interview;s question.

The second related is conducted in the thesis by Emilyya Somia and Meisuri (2012) on their thesis entitled: *Language Style in King's Speech Movie*. One aim of this article is to show through a concrete example how language style used in movie. The illustrative example is taken from the dialogue of King's Speech Movie. Central the analysis proper form of dialogue in King's Speech movie that contain of language style; I,e frozen, formal, consultative, casual, and intimate. 339 dialogue were interpreted by actor, and it was found that the use of language style.

The third related research is conducted by Elisa Eka Ningsih on her journal entitled: *An Analysis of The Language Styles Found in The “King’s Speech” Movie*. This study is five language styles that classified based on Martin Joos Theory (1967), they are frozen, formal, consultative, casual, and intimate. This language styles can be identified by the situation of the speaker is speak, whether it is formal or casual, public or private, who will be the listener when we speak, whether it is our friends, our parents or even the person that we never know before. The things focused on styles are occurred in every interaction or conversation that Bertie (King George VI) is done ad a leading character in this movie, and then classifying it into five language style and finding what style is dominantly occurred. The writer used Qualitative Description as the method, and after the research has been done, all styles is occurred in the Bertie’s conversation and type of the style occurs dominantly in the movie is Consultative (34%), next followed by casual (31%), formal and intimate (16%), and frozen (3%).

C. Conceptual Framework

This study was qualitative research was conducted by descriptive qualitative technique. Qualitative research is a research procedure that will produce descriptive data in form of written and spoken words from people or people’s behavior that can be research. The objects of this study were *Obama’s* interview and *Jokowi’s* interview during a year of 2016. And the data are in forms of words or utterances used by Obama as a President of America and Jokowi as a President of Indonesia. After the data were collected, the data were analyzed descriptively.

There were six steps in analyzing the data. First, reducing data which has been identified proper to the levels of formality. After that classifying the Obama's and Jokowi's utterances found in their interview based on levels of formality. And next analyzing and interpreting the data which has been classified from Obama's and Jokowi's utterances, then calculating percentage of type levels of formality, at last find dominant type and concluding the data.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

A. Research Design

This study was conducted by descriptive qualitative analysis. The data consist of sentences and utterances. According to Neuman (2000:123) states that qualitative data analysis method is descriptive which the data are in the form of words and images from documents, observations and transcripts. In qualitative research the focus in observation and transcripts analysis since this study was intended to describe the levels of formality as reflect in *Obama's interview* and *Jokowi's interview*. The data was collected, analyzed and interpreted the types of levels of formality.

B. Data Source

The objects of this study were Obama's and Jokowi's Interview during a year 2016, and the data was in form of sentences or utterances used by Obama as a president of America and Jokowi as a president of Indonesia. This study was analyzed the sentences and utterances produced by Obama and Jokowi in his interviews.

C. Technique Data Collecting

There were some steps in collecting the data. The steps were as follow:

1. Reading the script of interviews of Obama and Jokowi.

CHAPTER IV

DATA AND DATA ANALYSIS

A. The Data

The data of this study were collected from the interview script of Obama and Jokowi's Interview. The script of Obama's Interview was derived from internet media and the script of Jokowi's Interview was derived from listening of video. The data were taken from sentences or utterance used by Obama and Jokowi and analyzed according Neuman's Theory

B. Data Analysis

After collecting the data, the researcher firstly classified them based on the types of formality levels according to Neuman theory (2000:123). There are five types of formality levels. Those are: Frozen, Formal, Consultative, Casual, and Intimate.

After analyzing the scripts the researcher found there are 258 sentences and utterances of formality levels in Obama's interview and there are 132 sentences and utterances of formality levels in Jokowi's interview. The description of the data analysis can be seen below:

1. The types of Formality Levels in Obama and jokowi's interview

a. Frozen

Frozen is the most formal style which is often used by the person of high level or important figures in order to give precedence and respect over the hearers

and the speakers. The sentence are not only constructed individually, but also sequence of sentences are intricately related to ordinary occasions such as religious service.

Jokowi as one of important figure or president in Indonesia used this style in his interview. It showed that Jokowi is able to construct the sentence in answering the interview. However, Frozen is not found in Obama interview, it can not be concluded that Obama is not able to construct the sentence in his interview but it is influenced by the personality of each president. Jokowi is more like to add the words that relate to the god such as “*tahun depan **insyaAllah** saya bisa memberikan jaminan 7%*”. The addition word of “insyaAllah” made this utterance is include into Frozen.

b. Formal

Formal is one of the formality levels that people should use when he or she is talking with someone who is older than him/her and holding higher social status than him/her. But it is not happen in America, people is prefer use semi formal or informal to formal spoken to show that American is friendly and welcoming even he is a president. While in Indonesia, people is prefer use formal to informal to respect the older and the higher status.

Formal style in Obama’s Interview:

“You have a particular problem in the Republican Party right now that needs to get sorted through.”

From the sentence above, it can be classified as formal because Obama used formal language.

Formal style in Jokowi's Interview:

"Hal seperti itulah yang menurut saya sekarang ini lebih mendominasi karna itu sulit."

From the sentence above, it can be classified as formal because Jokowi used formal language.

c. Consultative

Consultative is the usual form of speech in small groups except among close friends. It typically occurs between two persons while one is speaking, at intervals the others give short responses, by using standard signals.

Consultative style in Obama's Interview:

"That sounds great."

From the sentence above, it can be classified as consultative because Obama used that to respond interviewer.

Consultative style in Jokowi's Interview:

"Ya," saya kemarinkan mengajak ya mengajak kepada pers, kepada media untuk membangun optimisme public.

From the sentence above, it can be classified as consultative because Jokowi used that to respond interviewer.

d. Casual

Casual is the formality levels that characterized by the use of the first name or even nickname rather than a little name and last name in addressing one another. Besides that this level is the use of slang. Another characteristic of casual level is

the omissions of unstressed words, particularly at the beginning of sentences, and construction.

Casual style in Obama’s Interview:

“I’m not sure if it is getting even worse.”

From the sentence above, it can be classified as consultative because in English the using of constructions such as “I’m” is tend to be informal if we are speaking in formal situation.

Casual style in Jokowi’s Interview:

Menurut saya ya tahun 2015 ada gaduh gaduh dikit ya gapapalah.

From the sentence above, it can be classified as casual because Jokowi used informal word “*gaduh*”

e. Intimate

An intimate level is a completely private language developed within families, lovers, and the closet of friends. It might embarrass some for non-group members to hear them in group intimate language.

There is no intimate level found in Obama and Jokowi’s Interview.

Table 4.1.

The Analysis of The Types of Formality Levels used by Obama in Obama’s Interview

No	Sentence and Utterance of Obama	Types of Formality Levels				
		Froz	Form	Cons	Cas	Int
1	<u>That sounds great.</u>			✓		
2	<u>I’m going to listen to this one.</u>				✓	
3	<u>I’m not sure if it is getting even worse.</u>				✓	
4	<u>I think that there has been a steady growth in people's cynicism about institutions</u>		✓			

	<u>generally, and government in particular.</u>					
5	And some of it is justified because <u>we have got a Congress that's been dysfunctional now for quite some time and can't seem to organize itself to solve problems.</u>				✓	
6	You now have a Republican Congress, they control both chambers and <u>they can't even pass their own agenda</u> , much less pass something that has bipartisan support.				✓	
7	And at a time when there are a lot of big issues out there, people feel as if <u>things aren't working the way they should.</u>				✓	
8	Even without Congress cooperating, <u>we have been able to make progress on a whole range of issues.</u>		✓			
9	And <u>I think people are seeing that when government makes smart decisions, it actually has a significant impact.</u>		✓			
10	And part of my hope during the course of this election is that <u>it's clarifying that people say</u> , all right, here's what each party stands for, <u>here's what each presidential candidate and various congressional candidates stand for.</u>				✓	
11	<u>If we are going to move forward in a democracy then the ultimate arbiter of making things work is the voter</u> , and putting people in charge who are serious about America's business as opposed to just playing to various narrow constituency groups.		✓			
12	You know, ultimately <u>I have confidence in our voters.</u>		✓			

13	If you look at American history, there have been times where <u>we've taken some tough turns</u> , primarily fed by fear and disruptions and dislocations, but with a very substantial exception of the Civil War, generally speaking, the democratic process muddled through and we emerged better and stronger than we were before.				✓	
14	And I have no doubt that <u>the same thing will happen this time</u> .		✓			
15	But I do think that part of what has changed during the course of my presidency, <u>I've seen it is the splintering of media</u> .				✓	
16	The power of social media and the Internet has turbocharged what previously might have been marginal views or marginal groups, has made it harder to generate consensus because <u>people aren't looking at the same set of facts</u> .				✓	
17	<u>I have said this before</u> .		✓			
18	If you are watching Fox News, you have a different set of facts than if <u>you're reading the New York Times editorial page</u> .				✓	
19	And that, I think, has led or increased the polarization, and that <u>makes it harder for people to sort through who is telling the truth and how we actually get stuff done</u> .		✓			
20	Well, look, as a general proposition, <u>I don't spend a lot of time looking at polls</u> .				✓	
21	But <u>what's interesting is right now</u>				✓	
22	Well, right now <u>I think the majority of the American people think that I am doing a good job</u> .		✓			

23	That does not necessarily give me a lot of comfort if <u>I can't move this Congress forward</u>				✓	
24	And the question then becomes and I have heard some people in the Republican Party suggest that in some fashion I am responsible for <u>what's happened to them</u> , and the rise of [Donald] Trump and the dysfunction that you see in their party generally.				✓	
25	What I would say is that I came into office wanting to work on a bipartisan basis, and if <u>you've looked at my old speeches you would see that.</u>				✓	
26	<u>The Republicans made a determination that it was good politics to oppose everything that I did.</u>		✓			
27	<u>The problem was that by opposing everything I did, even things that previously they had been for, it pushed their party further and further to the right.</u>		✓			
28	And, look, at the risk of sounding partisan, but I believe if you look at the facts that this is a pretty accurate description: When we talk about dysfunction in government, <u>it's not as if both parties are equally dysfunctional.</u>				✓	
29	<u>The Democrats have a pretty well thought through agenda.</u>		✓			
30	When <u>we were governing in the first two years of my administration, we got a lot done.</u>		✓			
31	<u>We were probably as productive as any Congress in 20, 30, 40 years.</u>		✓			
32	<u>You have a particular problem in the Republican Party right now that needs to get sorted through.</u>		✓			
33	Now, <u>that's not unique in the</u>				✓	

	<u>annals of American history.</u>					
34	<u>There have been times when the Democrats were wrapped around the axle, and extreme wings were setting the agenda.</u>		✓			
35	<u>And I think the Republicans will get out of this.</u>		✓			
36	<u>I don't think that it is something that will last the next 10, 15, 20 years.</u>				✓	
37	But right now, at least, partly in reaction to my presidency and the political decisions that they made, <u>they find themselves having created an atmosphere</u> in which even somebody like Paul Ryan is viewed as not sufficiently conservative, or if he does just some of the basic work of governance that somehow he has betrayed the base and is decried as a Republican in name only.		✓			
38	And when you have that kind of environment, <u>it's very hard to get the kind of cooperation</u> that is necessary for us to solve problems that people are concerned about and that I am assuming that during the course of your conversations <u>they've raised repeatedly.</u>				✓	
39	Well, <u>we've got some long-term trends that we have to battle</u> , and when I came into office we were in the midst of the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression.				✓	
40	<u>We have successfully dug ourselves out of that hole.</u>		✓			
41	<u>I'm going to answer your question.</u>				✓	
42	<u>Just giving it a little context here.</u>		✓			
43	<u>So we had unemployment at 10</u>		✓			

	<u>percent.</u>					
44	<u>It's now below 5.</u>					✓
45	<u>We had a housing market that had completely collapsed.</u>		✓			
46	<u>It's now normalized.</u>					✓
47	<u>We had a situation in which people had lost trillions of dollars in wealth in their 401(k)'s and they have recovered it.</u>		✓			
48	<u>In fact, Americans have gotten back about \$30 trillion of wealth since I came into office.</u>		✓			
49	<u>So by every measure, the economy has improved.</u>		✓			
50	<u>But the long-term trends that had occurred before I took office and have continued is a combination of globalization and automation, leading to more downward pressure on wages because you need fewer workers to make a certain amount of stuff; and entire job sectors being shrunk or eliminated; more and more people going into the service sector, and in the service sector, historically wages have been lower</u>		✓			
51	<u>And that's all been compounded by some very specific policies both at the federal and the state level that's made it harder for workers to organize and get more leverage to get higher wages</u>					✓
52	<u>This is why we fought for higher minimum wages.</u>		✓			
53	<u>This is why we fought for making it easier to collectively bargain.</u>		✓			
54	<u>This is why, I think, it is so important that as we move forward, if we are going to benefit from all the huge productivity increases and efficiencies that arise out of the</u>		✓			

	<u>global supply chain and automated everything, then we are going to have to redesign that social compact to make sure that everybody is getting a decent wage.</u>					
55	And that is possible to do.		✓			
56	<u>It's not as if we need a radical restructuring of the economy.</u>				✓	
57	If <u>we had a minimum wage that required everybody to get be above poverty if they are working full time</u> , that would go a long way towards alleviating some of the trends that we talked about.		✓			
58	And in fact, <u>we've seen wage growth now begin to occur over the last couple of years</u> , but it's not happening as fast as it should.				✓	
59	I think he is right that <u>what you are seeing across the advanced economies</u> is that when you have globalization and suddenly there is competition from everywhere, that empowers people who have a lot of skills, can use the Internet,		✓			
60	Suddenly <u>they have access to all the markets.</u>		✓			
61	And what that means is, if <u>you are very good at something</u> , if <u>you are LeBron James</u> or you are [Jerry] Seinfeld or <u>you are Steve Jobs</u> , then suddenly <u>you can leverage your skills in ways that you could never do before.</u>		✓			
62	If <u>you are a manual worker</u> , and are doing work that can be replaced not just by a lower-wage worker somewhere else but more frequently by a machine, then you are in a tougher spot because you now are competing against the entire		✓			

	world instead of just the people who live around you.					
63	And <u>that's why it's so important for us to think about how do we make sure that everybody is participating in that global economy.</u>				✓	
64	If you continue on the current trends, then what you are going to see is a continuing increase in inequality, and that is not going to be economically sustainable because it turns out that the economy works best when everybody has a stake in it and workers have money in their pockets and are spending it, and <u>that's good for business.</u>				✓	
65	But <u>it's also not politically sustainable because people start getting frustrated,</u> and they start getting resentful				✓	
66	And <u>I think you see that somewhat in the Brexit vote.</u>		✓			
67	<u>You see some of it in both the Sanders campaign and the Trump campaign,</u> people feeling as if we are potentially being left behind.		✓			
68	Now the question then is, <u>what's the prognosis?</u>				✓	
69	Or <u>what's the cure to this whole thing?</u>				✓	
70	And the notion is that, from my perspective, <u>we are not going to suddenly eliminate the global supply chain.</u>		✓			
71	<u>We are not going to disentangle the world economy.</u>		✓			
72	<u>It's just too integrated now by virtue of technology and the Internet.</u>				✓	
73	And so what we have to do is to make sure that wages around the				✓	

	world are beginning to rise, that environmental standards around the world are beginning to rise, that within our own countries we are providing the education that people need to compete in this global economy, with new skills for the new industries that are out there, that we invest more in things like infrastructure that make us competitive, and <u>also, by the way, can't be shipped away.</u>					
74	<u>The issue is not that the world is shrinking and globalization is inherently a bad thing.</u>		✓			
75	I actually think that, <u>over time, it can raise everybody's living standards and create a more peaceful world.</u>		✓			
76	But if you do it in a way where the benefits of globalization are only for the elites who are flying around from capital to capital and looking at their investment portfolios on a laptop or a computer screen, and they are not worrying, <u>they feel disengaged from their national economies and their national workers and their national communities, then you are going to see a reaction to it.</u>		✓			
77	Well, first of all, <u>I think it's important to remember that Mr. Trump embodies global elites and has taken full advantage of it his entire life.</u>				✓	
78	<u>So he is hardly a spokesperson for a legitimate spokesperson for a populist surge from working-class people, on either side of the Atlantic.</u>		✓			
79	<u>I think that some of the concerns around immigration, some of the concerns around a loss of control</u>		✓			

	<u>or a loss of national identity, those are similar.</u>					
80	<u>I think there is a xenophobia, an anti-immigrant sentiment that is flashing up not just in Great Britain but throughout Europe, that has some parallels with what Mr. Trump has been trying to stir up here.</u>		✓			
81	<u>Having said all that, the U.S. economy has not only recovered but we are about 10 percent larger than we were pre-crisis, when I came into office.</u>		✓			
82	<u>You've had a decade of stagnation there, partly because of austerity measures that we did not duplicate.</u>				✓	
83	<u>The Republicans attempted to impose those kinds of strategies here and I resisted them, and I would argue that that is part of the reason why we did a lot better.</u>		✓			
84	<u>We reformed our banking system a lot faster.</u>		✓			
85	<u>And so overall, I think that the differences are greater than the similarities.</u>		✓			
86	<u>But what is absolutely true is that the ability to tap into a fear that people may have about losing control, and to offer some sort of vague, nostalgic feelings about how, you know, we'll make Britain great again or we'll make America great again.</u>				✓	
87	<u>I think that some of that is out there, both in Europe and the United States.</u>		✓			
88	<u>And again, that's not unique to England.</u>				✓	

89	<u>You've seen it in the Le Pen Party in France.</u>				✓	
90	<u>You see it in some of the far-right parties in other parts of Europe as well.</u>		✓			
91	Well, I think that there are some bedrock values <u>that shouldn't change, and in fact, haven't changed.</u>				✓	
92	<u>It's the immigrants that change, not the values themselves.</u>				✓	
93	<u>Those traditions should not change.</u>		✓			
94	I think, ironically, that if you look at the values that immigrants bring when they come here whether <u>they're coming from Poland</u> , or Italy, or now Vietnam, or South Korea or India — the values they bring are quintessentially American values.				✓	
95	<u>They're striver's values; they're the values that say we're going to make something of ourselves, regardless of the station in which we were born.</u>				✓	
96	When you look at second-generation immigrants, or third-generation immigrants, <u>they are as American as any kid here.</u>		✓			
97	And <u>that's been our strength.</u>				✓	
98	That is part of what separates us from the United Kingdom or Europe, is <u>we've had that tradition of being a nation of immigrants.</u>				✓	
99	And so, you know, when <u>people are concerned about some of the changes that immigrants may bring, you know, they need to go back and read what people were saying about their grandparents</u>		✓			

	<u>or great-grandparents when they came.</u>					
100	<u>You read about the description of Irish who arrived, and the language that is being used is identical to the language that Mr. Trump uses about Mexicans.</u>		✓			
101	You know, when Southern Europeans were coming instead of Northern Europeans, there was absolute certainty that <u>America was going down the tubes because these swarthy, you know, folks were coming here and they had different attitudes.</u>		✓			
102	And <u>Catholics were coming, which meant that the pope was going to control us.</u>		✓			
103	And — this kind of <u>xenophobia is part of the American tradition</u> , and the good news is that, you know, after these spasms of it, it typically fades away, because the immigrants who come here, in fact, are coming here precisely to embrace the opportunities of being American.		✓			
104	Well, <u>I think that the best way to think about this is a pause button has been pressed on the project of full European integration.</u>		✓			
105	I would not overstate it.		✓			
106	<u>There has been a little bit of hysteria post-Brexit vote, as if, somehow, NATO's gone and the trans-Atlantic alliance is dissolving and every country is rushing off to its own corner.</u>		✓			
107	<u>That's not what's happening.</u>				✓	
108	<u>What's happening is that you had a European project that was probably moving faster and without as much consensus as it should have.</u>				✓	
109	You have a monetary union although <u>England wasn't a part</u>				✓	

	<u>of that that was always going to be difficult to manage</u> , because the economy in Germany is very different than the economy in Italy or Greece.					
110	And <u>you have a European Union government in Brussels</u> that, because it needs consensus from, you know, more than a couple of dozen countries, oftentimes seems overly bureaucratic and deadlocked.		✓			
111	And I think this will be a moment in which all of Europe says, all right, let's take a breath, and let's figure out how do we maintain some of our national identities, <u>how do we preserve the benefits of integration and how do we deal with some of the frustrations that our own voters are feeling.</u>		✓			
112	But the basic core values of Europe, the tenets of liberal, market-based democracies, <u>those aren't changing.</u>				✓	
113	<u>The interests that we have in common with Europe remain the same.</u>		✓			
114	And <u>our concerns internationally are the same.</u>		✓			
115	So, <u>Europe can't afford to turn in.</u>				✓	
116	<u>They're going to have to worry about working with us on the Middle East; they're going to have to worry about us working together to deal with an aggressive Russia.</u>				✓	
117	<u>They're going to have to deal with us</u> , with respect to how do we continue to uphold international rules and norms around the world that have served both the U.S. and Europe				✓	

	very well.					
118	And so, <u>I don't anticipate that there's going to be major cataclysmic changes as a consequence of this.</u>				✓	
119	Keep in mind that <u>Norway is not a member of the European Union, but Norway is one of our closest allies.</u>		✓			
120	<u>They align themselves on almost every issue with Europe and us.</u>		✓			
121	<u>They are a place that is continually supporting the kinds of initiatives internationally that we support.</u>		✓			
122	And if over the course of what is going to be at least a two-year negotiation between England and Europe, Great Britain ends up being affiliated to Europe like Norway is, <u>the average person is not to notice a big change.</u>		✓			
123	Right.			✓		
124	Right.			✓		
125	Right.			✓		
126	Yeah.			✓		
127	Well, what I would say to him is his restaurant might not be doing so well if <u>I hadn't focused my first two years on saving the economy.</u>				✓	
128	So, it's not as if I didn't have <u>anything else to do.</u>				✓	
129	And I think it would be pretty hard to argue that I haven't put everything <u>I've had into getting this done.</u>				✓	
130	But, you know, one of the things <u>that I have learned in this presidency is that until you get something done, people are going to be frustrated.</u>		✓			
131	You think of the incredible progress <u>we've made during the</u>				✓	

	<u>course of my presidency</u> with respect to LGBT the rights of gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transgender the historic speed with which we consolidated equal treatment for that population has been amazing.					
132	And you know, these days, if I go before an LGBT crowd, you know, people are cheering and saying <u>I've been one of their greatest champions.</u>				✓	
133	But it was only about three or four years ago when, you know, I would get heckled in some LGBT events because, you know, <u>marriage equality hadn't gotten done yet.</u>				✓	
134	Or before that, "don't ask, don't tell" <u>hadn't gotten done yet.</u>				✓	
135	<u>And it didn't matter how many times I told them, look, you know, it's going to get done.</u>				✓	
136	It's just — it turns out that the wheels in <u>democracy don't always move as quickly as you'd hope.</u>				✓	
137	<u>And I can't just do these things with a stroke of the pen.</u>				✓	
138	You know, <u>that's sort of the nature of all social change here.</u>				✓	
139	And so, if you were interviewing one of the DREAM Act kids, who over the last several years have been able to get a driver's license, a permit to work or [go] to school, have joined our military, <u>they wouldn't say that they have been used.</u>				✓	
140	<u>They would say thank you.</u>		✓			
141	And <u>I think that's the reason the vast majority of Latino voters continue to support me</u> , because they see the effort that has been put in.				✓	

142	Now, one last point <u>I'll make</u> , because I — right after this most recent Supreme [Court] ruling, or lack of ruling came down				✓	
143	Because <u>it was basically a 4-4 tie.</u>		✓			
144	I said to them, look, <u>everything is teed up.</u>		✓			
145	And instead of despairing, you just need to understand we've got four months, five months, and <u>you've got a very clear choice between two candidates</u> — one of whom not only supports all the initiatives that I've put forward, but is going to be in a position if <u>I don't get a ninth Supreme Court justice to break that tie.</u>				✓	
146	And to — one way or another, by next year, <u>we're going to have either my administrative solution to immigration reform done</u> , it will be in train, because it will have been decided on and will no longer be blocked.				✓	
147	Or, alternatively, you know, <u>Mr. Trump will win</u> , in which case, you know, <u>we'll have a whole bunch of other problems on our hands with respect to immigration.</u>				✓	
148	And <u>I'm constantly reminding young people</u> , who are full of passion, that I want them to keep their passion, but <u>they've got to gird for the fact that it takes a long time to get stuff done in this democracy.</u>				✓	
149	<u>It's not as convenient as, you know, people would always like, but this is a big country with a lot of diverse views.</u>				✓	

150	Yeah.			✓		
151	Right.			✓		
152	Well, obviously, <u>I don't know him personally</u> , so we would have to have a longer conversation.				✓	
153	And <u>I could not be prouder of the activism that has been involved.</u>		✓			
154	And <u>it's making a difference.</u>				✓	
155	<u>You're seeing it at state and local levels</u> , and the task force that we pulled together in the wake of Ferguson has put forward recommendations that were shaped both by the people who organized the Ferguson protests as well as police officers.				✓	
156	And <u>it turns out that there's common ground there</u> , in terms of how we can be smart about crime, smart about policing, respectful to all communities and try to wring some of the racial bias that exists in the criminal justice system out of it.				✓	
157	What I would also say, though, is that if somebody is looting, <u>they're looting.</u>				✓	
158	And the notion that <u>they're making a political statement is not always the case because these are businesses oftentimes owned by African-Americans.</u>				✓	
159	<u>You have situations in which suddenly friends of mine in Baltimore</u> , their mothers who are elderly have to now travel across town to get their medicines because the local drugstore got torn up.		✓			
160	There are ways of bringing about social change that are				✓	

	powerful and that have the ability to pull the country together and maintain the moral high ground and there are approaches where I may understand the frustrations, but <u>they're counterproductive.</u>					
161	And tearing up your own neighborhood and <u>stealing is counterproductive.</u>		✓			
162	<u>Yeah.</u>			✓		
163	<u>Look, Steve, I think that you can always find folks who are going to feel as if change hasn't happened fast enough.</u>				✓	
164	<u>That's the nature of these issues and by virtue of being president of the United States, if there is a problem out there then I'm the ultimate public official that people know.</u>				✓	
165	<u>And if it hasn't gotten fixed in a couple of weeks, people are going to say, why didn't you fix it?</u>				✓	
166	<u>I think it'd be,</u>				✓	
167	I think people would be pretty hard-pressed to not see the efforts that we put in around criminal justice reform where <u>we're supporting it fully.</u>				✓	
168	The initiatives that <u>we've made with local mayors and state officials around the country to reform the criminal justice system</u> , the fact that as president, <u>I've been the first ever to even visit a federal prison</u> , that the positions <u>I've taken on criminal</u>				✓	

	<u>justice issues are unprecedented by any president.</u>					
169	The work <u>we're doing with commutations is unprecedented</u> and I have now commuted more sentences for nonviolent drug offenses than the last seven or eight presidents combined.				✓	
170	But if <u>you're interviewing an 18- or 20-year-old kid on the streets of Baltimore who is still feeling frustrated</u> , then <u>I'm not going to be surprised if that frustration's expressed.</u>				✓	
171	You can go back and during Jim Crow and segregation and <u>you've got black sharecroppers who have nothing and alongside them, poor white farmers who don't have that much more except for the fact that they're white.</u>				✓	
171	And the degree to which a lot of politics in the South were specifically designed to make sure that that sharecropper and that <u>white farmer didn't get together to question how the economy was structured and how they both could benefit</u> , that's — that's one of the oldest stories in American politics.				✓	
172	So <u>it's not surprising</u> that what I said in 2008 still holds true today.				✓	
173	<u>It was true for a long time.</u>		✓			
174	The nature of racial bias in this <u>country is unique and the challenges that African-Americans have faced are incomparable.</u>		✓			
175	<u>Native Americans in this country were burdened by extraordinary</u>		✓			

	<u>bias and cruelty, as well.</u>					
176	<u>And it's probably not useful to sort of catalog every possible group's grievances.</u>				✓	
177	What is true, though, is that as <u>I travel around the country</u> , what a black, working-class person has in common with a white, working-class person is significant.		✓			
178	But what <u>I've tried to do throughout my presidency is get — try to get people to recognize themselves in each other, and that's probably partly related to my own upbringing.</u>				✓	
179	<u>I was raised by a white mom and white grandparents</u> who, you know, never suffered the kinds of discrimination that their black cohorts might have experienced but who had their own struggles, who went through a Great Depression, who — a grandmother who had to work her way up without ever a college education, starting in the steno pool or as a secretary to be — and experienced her own discrimination because of being a woman.		✓			
180	And so <u>I've seen the degree to which their struggles</u> are not that different from Michelle's parents' struggles, at least in terms of how they think about it, and the similar values of hoping that their kids are going to do better and that education is the key.				✓	
181	And that, you know, everybody's got to work hard and take responsibility but that <u>they'd like a government that was more responsive to clear out some of</u>				✓	

	<u>the barriers for their advancement.</u>					
182	And I believe that our politics — when our politics are at our best — is not based on identity politics, but <u>it's based on a sense that everybody should have a fair shot and everybody should get a fair shake.</u>				✓	
183	Everybody should be responsible for doing their fair share, and you know, that theme <u>you'll see in every speech that I've given since I was running for the state Senate, and it hasn't changed much now that I am nearing the end of my political career.</u>				✓	
184	<u>You see it in the younger generation.</u>		✓			
185	If you look at the 18-to-30 cohort, or the 18-to-40 cohort, <u>they have a very different set of attitudes about all these issues.</u>		✓			
186	<u>It's true, by the way, around the world.</u>				✓	
187	<u>We were talking about Brexit, you know.</u>		✓			
188	<u>The younger voter wasn't fearful of global interdependence.</u>				✓	
189	<u>They embrace it.</u>		✓			
190	<u>They see themselves as being able to navigate through all these different worlds.</u>		✓			
191	<u>You see it when I visit Vietnam, or countries in Africa or Latin America at the new generation is much more comfortable with diversity, with connectivity, with the fact that change is constant, that they are not going to be working at one job for 30 years.</u>		✓			
192	And you know, <u>they want to</u>		✓			

	<u>make sure that they can get the skills, they can get the access.</u>					
193	But <u>they see a bright future for themselves.</u>		✓			
194	<u>That's where the hope is.</u>				✓	
195	in the United States, you talk to young people, <u>it doesn't matter where, it doesn't matter whether they're black, white, Latino.</u>				✓	
196	<u>They're not afraid of the future.</u>				✓	
197	And so when you look at the frustrations and the fear that a Trump [is] tapping into, you know, <u>that's an earlier generation that feels unsettled.</u>				✓	
198	And I think <u>we can be sympathetic and understanding of the fact that they feel unsettled</u> , but also recognize that, you know, if we get the decisions that need to be made right, then 10 years from now, 20 years from now.		✓			
199	We may look back at something like the Trump campaign as the last vestige of a kind of politics of us versus them <u>that really doesn't apply to today.</u>				✓	
200	And one last thing I'd say about <u>this</u> , because you will hear sometimes people suggest that, well, if Democrats and Republicans had been paying attention to white, working-class voters, then something like Trump would not have happened.				✓	
201	Well, the fact is, is that my administration, for example, when we promote a higher minimum wage or stronger union laws or health care, for				✓	

	that matter, <u>that's helping that cohort.</u>					
202	<u>That is designed to make sure that they get a better deal in this economy.</u>		✓			
203	And, you know, one of the things that <u>you've seen during the course of my presidency is the ability</u>				✓	
204	What is true and <u>what's been interesting to see during this election cycle</u> is that the Republican Party that has opposed minimum wages or union laws or what have you, they have a populist insurgency on their hands.				✓	
205	And Mr. Trump, I think, has, at times, exploited this gap between what, you know, the Republican business community has promoted and what <u>their constituencies are actually looking for.</u>		✓			
206	Well.			✓		
207	If he won, <u>he could say that.</u>				✓	
208	No.			✓		
209	And <u>I think that will be tested over the next four months.</u>		✓			
210	But I think it is pretty hard to argue that somebody who almost three-quarters of the country think is unqualified to be president and has a negative opinion about <u>it is tapping into the zeitgeist of the country,</u> or is speaking for a broad base of the country.		✓			
211	<u>But we'll find out.</u>				✓	
212	Look, <u>that's what elections are for,</u> and that — I think <u>it's</u>				✓	

	<u>important for Democrats, progressives, moderates, people who care about our traditions, who care about pluralism, who care about tolerance, who care about facts, who think climate change is real, who think that we have to reform our immigration system in an intelligent way, who believe ... in women's equality and equality for the LGBT community.</u>					
213	I think <u>it's important for those of us not to be complacent, not to be smug.</u>				✓	
214	And you know, the one thing I have tried to do during the course of my presidency is to take seriously the objections and the criticisms and the concerns of <u>people who didn't vote for me.</u>				✓	
215	I said on election night back in Grant Park, <u>I'm president of everybody.</u>				✓	
216	<u>I've got a particular point of view.</u>				✓	
217	<u>I've — I don't make any apologies for it.</u>				✓	
218	I believe that, if <u>you go back and read my speeches dating back to 2004</u> , where I first came to national prominence, that there has been a consistency there, that <u>I have done or tried to do exactly what I said.</u>		✓			
219	And the core of that message is " <i>e pluribus unum</i> ," out of many, one, that — that we are better when we are together, <u>that I do not believe in tribalism.</u>		✓			
220	<u>I do not believe in stoking divisions and scapegoating.</u>		✓			
221	<u>I think that people have common</u>		✓			

	<u>hopes and common dreams.</u>					
222	And I think that <u>America is at its best when we are unified and working together.</u>		✓			
223	And during the course of my presidency, <u>you've seen polarization and division</u> and all kinds of consternation and frustration.				✓	
224	But what <u>you've also seen quietly is a country that yanked itself out of a Great Recession and recovered as well as any country ever has from such a massive financial breakdown.</u>				✓	
225	<u>You've seen 20 million people have health insurance that didn't have it before and health care inflation actually going down so that, you know, we've saved trillions of dollars in cost relative to what we're expected to be paying over the course of programs like Medicare and Medicaid.</u>				✓	
226	What <u>we've seen is a financial system that is a lot sounder.</u>				✓	
227	We see an LGBT community that is recognized as equal in ways that <u>they weren't before.</u>				✓	
228	<u>You've seen an entire generation grow up, I think, feeling as if the old divisions don't make sense.</u>				✓	
229	And you know, <u>I feel pretty confident that as long as we do the work over the next several months and then continue that work over the next several years, that we will have emerged from this era stronger, more prosperous, more secure and adhering more closely to the</u>		✓			

	values and ideals that make America exceptional					
230	Well, <u>everybody's teased me about how gray I am and that's OK.</u>				✓	
231	<u>My daughters have grown up and I think for any father out there, seeing your kids come into office when I came in office, they were so much younger than I realized at the time, I think.</u>		✓			
232	<u>It's interesting, though, that my fundamental belief in public service, my fundamental belief in the capacity of politics to solve problems, my belief in this country is stronger, not weaker.</u>				✓	
233	<u>I'm less cynical now than I was.</u>				✓	
234	<u>I've been frustrated by some things that I did not complete, that I couldn't wrap and mail and ship before I got out of here.</u>				✓	
235	Immigration reform being a good example.		✓			
236	Getting infrastructure done, you know, <u>we got \$2 trillion worth of infrastructure.</u>		✓			
237	If we got working on that now, <u>we'd be growing a lot faster</u> , the unemployment rate would be even lower, wages would be higher.				✓	
238	So there are things that <u>we haven't gotten done.</u>				✓	
239	Obviously, there are there areas internationally where <u>I've been enormously frustrated.</u>				✓	
240	You look at Syria being the most prominent example, <u>where you've got a heartbreaking situation and not a lot of good</u>				✓	

	<u>choices.</u>					
241	Having said all that, if you had told me at the beginning of my presidency that <u>we could begin the process of making sure everybody has health insurance in this country.</u>		✓			
242	That we could recover fully from a terrible economic crisis; that, you know, we could make sure that <u>Iran doesn't have a nuclear weapon without having to launch a war</u> ; that we could restore diplomatic relations with <u>Cuba in a way that didn't just transform our relationship with Cuba</u> , but has put our relationship with all of Latin America on its strongest footing, maybe in history.		✓			
243	If you told me that we could, you know, extend democracy to a place like Burma, one of the worst, you know, military dictatorships in the world and that I could visit there and <u>you'd see millions of people lining the streets.</u>				✓	
244	If you told me that <u>you could have gay and lesbian men and women proudly serving in our military without having to hide who they were</u> , or that <u>you could have a bipartisan effort to actually reduce sentences for nonviolent drug offenses have a credible chance of getting through Congress.</u>		✓			
245	<u>You'd tally it up.</u>				✓	
246	<u>It's not bad for 7 1/2 years' worth</u>				✓	

	<u>of work.</u>					
247	And the stuff that has not gotten done, <u>it's teed up to get done.</u>				✓	
248	<u>We haven't solved climate change because of that agreement,</u> but we have now built an architecture that allows us, gives us a change to, over time collectively, in an unprecedented way, curb the pollution that contributes to climate change.				✓	
249	<u>And have we gotten it all done yet? No.</u>			✓		
250	But have we now given the next president, the next Congress, <u>the next generation a chance to solve it? Absolutely.</u>			✓		
251	And <u>I've said this before:</u> I think of myself as a relay runner.				✓	
252	<u>I take the baton.</u>		✓			
253	Sometimes, you take the baton and <u>you're behind in the race,</u> and <u>you've got to run a little bit harder to catch up.</u>				✓	
254	Hopefully, by the time you pass on the baton, <u>you're a little bit better positioned in the race.</u>				✓	
255	And I think there is a humility that comes out of this office, because you feel that no matter how much <u>you've done, there's more work to do.</u>					
256	<u>I've seen it happen.</u>				✓	
257	<u>Thank you.</u>		✓			
258	<u>Enjoyed it.</u>				✓	

Table 4.2.
The Analysis of The Types of Formality Levels used by Jokowi in Jokowi's Interview

No	Sentences and Utterances of Jokowi	Types of Formality Levels				
		Froz	Form	Cons	Cas	Int
1	<i>Sama, saya juga senang <u>ketemu pak karni</u></i>				✓	
2	<i><u>Ya biasa saja, karna emang itu tugas ya.</u></i>				✓	
3	<i>Saya ingin melihat, <u>saya ingin melihat lapangan langsung, melihat problemnya langsung, melihat masalahnya langsung, dan kalo bisa memutuskan juga dilapangan langsung.</u></i>		✓			
4	<i>Karna dengan melihat dilapangan, <u>dengan melihat masalah itu semakin kelihatan dan semakin jelas itu yang terus akan saya lakukan setelah mendapatkan informasi dari daerah informasi dari lapangan terutama memang masalah masalah besar masalah macro yang berkaitan dengan Negara dan bangsa selalu misalnya dari ntt langsung ke papua atau dari bali langsung ke ntb biasa.</u></i>		✓			
5	<i>Ya karna <u>kita kan juga berburu dengan waktu seperti kemarin dari amerika langsung kita ke jambi kemudian ke sumatera selatan ya memang karna keadaannya</u></i>				✓	
6	<i>Situasinya memaksa kita harus kesana ya harus kesana dan <u>pers sebagai kontrososialitu juga harus tetap dimunculkan tetapi dengan sebuah bahasa bahasa yang tidak menimbulkan pesimisme</u></i>				✓	
7	<i><u>Ya, saya kemarinkan mengajak</u></i>			✓		

	ya mengajak kepada pers, kepada media untuk membangun optimisme public.					
8	<u>Untuk mengajak media bisa mengajak optimisme masyarakat.</u>				✓	
9	Itu yang harus dibangun karna sekarang memang persaingan kita, <u>kompetisi kita ini betul betul kan sangat ketat sekali, antar Negara.</u>				✓	
10	Sehingga memerlukan sebuah kebersamaan, <u>memerlukan sebuah gotong royong bareng bareng bahwa setiap problem itu harus diselesaikan bersama sama, tidak mungkin satu orang atau ga mungkin hanya sebagian kelompok.</u>				✓	
11	<u>ga mungkin.</u>				✓	
12	<u>Ini harus dikerjakan bersama sama karena memang gesekannya benturannya kompetisinya ini Negara dengan Negara, dan pers sebagai kontrososial itu juga harus tetap dimunculkan, tetapi dengan sebuah bahasa bahasa yang tidak menimbulakn pesismisme gitu.</u>				✓	
13	Jadi ya kemarin hanya ajakan kepada seluruh pers dan media untuk membangkitkan rasa optimisme, <u>membangkitkan kebersamaan sehingga kita gotong royong bersama sama bareng bareng untuk menyelesaikan masalah bangsa dan berkompetisi dengan Negara dan bangsa yang lain.</u>				✓	
14	<u>Karena memang dihadapan kita sudah betul betul persaingan.</u>				✓	

15	<u>Mau tidak mau ini harus hadapi bersama sama, sampai kalkulator habis ya ga akan rampung rampung ya inikan keputusan politik.</u>				✓	
16	<u>Ya yang namanya program itukan kadang kadangkannya antara rencana dengan lapangan kan sering berbeda.</u>				✓	
17	<u>Tetapi kita memang ingin memberikan prioritas dan focus pak karni kepada infrastuktur.</u>				✓	
18	<u>Sehingga kenapa kita bangun misalnya jalan tol trans sumatera yang saya sendiri justru kaget, karna saya perkirakan setelah setahun ternyata sudah perkerasan ngecor.</u>				✓	
19	<u>Yang pikiran saya saat itu paling setahun baru ngerata ratain tanah, ternyata sudah sampai ngecor.</u>				✓	
20	<u>Mungkin pada lebaran yang akan datang sudah bisa mungkin hingga puluhan kilo inikan sebuah progress.</u>				✓	
21	<u>Ini juga sudah dimulai dan sudah mungkin sampai hari ini sudah lebih dari lima belas kilo.</u>				✓	
22	<u>Saya kira ini juga ini sebuah progress yang cepat, karena memang saya terbiasa ya harus segera dimulai karena kalau ndak kita harus berhitung sampai kalkulator habis ga akan rampung rampung.</u>				✓	
23	<u>Kalo inikan keputusan politik tetapi memang harus dirancang, harus dikonsep, harus direncanakan secara detail.</u>				✓	
24	<u>Ha itu ya tetapi bahwa memutuskannya harus segera.</u>				✓	
25	<u>Karena kita juga sekali lagi</u>				✓	

	<i>berhadapan dengan kompetisi dunia dan kita harapkan dengan pembanguna infrastruktur nantinya biaya logistic itu bisa lebih murah, biaya transportasi juga bisa jatuh lebih murah, <u>karena kalo dibandingkan dengan dekat ajalah Malaysia, Singapur biaya biaya kita ditransportasi dan biaya logistic dua sampai dua setengah kali lipat.</u></i>					
26	<i>Inikan <u>ada yang harus kita kejar dalam rangka kompetisi dan persaingan.</u></i>				✓	
27	<i>Iya betul</i>			✓		
28	<i>Pembangunan sdm, ya <u>kita memang harus kejar kejaran dalam rangka persaingan itu dan pembanguna sdm menurut saya harusnya berada pada tempat yang paling depan.</u></i>				✓	
29	<i><u>Kita tidak mau lagi tergantung pada yang namanya sumber daya alam.</u></i>		✓			
30	<i><u>Tetapi tergantung kepada kesiapan sumber daya manusia kita dalam rangka kompetisi global.</u></i>				✓	
31	<i><u>Dan itu harus disiapkan, nah ini kesiapan menuju kesana inikan memerlukan ruang ruang memerlukan apa sarana prasarana yang memang cepat harus dikerjakan</u></i>				✓	
32	<i>Angkatan kerja kita <u>saya juga kaget ternyata memang 66% itu berada pada pendidikan sd dan smp yang tentu saja perlu disuntik disuntik agar sdm itu bisa kita apa perbaiki keterampilannya diperbaiki skillnya itu yang saya kira kedepan harus dikerjakan</u></i>				✓	

33	<i>sudah, sudah tetapi memang untuk masuk ke lapangan itu kan situasi apa pasar, <u>situasi industry yang membutuhkan itu kan berbeda beda</u>, oleh sebab itu mana yang harus kita prioritaskan itu yang baru baru di siapkan,</i>				✓	
34	<i><u>Karna kalo melihat apa lulusan 66%</u> seperti itu memang masuknya ke industri padat karya, misalnya garment kemudian alas kaki, sepatu sandal dll</i>				✓	
35	<i><u>Saya kira masuknya kesana selain juga mungkin bisa sebagian dilarikan ke usaha kecil (usaha micro)</u> yang juga masih ada ruang kita untuk melakukan itu.</i>				✓	
36	<i><u>Ya problemnya pak karni pertama itu problemnya karena memang bunganya tinggi.</u></i>				✓	
37	<i>Saya berikan contoh untuk kredit usaha rakyat, kalo bunganya diberi 23% 20% <u>adilnya dimana?</u> padahal kalo korporasi yang gede gede dapat 11 12%.</i>			✓		
38	<i><u>Saya kemaren ngecek dilapangan</u>, misalnya di ntt kita berikan jatah 1 triliun lebih dikit sudah habis, pak ini duitnya sudah habis kita harus ditambah</i>				✓	
39	<i>9% pertahun, dan tahun depan <u>inshallah</u> saya bisa memberikan jaminan 7%</i>	✓				
40	<i><u>Ya, dulu 11%</u> pak karni</i>			✓		
41	<i><u>Ya, 11%</u> nah ini 9% tahun depan 7%</i>			✓		
42	<i><u>Ini kalo bisa kita lakukan usaha kecil</u> usaha mikro kita akan bisa bangkit karena memang bunganya sangat rendah sekali</i>				✓	

43	<i>Ya saya mungkin cerita yang pertama mengenai tol laut, <u>nah inikan kita dalam proses membangun pelabuhan.</u></i>				✓	
44	<i>Pelabuhannya terlebih dahulu, misalnya di Sumatera Utara <u>kita uda mulai tahun kemarin.</u></i>				✓	
45	<i><u>Tahun ini kita kan mulai juga di papua, di sorong yang mungkin itu baru akan selesai kira kira 3-4 tahun. setelah selesai tentu saja menyiapkan kapalnya untuk nantinya dari barat menuju ke timur, dari barat menuju ke timur sehingga semua apa pulau besar akan terlampaui dari situ.</u></i>				✓	
46	<i><u>Pelabuhan besar akan ada kapal yang sedang, kapal kecil untuk menuju ke pulau pulau yang lebih kecil.</u></i>				✓	
47	<i><u>Dan kita harapkan nantinya juga sama biaya logistic bisa jatuh lebih murah.</u></i>				✓	
48	<i><u>Karena ini sering saya berikan perbandingan, di Wamena aja bensin yang premium aja dijual 60 rb 70 rb semen dijual 800rb.</u></i>				✓	
49	<i><u>Komentar pak karni seperti apa?</u></i>			✓		
50	<i><u>Oleh sebab itu, infrastruktur itu perlu sekali toh lautnya perlu tetapi juga didaratnya juga perlu.</u></i>				✓	
51	<i><u>Dan kemarin saya ke lapangan juga setelah dari Wamena, kemudian ke kabupaten Tuga, dan nantinya akan <u>kita tembus dari Wamena untuk bisa sampai kebawah, ke dekat Merauke sehingga transportasi menuju ke Wamena bisa darat nantinya.</u></u></i>				✓	
52	<i><u>Misalnya kayak premium bisa lewat darat, kemudian semen bisa lewat darat.</u></i>				✓	

53	<u>Dan saya bisa memberikan jaminan harga pasti jatuh separuhnya minimal separuh</u>				✓	
54	<u>Inshaallah</u>	✓				
55	<u>Ya pasti setelah sampai di pelabuhan, harus ada jalan lain jalan darat menuju ke kota kabupaten yang kita tuju.</u>				✓	
56	<u>Dan juga inshaallah</u>	✓				
57	<u>Tahun ini juga kereta api di papua akan kita mulai</u>				✓	
58	<u>Iya</u>			✓		
59	<u>Terus saya cek pak karni.</u>				✓	
60	<u>Saya selalu cek, misalnya kayak tol trans sumatera..</u>				✓	
61	<u>Saya sudah ngecek kesana.</u>				✓	
62	<u>Ngecek ke tol trans sumatera sudah lima kali saya cek terus.</u>				✓	
63	<u>Saya cek lagi saya cek lagi saya cek lagi.</u>				✓	
64	<u>Saya ingin memberikan semangat kepada yang bekerja, yang kedua saya juga ingin melihat progressnya perkembangannya seperti apa.</u>		✓			
65	<u>Ya begini pak karni.</u>				✓	
66	<u>Dijakarta, informasi yang saya terima setahun kita kehilangan kurang lebih 28 sampai 30 triliun karena macet.</u>		✓			
67	<u>Mubazir hilang karena berhenti dan bensinnya hilang percuma.</u>				✓	
68	<u>Oleh sebab itu di Jakarta dibangun mrt yang sudah berjalan</u>				✓	
69	<u>Iya sudah berjalan.</u>			✓		
70	<u>Bahkan waktu saya down breaking, saya ingat saat itu didepan saya satu meter didepan saya ada yang demo menolak.</u>				✓	
71	<u>Juga banyak yang menyampaikan jakarata kan</u>				✓	

	<u>daerah banjir, nanti kalo terowongan nya kemasukan air pak gubernur gimana?</u>					
72	<u>Saat itu saya jadi gubernur</u>				✓	
73	<u>Waduh loh itukan ada engginernyakan ada insinyurnya, inikan dijakarta suka kadang kadang ada gempa gimana nanti kalo.</u>				✓	
74	<u>Artinya yang menjauh itu saya tidak ingin menjawab hal yang teknis tetapi secara macro kepentingan Negara setiap tahun kita kehilangan 28 sampai 30 triliun dijakarta dan dibanding.</u>		✓			
75	<u>Apakah mau kita terus teruskan?</u>			✓		
76	<u>Oleh sebab itu, perlu dibangun di Jakarta mrt, dibangun lrt dibanding raya ini juga baru disiapkan untuk mencari trase yang paling baik.</u>				✓	
77	<u>Ini sebuah hitung hitungan macro Negara.</u>				✓	
78	<u>Semua Negara juga menuju kesana dalam rangka apa prduktivitas</u>				✓	
79	<u>Ini semua menuju kesitu</u>				✓	
80	<u>Masyarakat diberikan pilihan pilihan</u>				✓	
81	<u>Kalo sudah presiden memutuskan nah itu harus semuanya mendukung gitu aja</u>				✓	
82	<u>Kalo sudah ada kepentingan saya lihat ada kepentingan kepentingan yang lain ya baru saya akan memutuskan.</u>				✓	
83	<u>Pembangunan Negara ini memang memerlukan sebuah stabilitas ya.</u>				✓	
84	<u>Stabilitas yang betul betul baik dibidang keamanan, dibidang</u>				✓	

	<i>politik sehingga kita ingin sebetulnya antar pemerintah dengan partai itu ada keharmonisan, antara pemerintah dengan dpr itu juga ada sinergi dan keharmonisan.</i>					
85	<i><u>Itukan dilihat masyarakat yang pertama dan juga dilihat dari luar juga seperti apasih negara ini dikelola</u></i>				✓	
86	<i><u>Menurut saya ya tahun 2015 ada gaduh gaduh dikit ya gapapalah.</u></i>				✓	
87	<i><u>Ya tapi Alhamdulillah</u></i>	✓				
88	<i><u>Kita kelola dengan komunikasi yang baik, dengan ketemu, dengan berbicara.</u></i>		✓			
89	<i><u>Ya saya kira Alhamdulillah</u></i>	✓				
90	<i><u>Sekarang semuanya berada pada posisi peran masing masing</u></i>				✓	
91	<i><u>Tetapi sekali lagi memang pemerintah ini perlu ada take and balance</u></i>				✓	
92	<i><u>Ada yang perlu ngontrol.</u></i>				✓	
93	<i><u>Belum tentu pemerintah juga benar terus, betul teruskan?</u></i>			✓		
94	<i><u>Ah itukan urusan partai</u></i>				✓	
95	<i><u>Masa saya harus masuk</u></i>				✓	
96	<i><u>Saya betul betul ingin diselesaikan oleh partai partai, tetapi kemarin memang saya terakhir memang harus mengundang beliau beliau ketua ketua partai.</u></i>				✓	
97	<i><u>Saya hanya sampaikan lebih baik apabila bersatu lebih baik, apabila rukun dan saya kira juga enak dilihat rakyat kalo kita ini semuanya ini bisa rukun, meskipun berbeda ya gapapa kok. yang indah itu kadang kadang yang perbedaan perbedaan itu, tetapi sekali lagi dalam kerangka semuanya</u></i>				✓	

	<i>memberikan peran terhadap pembangunan Negara, pembangunan bangsa.</i>					
98	<i>Saya tegas tegas saya sampaikan</i>				✓	
99	<i>Ini tegas kita sampaikan, <u>kita ingin kpk kuat dan masalah revisi uu kpk sampai sekarang kita juga belum lihat draft nya, usulan dari dpr seperti apa.</u></i>		✓			
100	<i>Ya bagaimana saya harus berkomentar?</i>			✓		
101	<i><u>Kan draftnya kalo kita sudah lihat memang itu untuk memperkuat ya ayok, tapi kalo misalnya tapi saya kan belum dapat draftnya jadi saya ga bisa komentar dululah</u></i>				✓	
102	<i>Ya saya hanya menyampaikan kepada jaksa agung dan juga kapolri untuk diselesaikan secepat cepatnya. <u>karena ini sudah menurut saya sudah lama gitu.</u></i>				✓	
103	<i><u>Sudah lama penyelesaiannya seperti apa ya saya serahkan ke jaksa agung dan kapolri tetapi saya ingin ini cepat diselesaikan.</u></i>				✓	
104	<i>Ndak</i>				✓	
105	<i><u>Kalo saya menurut saya memang kita tidak ingin mengintervensi, tetapi yang jelas ada hak hak prografif yang diberikan kepada jaksa agung untuk melakukan itu dan itu memang tidak berada di wilayah saya</u></i>				✓	
106	<i>Berada di wilayah jaksa agung.</i>				✓	
107	<i><u>Harus cepat diselesaikan karena udah terlalu lama pak karni, sudah terlalu lama</u></i>				✓	
108	<i>Ya pak karni</i>			✓		
109	<i>Sebelum menjawab yang sepak</i>				✓	

	<i>bola.</i>					
110	<u>Saya menambahi yang tadi, bahwa masalah pak Abraham samad, pak bambang wijayanto dan pak novel tadi perintah saya ke jaksa agung bahwa kepolisian itu diselesaikan secepatnya tentu saja dalam koridor hukum.</u>				✓	
111	<u>Dan kembali ke masalah sepak bola.</u>				✓	
112	<u>Saya kira itu sangat teknis sekali sebetulnya.</u>				✓	
113	<u>Itu berada pada posisi wilayah di kementerian di menpora.</u>				✓	
114	<u>Awalnya juga di kementerian menpora tapi akhirnya mau tidak mau kan masuknya ke presiden gitu.</u>				✓	
115	<u>Tentu saja mau tidak maukan harus kita tangani, tapi saya tahu apa yang disampaikan pak karni tadi.</u>				✓	
116	<u>Kita ingin selesaikanlah masalah ini secepat cepatnya, secepat cepatnya saya kira 4 6 bulan ini lah harusnya sudah selesai.</u>				✓	
117	<u>Sebelum pertengahan tahun harusnya sudah selesai.</u>				✓	
118	<u>Saya juga melihat itu, kalo melihat sepak bola kemudian apa yang nonton begitu banyaknya, sangat dicintai oleh rakyat pemainnya juga sama, kita juga, saya sangat ngerti saya sangat ngerti, tetapi sekali lagi karna sudah dari ke menpora akhirnya terakhir saya yang handle yakan ini akan saya selesaikan secepatnya pak karni secepatnya.</u>				✓	
119	<u>Kalo saya pak karni ya, inginnya jadi ya, inginnya jadi</u>				✓	

	<i>diri sendiri.</i>					
120	<i>Inginnnya jadi jokowi yang seperti ini.</i>				✓	
121	<i><u>Orang melihat dengan asumsi asumsi, dengan hitungan hitungan yang lain ya silahkan.</u></i>				✓	
122	<i><u>Tapi yang jelas memang pengalaman kita menyelesaikan baik problem problem politik problem problem ekonomi di 2015 yang betul betul pontang panting kita menyelesaikan, mengantisipasi masalah krisis yunani, mengantisipasi masalah dipresiasi uan, mengantisipasi kenaikan suku bunga the fact, kemudian terakhir kemaren mengantisipasi jatuhnya harga minyak persetujuan antara saudia Arabia dan iran.</u></i>				✓	
123	<i><u>Hal seperti itulah yang menurut saya sekarang ini lebih mendominasi karna itu sulit, sulit kita prediksi dan sulit kita perkirakan kapan akan datang, eksternal itu.</u></i>		✓			
124	<i><u>Kalo internal kita lebih mudah, karena bisa komunikasi dengan partai, juga komunikasi dengan parlemen, dpr juga komunikasi.</u></i>				✓	
125	<i><u>Saya kira ya sampai saat ini, semuanya menurut saya ya baik baik saja ke parlemen, perlemen ke dpr misalnya masalah pengajuan apbnp suka lancar lancar saja, pengajuan apbn juga baik baik saja ga ada mundur.</u></i>				✓	
126	<i><u>Saya kok ga begitu melihat saham dan presdir itu harus seperti itu juga tidak kan, karena sekarang ini menurut saya orientasinya adalah orientasi ke rakyat..</u></i>				✓	
127	<i><u>Orientasinya semuanya harus</u></i>				✓	

	<u>ditujukan kesana juga dan juga dukungan rakyat terhadap program program yang telah kita putuskan seperti apa.</u>					
128	<u>Kalo rakyat mendukung, kalo rakyat memberikan dorongan kita akan lebih gampang menyelesaikan masalah, orientasinya kesana.</u>				✓	
129	<u>Tadi yang saya sampaikan, dukungan rakyat itu sangat penting sekarang ini, dukungan rakyat sangat penting, tetapi juga dukungan partai juga sangat penting dan dukungan dpr juga sangat penting.</u>				✓	
130	<u>Bagaimana menjaga keseimbangan itu</u>				✓	
131	<u>Komunikasinya baik saya kira inshaallah ga ada masalah.</u>	✓				
132	<u>Mari pak karni.</u>				✓	

Furthermore the results of the analysis were obtained and shown in the table 4.3 and 4.4 as the following:

Table 4.3.

The Total Number of Percentage of The Types of Formality Levels used by Obama in Obama's Interview

No	Types of Formality Levels	Number (F)	Percentage (X)
1.	Frozen	0	0
2.	Formal	108	41,8%
3.	Consultative	12	4,7%
4.	Casual	138	53,5%

5.	Intimate	0	0
Total		258	100%

Table 4.4.

The Total Number of Percentage of The Types of Formality Levels used by Jokowi in Jokowi's Interview

No	Types of Formality Levels	Number (F)	Percentage (X)
1.	Frozen	6	4,54%
2.	Formal	9	6,82%
3.	Consultative	12	9,1%
4.	Casual	105	79,54%
5.	Intimate	0	0
Total		132	100%

2. Dominant of the Types of Formality levels in Obama and Jokowi's interview

To find out the most dominant type that was used in the Obama and Jokowi's interview script:

$$X = \frac{F}{n} \times 100\%$$

Note:

X = percentage of each types of levels of formality

F = frequency each types of levels of formality

n = amount frequency of all types of levels of formality

Table 4.5.**The Percentage of the Types of Formality Levels in Obama and Jokowi's Interview**

No	Name	Types of Formality Levels				
		Frozen	Formal	Consultative	Casual	Intimate
1	Obama	0%	41,8%	4,7%	53,5%	0%
2	Jokowi	4,54%	6,82%	9,1%	79,54%	0%

Table 4.5 clearly shows that, in the script employs all the type of formality levels. The most appearing level in Obama's interview is Casual. From the total 100%, the percentage is 53,5%. Followed by Formal as the second most often appearing level with percentage is 41,5%. After that in the third position is Consultative with percentage is 4,7%. And for Frozen and Intimate, they were not found in the Obama's interview.

The most dominant type in Jokowi's interview also Casual. From the total 100%, the percentage is 79,54%. Following Casual, as the second most often appearing level there is Consultative with percentage is 9,1%. And then there is Formal levels as the third level with percentage is 6,82%. And the last one is Frozen with percentage is 4,54%. While for Intimate same like in Obama's interview, Intimate was not found with the amount 0%.

C. Research Finding

After analyzing all data, the finding of the research from the analysis of formality levels used in Obama and Jokowi's Interview can be presented as follow:

1. Obama only used three types of formality levels, those are Formal, Consultative, and Casual. The most dominant type of formality levels used by Obama in his interview is Casual (53,5%) followed by Formal (41,5%), and Consultative (4,7%), Frozen and Intimate (0%).
2. Jokowi used four types of formality levels, those are Frozen, Formal, Consultative, and Casual. The most dominant type of formality levels also Casual, the percentage is (79,54%). Followed by Consultative with percentage is (9,1%) Formal (6,82%) Frozen (4,54%) Intimate (0%).

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGETION

A. Conclusion

After analyzing the types of formality levels in Obama and Jokowi's interview, the conclusions of this study are represented as follow:

1. There were three types from five types of formality levels in Obama's interview with 256 data. They are Formal, Consultative, and Casual. Formal, it occurs 107 times out of the total 256 data. In other words, from the total 100% it percentage is 41,8%. Consultative, it occurs 12 times out and the total percentage is 4,7%. And the last type is Casual. It occurs 137 times out with total percentage is 53,5%. For Frozen and Intimate were not identified in Obama's Interview.
2. The most dominant type of formality levels in Obama's Interview found Casual with the amount is 53,5% followed by Formal with 41,8% and Consultative wit 4,7%.
3. In Jokowi's interview there were four from five types of formality levels. The first one is frozen that occurs 6 times out of the total 132 data with percentage 4,54%. The second is formal, it occurs 9 times out with percentage 6,82%. The next is Consultative that occurs 12 times with percentage 9,1%. And the last one is Casual that occurs 105 times out with percentage 79,54%.
4. The most dominant type of formality levels in Jokowi's Interview found Casual with 79,54% followed by Consultative with 9,1%, Formal with 6,82% and Frozen with 4,54%.

B. Suggestion

It is suggested to those who concern with formality levels used by Obama and Jokowi in their interview, the following suggestions are forwarding:

1. It is suggested to the students of English Department who want to study about Formality Levels
2. It is suggested to the other researchers as their additional references to conduct further research about formality levels.

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Appendix 1

a. Obama's Biography

Name: Barack Obama
Born day: Honolulu, Hawaii, August 4, 1961
Married: Michelle LaVaughn Robinson Obama
Children: Malia, Sasha
Nickname: Barry
Status: Senator from Illinois and 44th President of the United States
Served as President: 2009-2016
Vice President: Joseph Biden
Party: Democrat
Age at inauguration: 47
Education: Obtained early education in Jakarta, Indonesia, and Hawaii; continued education at Occidental College, Los Angeles, Calif.; received a B.A. in 1983 from Columbia University, New York City; worked as a community organizer in Chicago, Ill.; studied law at Harvard University, where he became the first African American president of the Harvard Law Review, and received J.D. in 1991; lecturer on constitutional law, University of Chicago
Career: Member, Illinois State senate 1997-2004; elected as a Democrat to the U.S. Senate in 2004, and served from January 3, 2005, to November 16, 2008, when he resigned from office, having been elected president; elected as the 44th President of the United States on November 4, 2008, and was inaugurated on January 20, 2009.

b. Jokowi's Biography

Full Name: Ir. Joko Widodo
Popular Name: Jokowi
Date of Birth: June 21, 1961
Place of Birth: Surakarta (Solo), Central Java, Indonesia
Religion: Islam
Wife: Iriana
Children: Gibran Rakabumi Raka, Kahiyang Ayu, Kaesang
Hobbies: Rock music connoisseurs wing Smart
Educational History: SDN 111 Tirtoyoso Solo, Solo SMPN 1, SMAN 6 Solo, Yogyakarta Faculty of Forestry Graduates 1985
Occupation: Entrepreneur, Exporter Furnitures
Ir. Joko Widodo is a businessman furniture, as well as the Mayor of Solo for the two periods 2005-2010 and 2010-2015 periods. In 2012, he along with Ir. Tjahaja Basuki Purnama, M.M. (Ahok) ran as a candidate for governor and vice governor of Jakarta.

Being Mayor of Solo

In 2005, Mr. Jokowi decided to run for Mayor of Solo with PDI political party as a political vehicle. Finally, he was elected as Mayor of Solo. During his leadership, Solo made little headway.

Appendix 2

PRESIDENT OBAMA SPOKE WITH NPR STEVE INSKEEP

Steve Inskeep: You've been told, I think, that we are doing a documentary. We went across a good part of the country to places where you have given speeches over the years to just talk with people about how their lives have changed.

President Obama: (1)That sounds great. (2)I'm going to listen to this one.

I appreciate that. And that's the beginning of our discussion here, although we'll range a little bit farther. This caused me to go back and look at some of your speeches. And there was one in St. Charles, Mo., in 2010, in which you said, "Let's face it, people have lost faith in government," that it started before you were president and it is getting worse. Do the events of this year suggest that it is getting even worse?

(3)I'm not sure if it is getting even worse. (4)I think that there has been a steady growth in people's cynicism about institutions generally, and government in particular. And some of it is justified because (5)we have got a Congress that's been dysfunctional now for quite some time and can't seem to organize itself to solve problems.

You now have a Republican Congress, they control both chambers and (6)they can't even pass their own agenda, much less pass something that has bipartisan support. And at a time when there are a lot of big issues out there, people feel as if (7)things aren't working the way they should.

Having said that, not all the cynicism is justified. Even without Congress cooperating, (8)we have been able to make progress on a whole range of issues. And (9)I think people are seeing that when government makes smart decisions, it actually has a significant impact. And part of my hope during the course of this election is that (10)it's clarifying that people say, all right, here's what each party stands for, here's what each presidential candidate and various congressional candidates stand for.

(11)If we are going to move forward in a democracy then the ultimate arbiter of making things work is the voter, and putting people in charge who are serious about America's business as opposed to just playing to various narrow constituency groups.

If some of the cynicism is not justified, are you concerned that voters this year will go too far in overturning things?

You know, ultimately (12)I have confidence in our voters. If you look at American history, there have been times where (13)we've taken some tough turns, primarily fed by fear and disruptions and dislocations, but with a very

substantial exception of the Civil War, generally speaking, the democratic process muddled through and we emerged better and stronger than we were before.

And (14)I have no doubt that the same thing will happen this time. But I do think that part of what has changed during the course of my presidency, (15)I've seen it is the splintering of media. The power of social media and the Internet has turbocharged what previously might have been marginal views or marginal groups, has made it harder to generate consensus because (16)people aren't looking at the same set of facts. (17)I have said this before. If you are watching Fox News, you have a different set of facts than if (18)you're reading the New York Times editorial page. And that, I think, has led or increased the polarization, and that (19)makes it harder for people to sort through who is telling the truth and how we actually get stuff done.

Let me ask though, Mr. President, you've still got the biggest megaphone. People can even see you on Fox News. If you've been president for almost 7 1/2 years and people have still no faith in government, are you accountable for that?

Well, look, as a general proposition, (20)I don't spend a lot of time looking at polls. But (21)what's interesting is right now ...

There's a poll you like to look at.

Well, right now (22)I think the majority of the American people think that I am doing a good job. That does not necessarily give me a lot of comfort if (23)I can't move this Congress forward. And the question then becomes and I have heard some people in the Republican Party suggest that in some fashion I am responsible for (24)what's happened to them, and the rise of [Donald] Trump and the dysfunction that you see in their party generally.

What I would say is that I came into office wanting to work on a bipartisan basis, and if (25)you've looked at my old speeches you would see that. (26)The Republicans made a determination that it was good politics to oppose everything that I did. (27)The problem was that by opposing everything I did, even things that previously they had been for, it pushed their party further and further to the right.

And, look, at the risk of sounding partisan, but I believe if you look at the facts that this is a pretty accurate description: When we talk about dysfunction in government(28), it's not as if both parties are equally dysfunctional. (29)The Democrats have a pretty well thought through agenda. When (30)we were governing in the first two years of my administration, we got a lot done. (31)We were probably as productive as any Congress in 20, 30, 40 years.

(32)You have a particular problem in the Republican Party right now that needs to get sorted through. Now, (33)that's not unique in the annals of American history. (34)There have been times when the Democrats were wrapped around the axle, and extreme wings were setting the agenda. And

(35)I think the Republicans will get out of this. (36)I don't think that it is something that will last the next 10, 15, 20 years.

But right now, at least, partly in reaction to my presidency and the political decisions that they made, **(37)they find themselves having created an atmosphere** in which even somebody like Paul Ryan is viewed as not sufficiently conservative, or if he does just some of the basic work of governance that somehow he has betrayed the base and is decried as a Republican in name only.

And when you have that kind of environment, **(38)it's very hard to get the kind of cooperation** that is necessary for us to solve problems that people are concerned about and that I am assuming that during the course of your conversations they've raised repeatedly.

Let me ask one of those concerns. In Kansas, we spoke with a woman named Heather Gray, who said, 16 years ago I was making \$10 an hour. Today, she said, I make \$10 an hour. The problem of stagnant wages, of course, did not start with your presidency, but it hasn't improved much. Why not?

Well, **(39)we've got some long-term trends that we have to battle, and when I came into office we were in the midst of the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. (40)We have successfully dug ourselves out of that hole.**

The country has, but wages have not improved for average people ...

(41)I'm going to answer your question. (42)Just giving it a little context here. So (43)we had unemployment at 10 percent. (44)It's now below 5. (45)We had a housing market that had completely collapsed. (46)It's now normalized. (47)We had a situation in which people had lost trillions of dollars in wealth in their 401(k)'s and they have recovered it. In fact, (48)Americans have gotten back about \$30 trillion of wealth since I came into office. So by every measure, (49)the economy has improved.

But the long-term trends that had occurred before **(50)I took office and have continued is a combination of globalization and automation,** leading to more downward pressure on wages because you need fewer workers to make a certain amount of stuff; and entire job sectors being shrunk or eliminated; more and more people going into the service sector, and in the service sector, historically wages have been lower.

And **(51)that's all been compounded by some very specific policies** both at the federal and the state level that's made it harder for workers to organize and get more leverage to get higher wages. **(52)This is why we fought for higher minimum wages. (53)This is why we fought for making it easier to collectively bargain.**

This is why, I think, **(54)it is so important that as we move forward, if we are going to benefit from all the huge productivity increases and efficiencies that arise out of the global supply chain and automated everything, then we are**

going to have to redesign that social compact to make sure that everybody is getting a decent wage.

And (55)that is possible to do. (56)It's not as if we need a radical restructuring of the economy. If (57)we had a minimum wage that required everybody to get be above poverty if they are working full time, that would go a long way towards alleviating some of the trends that we talked about.

And in fact, (58)we've seen wage growth now begin to occur over the last couple of years, but it's not happening as fast as it should.

There is a writer for the *Financial Times*, Philip Stephens, who wrote something interesting after Britain voted to leave the European Union last week. He wrote in a column, globalization is not working, that it may make countries richer, but the majority of people are not benefiting.

He was writing about Britain, but you mentioned globalization in the context of the United

States. Is he right, globalization isn't working?

I think (59)he is right that what you are seeing across the advanced economies is that when you have globalization and suddenly there is competition from everywhere, that empowers people who have a lot of skills, can use the Internet. Suddenly (60)they have access to all the markets. And what that means is, if (61)you are very good at something, if you are LeBron James or you are [Jerry] Seinfeld or you are Steve Jobs, then suddenly you can leverage your skills in ways that you could never do before.

If (62)you are a manual worker, and are doing work that can be replaced not just by a lower-wage worker somewhere else but more frequently by a machine, then you are in a tougher spot because you now are competing against the entire world instead of just the people who live around you.

And that's why (63)it's so important for us to think about how do we make sure that everybody is participating in that global economy. If you continue on the current trends, then what you are going to see is a continuing increase in inequality, and that is not going to be economically sustainable because it turns out that the economy works best when everybody has a stake in it and workers have money in their pockets and are spending it, and (64)that's good for business.

But (65)it's also not politically sustainable because people start getting frustrated, and they start getting resentful. And (67)I think you see that somewhat in the Brexit vote. You see some of it in both the Sanders campaign and the Trump campaign, people feeling as if we are potentially being left behind.

Now the question then is, (68)what's the prognosis? Or (69)what's the cure to this whole thing? And the notion is that, from my perspective, (70)we are not going to suddenly eliminate the global supply chain. (71)We are not going to disentangle the world economy. (72)It's just too integrated now by virtue of technology and the Internet.

And so what we have to do is to make sure that wages around the world are beginning to rise, that environmental standards around the world are beginning to rise, that within our own countries we are providing the education that people need to compete in this global economy, with new skills for the new industries that are out there, that we invest more in things like infrastructure that make us competitive, (73)and also, by the way, can't be shipped away.

(74)The issue is not that the world is shrinking and globalization is inherently a bad thing. I actually think that, over time, (75)it can raise everybody's living standards and create a more peaceful world. But if you do it in a way where the benefits of globalization are only for the elites who are flying around from capital to capital and looking at their investment portfolios on a laptop or a computer screen, and they are not worrying, (76)they feel disengaged from their national economies and their national workers and their national communities, then you are going to see a reaction to it.

Donald Trump talked about global elites after the vote in Britain. Is Trump right that there are big parallels between what motivated the British vote and what people are feeling and thinking about in the election this year in the United States?

Well, first of all, (77)I think it's important to remember that Mr. Trump embodies global elites and has taken full advantage of it his entire life. So (78)he is hardly a spokesperson for a legitimate spokesperson for a populist surge from working-class people, on either side of the Atlantic.

(79)I think that some of the concerns around immigration, some of the concerns around a loss of control or a loss of national identity, those are similar. (80)I think there is a xenophobia, an anti-immigrant sentiment that is flashing up not just in Great Britain but throughout Europe, that has some parallels with what Mr. Trump has been trying to stir up here.

Having said all that, (81)the U.S. economy has not only recovered but we are about 10 percent larger than we were pre-crisis, when I came into office. And Europe is just now beginning to get back to where it was pre-crisis. (82)You've had a decade of stagnation there, partly because of austerity measures that we did not duplicate. (83)The Republicans attempted to impose those kinds of strategies here and I resisted them, and I would argue that that is part of the reason why we did a lot better. (84)We reformed our banking system a lot faster.

And so overall, (85)I think that the differences are greater than the similarities. But what is absolutely true is that the ability to tap into a fear that people may have about losing control, and to offer some sort of vague, nostalgic feelings about how, you know, (86)we'll make Britain great again or we'll make America great again. And the subtext for that is somehow that a bunch of foreigners and funny-looking people are coming in here and changing the basic character of the nation. (87)I think that some of that is out there, both in Europe and the United States.

And again, (88)that's not unique to England. (89)You've seen it in the Le Pen Party in France. (90)You see it in some of the far-right parties in other parts of Europe as well.

You mentioned people fearful of change. The way that voters express that when we talk with them is that they are concerned about changing the traditions, values or institutions of this country that have made the country great over time. Immigrants do bring new ideas, new cultures, different religions, other things. Does it matter particularly if they do change the country?

Well, I think that there are some bedrock values (91)that shouldn't change, and in fact, haven't changed. (92)It's the immigrants that change, not the values themselves.

The values of our Constitution and the Bill of Rights, the values of free speech, the values of religious tolerance, the values of pluralism, the values of us being a nation of immigrants that can absorb people from every corner of the world and yet at the end of the day, because we all pledge allegiance to a flag and a creed, we become one. **(93)Those traditions should not change.**

I think, ironically, that if you look at the values that immigrants bring when they come here — whether **(94)they're coming from Poland**, or Italy, or now Vietnam, or South Korea or India — the values they bring are quintessentially American values. **(95)They're striver's values; they're the values that say we're going to make something of ourselves, regardless of the station in which we were born.**

When you look at second-generation immigrants, or third-generation immigrants, **(96)they are as American as any kid here.** And **(97)that's been our strength.** That is part of what separates us from the United Kingdom or Europe, is **(98)we've had that tradition of being a nation of immigrants.**

And so, you know, when **(99)people are concerned about some of the changes that immigrants may bring, you know, they need to go back and read what people were saying about their grandparents or great-grandparents when they came.**

(100)You read about the description of Irish who arrived, and the language that is being used is identical to the language that Mr. Trump uses about Mexicans. You know, when Southern Europeans were coming instead of Northern Europeans, there was absolute certainty that America **(101)was going down the tubes because these swarthy, you know, folks were coming here and they had different attitudes.** And **(102)Catholics were coming,** which meant that the pope was going to control us.

And — this kind of **(103)xenophobia is part of the American tradition,** and the good news is that, you know, after these spasms of it, it typically fades away, because the immigrants who come here, in fact, are coming here precisely to embrace the opportunities of being American.

A couple of follow-ups, one each side of the Atlantic. Is there a danger that Europe, after this Brexit vote, will turn inward, focus increasingly on its own problems and its own turmoil, and be less active in the world?

Well, (104)I think that the best way to think about this is [that] a pause button has been pressed on the project of full European integration. (105)I would not overstate it. (106)There has been a little bit of hysteria post-Brexit vote, as if, somehow, NATO's gone and the trans-Atlantic alliance is dissolving and every country is rushing off to its own corner. (107)That's not what's happening.

(108)What's happening is that you had a European project that was probably moving faster and without as much consensus as it should have. You have a monetary union although (109)England wasn't a part of that that was always going to be difficult to manage, because the economy in Germany is very different than the economy in Italy or Greece. And (110)you have a European Union government in Brussels that, because it needs consensus from, you know, more than a — more than a couple of dozen countries, oftentimes seems overly bureaucratic and deadlocked.

And I think this will be a moment in which all of Europe says, all right, let's take a breath, and let's figure out how do we maintain some of our national identities, how do we preserve the benefits of integration and (111)how do we deal with some of the frustrations that our own voters are feeling.

But the basic core values of Europe, the tenets of liberal, market-based democracies, (112)those aren't changing. (113)The interests that we have in common with Europe remain the same. (114)And our concerns internationally are the same.

So, (115)Europe can't afford to turn in. (116) They're going to have to worry about working with us on the Middle East; they're going to have to worry about us working together to deal with an aggressive Russia. (117)They're going to have to deal with us, with respect to how do we continue to uphold international rules and norms around the world that have served both the U.S. and Europe very well.

And so, (118)I don't anticipate that there's going to be major cataclysmic changes as a consequence of this. Keep in mind that (119)Norway is not a member of the European Union, but Norway is one of our closest allies. (120)They align themselves on almost every issue with Europe and us. (121)They are a place that is continually supporting the kinds of initiatives internationally that we support.

And if over the course of what is going to be at least a two-year negotiation between England and Europe, Great Britain ends up being affiliated to Europe like (122) Norway is, the average person is not to notice a big change.

Should Britain vote again, as some have suggested?

I think that is entirely up to them.

OK. On this side of the Atlantic, we heard from a number of people about immigration when we traveled across the country. One of them was a man named Jose Luis Valdez. He is a business owner, a restaurant owner in Kansas City, Kan. He is a new citizen.

(123)Right.

So, he is getting ready to vote for the first time, but he has followed politics for a long time.

(124)Right.

He knows that you won the Latino vote very heavily in both your elections.

(125)Right.

And speaking about the failure to pass immigration reform, he said of you, he used us. He used our votes. Felt you should have done it when you had a chance when you had a Democratic Congress, you should have done more.

(126)Yeah.

What would you say to him?

Well, what I would say to him is his restaurant might not be doing so well if **(127)I hadn't focused my first two years on saving the economy. So, (128)it's not as if I didn't have anything else to do. And I think it would be pretty hard to argue that (129)I haven't put everything I've had into getting this done.** But, you know, one of the things that **(130)I have learned in this presidency is that until you get something done, people are going to be frustrated. You think of the incredible progress (131)we've made during the course of my presidency** with respect to LGBT rights the rights of gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transgender the historic speed with which we consolidated equal treatment for that population has been amazing.

And you know, these days, if I go before an LGBT crowd, you know, people are cheering and saying **(132)I've been one of their greatest champions.** But it was only about three or four years ago when, you know, I would get heckled in some LGBT events because, you know, **(133)marriage equality hadn't gotten done yet. (134)Or before that, "don't ask, don't tell" hadn't gotten done yet.**

And **(135)it didn't matter how many times I told them, look, you know, it's going to get done.** It's just it turns out that the wheels in **(136)democracy don't always move as quickly as you'd hope.** And **(137)I can't just do these things with a stroke of the pen.**

You know, (138)that's sort of the nature of all social change here. And so, if you — if you were interviewing one of the DREAM Act kids, who over the last several years have been able to get a driver's license, a permit to work or [go] to school, have joined our military, (139)they wouldn't say that they have been used. (140)They would say, thank you. And (141)I think that's the reason the vast majority of Latino voters continue to support me, because they see the effort that has been put in.

Now, one last point (142)I'll make, because I right after this most recent Supreme [Court] ruling, or lack of ruling came down ...

4 to 4

Because (143)it was basically a 4-4 tie. I said to them, look, (144). And instead of despairing, (145)you just need to understand we've got four months, five months, and you've got a very clear choice between two candidates — one of whom not only supports all the initiatives that I've put forward, but is going to be in a position if I don't get a ninth Supreme Court justice to break that tie.

And to one way or another, by next year, (146)we're going to have either my administrative solution to immigration reform done, it will be in train, because it will have been decided on and — and will no longer be blocked. Or, alternatively, you know, Mr. Trump will win, in which case, you know, (147)we'll have a whole bunch of other problems on our hands with respect to immigration.

So, in some ways, this is how the democratic process works. And (148)I'm constantly reminding young people, who are full of passion, that I want them to keep their passion, but they've got to gird for the fact that it takes a long time to get stuff done in this democracy. (149)It's not as convenient as, you know, people would always like, but this is a big country with a lot of diverse views.

Let me ask about a passionate young person that we met along the way. His name is Kwame Rose.

(150)Yeah.

He is an activist now in Baltimore. He was active in the protests after the death of Freddie Gray ...

(151)Right.

... who was in a police van, and died later, as you know.

And he was unhappy with a statement that you made at the time, when you were supportive of peaceful protests but also criticized what you called criminals and thugs who had looted stores.

He felt that you were being too harsh and went on to say in our interview that you were speaking from a position of privilege, his suggestion being that maybe you didn't quite get what was going on in the streets.

What would you say to him?

Well, obviously, (152)I don't know him personally, so we would have to have a longer conversation.

What I would say is that the Black Lives Matter movement has been hugely important in getting all of America to see the challenges in the criminal justice system differently. And (153)I could not be prouder of the activism that has been involved. And (154)it's making a difference.

(155)You're seeing it at state and local levels, and the task force that we pulled together in the wake of Ferguson has put forward recommendations that were shaped both by the people who organized the Ferguson protests as well as police officers. And (156)it turns out that there's common ground there, in terms of how we can be smart about crime, smart about policing, respectful to all communities and try to wring some of the racial bias that exists in the criminal justice system out of it.

What I would also say, though, is that if somebody is looting, (157)they're looting. And the notion that (158)they're making a political statement is not always the case because these are businesses oftentimes owned by African-Americans.

(159)You have situations in which suddenly friends of mine in Baltimore, their mothers who are elderly have to now travel across town to get their medicines because the local drugstore got torn up. And making excuses for them I think is a mistake.

There are ways of bringing about social change that are powerful and that have the ability to pull the country together and maintain the moral high ground and there are approaches where I may understand the frustrations, but (160)they're counterproductive. And tearing up your own neighborhood and (161)stealing is counterproductive.

If I were to summarize what else this young man said, I might say that he feels that he is trying to overturn what he sees is a racist or corrupt system and that you've become part of it.

(162)Yeah, (163)look, Steve, I think that you can always find folks who are going to feel as if change hasn't happened fast enough. (164)That's the nature of these issues and by virtue of being president of the United States, if there is a problem out there then I'm the ultimate public official that people know.

(165)And if it hasn't gotten fixed in a couple of weeks, people are going to say, why didn't you fix it? (166)I think it'd be, I think people would be pretty hard-pressed to not see the efforts that we put in around criminal justice reform where (167)we're supporting it fully.

The initiatives that (168)we've made with local mayors and state officials around the country to reform the criminal justice system, the fact that as

president, I've been the first ever to even visit a federal prison, that the positions I've taken on criminal justice issues are unprecedented by any president.

The work (169)we're doing with commutations is unprecedented and I have now commuted more sentences for nonviolent drug offenses than the last seven or eight presidents combined. But (170)if you're interviewing an 18- or 20-year-old ...

22 in this case.

... 22-year-old kid on the streets of Baltimore who is still feeling frustrated, then I'm not going to be surprised if that frustration's expressed.

As part of this project, we also had a look at your 2008 campaign speech in Philadelphia about race in which you talked in one passage about anger in the black community, which you said is sometimes counterproductive but it's real and there are reasons it.

There's another passage which I hadn't even noticed before, in which you say there is a similar anger among some in the white community who don't feel particularly privileged by their race and do feel frustrated that they're losing jobs, losing pensions, feel like they're losing ground.

Looking back, were you describing there the same force that is driving much of our election discussion here in 2016?

Well, not only the election and discussion driving 2016; this has been an ongoing theme in American history. You can go back and during Jim Crow and segregation and (171)you've got black sharecroppers who have nothing and alongside them, poor white farmers who don't have that much more except for the fact that they're white.

And the degree to which a lot of politics in the South were specifically designed to make sure that that sharecropper and that white farmer didn't get together to question how the economy was structured and how they both could benefit, that's — that's one of the oldest stories in American politics.

So — so (172)it's not surprising that what I said in 2008 still holds true today. (173)It was true for a long time.

(174)The nature of racial bias in this country is unique and the challenges that African-Americans have faced are incomparable. (175)Native Americans in this country, you know, were burdened by extraordinary bias and cruelty, as well. And (176)it's probably not useful to sort of catalog every possible group's grievances.

What is true, though, is that as (177)I travel around the country, what a black, working-class person has in common with a white, working-class person is significant. And what prevents them from voting along the same lines or working together on the same projects [has] to do with a whole range of cultural and identity issues which, you know, they obviously feel are important and valid.

But (178)what I've tried to do throughout my presidency is get try to get people to recognize themselves in each other, and that's probably partly

related to my own upbringing. (179)I was raised by a white mom and white grandparents who, you know, never suffered the kinds of discrimination that their black cohorts might have experienced but who had their own struggles, who went through a Great Depression, who — a grandmother who had to work her way up without ever a college education, starting in the steno pool or as a secretary to be — and experienced her own discrimination because of being a woman.

And so (180)I've seen the degree to which their struggles are not that different from Michelle's parents' struggles, at least in terms of how they think about it, and the similar values of hoping that their kids are going to do better and that education is the key. And that, you know, everybody's got to work hard and take responsibility but that (181)they'd like a government that was more responsive to clear out some of the barriers for their advancement.

And I believe that our politics — when our politics are at our best — is not based on identity politics, but (182)it's based on a sense that everybody should have a fair shot and everybody should get a fair shake. Everybody should be responsible for doing their fair share, and you know, that theme (183)you'll see in every speech that I've given since I was running for the state Senate, and it hasn't changed much now that I am nearing the end of my political career.

Somebody following this year's election might say, well, that debate's worse, it's gotten worse. Do you see any sign that that debate is any better, that it's moved in some direction?

(184)You see it in the younger generation. If you look at the 18-to-30 cohort, or the 18-to-40 cohort, (185)they have a very different set of attitudes about all these issues. (186)It's true, by the way, around the world.

[CROSSTALK]

... (187)we were talking about Brexit, you know. (188)The younger voter wasn't fearful of global interdependence. (189)They embrace it. (190)They see themselves as being able to navigate through all these different worlds.

(191)You see it when I visit Vietnam, or countries in Africa or Latin America at — the new generation is much more comfortable with diversity, with connectivity, with the fact that change is constant, that they are not going to be working at one job for 30 years. And you know, (192)they want to make sure that they can get the skills, they can get the access. But (193)they see a bright future for themselves.

(194)That's where the hope is. Here in the United States, you talk to young people, it doesn't matter where, (195)it doesn't matter whether they're black, white, Latino. (196)They're not afraid of the future.

And so when you look at the frustrations and the fear that a Trump [is] tapping into, you know, (197)that's an earlier generation that feels unsettled. And I think (198)we can be sympathetic and understanding of the fact that they feel unsettled, but also recognize that, you know, if we get the decisions

that need to be made right, then 10 years from now, 20 years from now, we may look back at something like the Trump campaign as the last vestige of a kind of politics of us versus them (199)that really doesn't apply to today.

And one last thing (200)I'd say about this, because you will hear sometimes people suggest that, well, if Democrats and Republicans had been paying attention to white, working-class voters, then something like Trump would not have happened.

Well, the fact is, is that my administration, for example, when we promote a higher minimum wage or stronger union laws or health care, for that matter, (201)that's helping that cohort. (202)That is designed to make sure that they get a better deal in this economy.

And, you know, one of the things that (203)you've seen during the course of my presidency is the ability, the power of a certain slice of the media to emphasize to white, working-class voters somehow that these things are not good for you, that this is Obama and his socialist friends who are trying to take money from you to give to an undeserving, you know, Mexican immigrant or black welfare mom and — and tapping into — sort of an identity politics that, you know, is powerful and oftentimes can work, but it is actually counterproductive, and it certainly does not reflect what we have been trying to do.

What is true and (204)what's been interesting to see during this election cycle is that the Republican Party that has opposed minimum wages or union laws or what have you, they have a populist insurgency on their hands. And Mr. Trump, I think, has, at times, exploited this gap between what, you know, the Republican business community has promoted and what (205)their constituencies are actually looking for.

We ran across a statement of yours from 2008 about changing the trajectory of the country. You said that Ronald Reagan had changed the trajectory of the country, partly because the country was ready for it. It was his moment. That John F. Kennedy had done the same thing, because it was the right moment. The country was going in a certain direction.

You wanted to see such a moment. You believed there was such a moment for you in 2008. Is there a risk that Donald Trump could say the same thing in 2016, that he could be the man to change the trajectory of the country now?

(206)Well, if he won, (207)he could say that.

I mean to say, you think the country might be ready for that?

(208)No. And (209)I think that will be tested over the next four months. But I think it is pretty hard to argue that somebody who almost three-quarters of the country think is unqualified to be president and has a negative opinion about (210)it is tapping into the zeitgeist of the country, or is speaking for a broad base of the country.

(211)But we'll find out. Look, (212)that's what elections are for, and that I think (it's important for Democrats, progressives, moderates, people who care about our traditions, who care about pluralism, who care about tolerance, who care about facts, who think climate change is real, who think that we have to reform our immigration system in an intelligent way, who believe ... in women's equality and equality for the LGBT community.

I think (213)it's important for those of us not to be complacent, not to be smug. And you know, the one thing I have tried to do during the course of my presidency is to take seriously the objections and the criticisms and the concerns of (214)people who didn't vote for me.

I said on election night back in Grant Park, (215)I'm president of everybody. (216)I've got a particular point of view. (217)I've — I don't make any apologies for it. I believe that, if (218)you go back and read my speeches dating back to 2004, where I first came to national prominence, that there has been a consistency there, that I have done or tried to do exactly what I said.

And the core of that message is "*e pluribus unum*," out of many, one, that — that we are better when we are together, that (219)I do not believe in tribalism. (220)I do not believe in stoking divisions and scapegoating.

(221)I think that people have common hopes and common dreams. And I think that (222)America is at its best when we are unified and working together. And during the course of my presidency, (223)you've seen polarization and division and all kinds of consternation and frustration. But what (224)you've also seen quietly is a country that yanked itself out of a Great Recession and recovered as well as any country ever has from such a massive financial breakdown.

(225)You've seen 20 million people have health insurance that didn't have it before and health care inflation actually going down so that, you know, we've saved trillions of dollars in cost relative to what we're expected to be paying over the course of programs like Medicare and Medicaid.

What (226)we've seen is a financial system that is a lot sounder. (227)We see an LGBT community that is recognized as equal in ways that they weren't before. (228)You've seen an entire generation grow up, I think, feeling as if the old divisions don't make sense.

And you know, (229)I feel pretty confident that as long as we do the work over the next several months and then continue that work over the next several years, that we will have emerged from this era stronger, more prosperous, more secure and adhering more closely to the values and ideals that make America exceptional.

Last question, Mr. President. We've gone across the country, we've gone across the country asking people how their lives have changed in the last eight years. That was the basic question. How has your life changed in the last eight years?

Well, everybody's teased me about how gray I am and (230)that's OK. My daughters have ...

That picture of you and Derek Jeter, that was something. That was — that was some gray. But go on, go on, I'm sorry.

(231)My daughters have grown up and I think for any father out there, seeing your kids come into office when I came in office, they were so much younger than I realized at the time, I think. And for them to be these amazing young women now, that changes your life more than just about anything.

(232)It's interesting, though, that my fundamental belief in public service, my fundamental belief in the capacity of politics to solve problems, my belief in this country is stronger, not weaker.(233)I'm less cynical now than I was.

(234)I've been frustrated by some things that I did not complete, that I couldn't wrap and mail and ship before I got out of here. (235)Immigration reform being a good example. Getting infrastructure done, you know, (236)we got \$2 trillion worth of infrastructure. If we got working on that now, (237)we'd be growing a lot faster, the unemployment rate would be even lower, wages would be higher.

So there are things that (238)we haven't gotten done. Obviously, there are — there areas internationally where (239)I've been enormously frustrated. You look at Syria being the most prominent example, (240)where you've got a heartbreaking situation and not a lot of good choices.

Having said all that, if you had told me at the beginning of my presidency that (241)we could begin the process of making sure everybody has health insurance in this country; that we could recover fully from a terrible economic crisis; that, you know, we could make sure that (242)Iran doesn't have a nuclear weapon without having to launch a war; that we could restore diplomatic relations with Cuba in a way that didn't just transform our relationship with Cuba, but has put our relationship with all of Latin America on its strongest footing, maybe in history.

If you told me that we could, you know, extend democracy to a place like Burma, one of the worst, you know, military dictatorships in the world and that I could visit there and (243)you'd see millions of people lining the streets. If you told me that (244)you could have gay and lesbian men and women proudly serving in our military without having to hide who they were, or that you could have a bipartisan effort to actually reduce sentences for nonviolent drug offenses have a credible chance of getting through Congress.

(245)You'd tally it up, (246)it's not bad for 7 1/2 years' worth of work. And the stuff that has not gotten done, (247)it's teed up to get done. Climate change, with the Paris Agreement, 200 countries signed on is a classic example of how I think about my work, but also the possibilities of government and politics.

(248)We haven't solved climate change because of that agreement, but we have now built an architecture that allows us, gives us a change to, over time collectively, in an unprecedented way, curb the pollution that contributes to climate change. (249)And have we gotten it all done yet? No.

But have we now given the next president, the next Congress, (250)the next generation a chance to solve it? Absolutely.

And — and (251)I've said this before: I think of myself as a relay runner. (252)I take the baton. Sometimes, you take the baton and (253)you're behind in the race, and you've got to run a little bit harder to catch up.

Hopefully, by the time you pass on the baton, (254)you're a little bit better positioned in the race. And I think there is a humility that comes out of this office, because (255)you feel that no matter how much you've done, there's more work to do.

But I think that there is a confidence that well-meaning people working together can — can change the country for the better. (256)I've seen it happen.

Mr. President, thanks very much.

(257)Thank you. (258)Enjoyed it.

NB:

BOLD: OBAMA

UNBOLD: STEVE

Appendix 3

WAWANCARA EKSKLUSIF PRESIDEN JOKOWI DENGAN KARNI ILYAS (PRESIDEN BICARA)

Karni Ilyas : selamat malam pak presiden. Senang sekali malam ini bisa ketemu bapak

Jokowi: sama, saya juga senang (1) ketemu pak karni

K : Jadi saya itu sebetulnya bingung pak, dan ternyata orang lain juga bingung, bagaimana bisa pak Jokowi itu hari ini ada di Papua besok di Jakarta lusa ada di Aceh lagi, tiap hari begitu dengan problem yang berbeda beda, kalo pun di Jakarta bisa lima tujuh sehari. Itu bapak merasakan bagaimana?

J: (2)ya biasa saja, karna emang itu tugas ya. (3)saya ingin melihat lapangan langsung, melihat problemnya langsung, melihat masalahnya langsung, dan kalo bisa memutuskan juga dilapangan langsung. karna dengan melihat dilapangan, (4)dengan melihat masalah itu semakin kelihatan dan semakin jelas itu yang terus akan saya lakukan setelah mendapatkan informasi dari daerah informasi dari lapangan terutama memang masalah masalah besar, masalah macro yang berkaitan dengan Negara dan bangsa. selalu misalnya dari NTT langsung ke Papua atau dari Bali langsung ke NTB biasa

K: habistu langsung lagi ke Amerika kemana itu yang ga kepikir oleh banyak orang karna ya dulu paling keluar negeri banyak insiden atau juga ada sekali sekali di daerah kalo ini ga pernah berhenti gitu

J: ya karna (5)kita kan juga berburu dengan waktu, seperti kemarin dari Amerika langsung kita ke Jambi kemudian ke Sumatera selatan ya memang karna keadaannya,

K: situasinya

J: Situasinya memaksa kita harus kesana ya harus kesana dan (6)pers sebagai kontrososial itu juga harus tetap dimunculkan, tetapi dengan sebuah bahasa bahasa yang tidak menimbulkan pesimisme

K: Bapak itu dikenal ya waktu kampanye waktu terpilih sebagai apa ya orang bilang dari dunia perslah media dalih tapi dalam apa alih pers kemarin bapak itu kritik keras terhadap media ada apa sesungguhnya yang bapak lihat ada perkembangan yang kurang bagus dari media bagaimana bapak melihat media sekarang ini?

J: (7)ya, saya kemarinkan mengajak ya mengajak kepada pers, kepada media untuk membangun optimisme public. (8)untuk mengajak media bisa mengajak optimisme masyarakat. itu yang harus dibangun karna sekarang memang persaingan kita, (9)kompetisi kita ini betul betul kan sangat ketat

sekali, antar Negara. sehingga memerlukan sebuah kebersamaan, (10)memerlukan sebuah gotong royong bareng bareng bahwa setiap problem itu harus diselesaikan bersama sama, tidak mungkin satu orang atau ga mungkin hanya sebagian kelompok. (11)ga mungkin. (12)ini harus dikerjakan bersama sama karena memang gesekannya benturannya kompetisinya ini Negara dengan Negara, dan pers sebagai kontrososial itu juga harus tetap dimunculkan, tetapi dengan sebuah bahasa bahasa yang tidak menimbulkan pesismisme gitu. jadi ya kemarin hanya ajakan kepada seluruh pers dan media untuk membangkitkan rasa optimisme, (13)membangkitkan kebersamaan sehingga kita gotong royong bersama sama bareng bareng untuk menyelesaikan masalah bangsa dan berkompetisi dengan Negara dan bangsa yang lain. karena memang dihadapan (14)kita sudah betul betul persaingan. sudah masuk ke masyarakat ekonomi asean kita. sudah berada didepan kita trans pasifik partnership. didepan kita sudah ada RCEB blognya china. didepan kita sudah ada fteu blognya eropa. mau tidak mau ini harus hadapi bersama sama, (15)sampai kalkulator habis ya ga akan rampung rampung ya inikan keputusan politik.

K: baik pak tapi sekarang setelah lebih dari setahun bapak menjadi presiden, awalnya ka nada program atau ciita cita bapaklah misalnya mau bikin ini mau bikin ini mau bikin ini setelah setahun ini mana ang menurut bapak sesuai dengan yang bapak cita citakan mana yang terlambat atau gagal sama sekali

J: ya yang namanya (16)program itukan kadang kadangkannya antara rencana dengan lapangan kan sering berbeda, tetapi kita memang ingin (17)memberikan prioritas dan focus pak karni kepada infrastuktur, sehingga kenapa kita bangun misalnya jalan tol trans sumatera yang (18)saya sendiri justru kaget, karna saya perkirakan setelah setahun ternyata sudah perkerasan ngecor. (19)yang pikiran saya saat itu paling setahun baru ngerata ratain tanah, ternyata sudah sampai ngecor. mungkin pada lebaran yang akan datang sudah bisa mungkin hingga (20)puluhan kilo inikan sebuah progress.

K: progress

J: yang sangat cepat sekali. kemudian juga pembangunan jalur kereta api di Sulawesi.(21) ini juga sudah dimulai dan sudah mungkin sampai hari ini sudah lebih dari lima belas kilo. (22)saya kira ini juga ini sebuah progress yang cepat, karena memang saya terbiasa ya harus segera dimulai karena kalau ndak kita

K: tunda tunda terus

J: tunda tunda kita harus berhitung sampai kalkulator habis ga akan rampung rampung. (23)kalo inikan keputusan politik tetapi memang harus dirancang, harus dikonsep, harus direncanakan secara detail. (24)ha itu ya tetapi bahwa memutuskannya harus segera, karena kita juga sekali lagi berhadapan dengan kompetisi dunia dan kita harapkan dengan pembanguna infrastruktur nantinya biaya logistic itu bisa lebih murah, biaya transportasi

juga bisa jatuh lebih murah, (25)karena kalo dibandingkan dengan dekat ajalah Malaysia, Singapur biaya biaya kita ditransportasi dan biaya logistic dua sampai dua setengah kali lipat. inikan (26)ada yang harus kita kejar dalam rangka kompetisi dan persaingan

K: ya kita kalah bersaing dari produk produk yang dihasilkan

J: (27)iya betul

K: yang bapak anggap gagal dalam hal itu apa?

J: hmmm pembangunan sdm, ya kita memang harus kejar kejaran dalam rangka persaingan itu dan pembanguna sdm menurut saya harusnya berada pada tempat yang paling depan. (29)Kita tidak mau lagi tergantung pada yang namanya sumber daya alam, (30)tetapi tergantung kepada kesiapan sumber daya manusia kita dalam rangka kompetisi global. dan itu harus disiapkan (31)nah ini kesiapan menuju kesana inikan memerlukan ruang ruang memerlukan apa sarana prasarana yang memang cepat harus dikerjakan dan angkatan kerja kita (32)saya juga kaget ternyata memang 66% itu berada pada pendidikan sd dan smp yang tentu saja perlu disuntik disuntik agar sdm itu bisa kita apa perbaiki keterampilannya diperbaiki skillnya itu yang saya kira kedepan harus dikerjakan

K: uda ada program untuk itu atau baru mau dibikin konsep?

J: sudah, sudah tetapi memang untuk masuk ke lapangan itukan situasi apa pasar, (33)situasi industry yang membutuhkan itukan berbeda beda, oleh sebab itu mana yang harus kita prioritaskan itu yang baru baru di siapkan, (34)karna kalo melihat apa lulusan 66% seperti itu memang masuknya ke industri padat karya, misalnya garment kemudian alas kaki, sepatu sandal dll. (35)saya kira masuknya kesana selain juga mungkin bisa sebagian dilarikan ke usaha kecil (usaha micro) yang juga masih ada ruang kita untuk melakukan itu.

K: usaha micro atau usaha menengah mungkin juga pa itu konsep kita bagus dan uang juga ada saya dengar itu tersedia di bank bank pemerintah itu triliunan tapi itukan sampai sekarang ga mengalir, stuck, dan ya rata rata karna perusahaan menengah bawah tidak punya jaminan ini kira kira ngatasinya uang banyak tapi tidak bisa di efektifkan ini uda ada konsepnya belum?

J: (36)ya problemnya pak karni pertama itu problemnya karena memang bunganya tinggi. saya berikan contoh untuk kredit usaha rakyat, kalo bunganya diberi 23% 20% (37)adilnya dimana? padahal kalo korporasi yang gede gede dapat 11 12%. oleh sebab itu tahun ini untuk kredit usaha rakyat kita subsidi dan kita turunkan menjadi 9%. ini pasti nanti habis ada kurang lebih 127 triliun yang kita siapkan. (38)saya kemaren ngecek dilapangan, misalnya di ntt kita berikan jatah 1 triliun lebih dikit sudah habis, pak ini duitnya sudah habis kita harus ditambah

K: bunganya berapa?

J: 9% pertahun, dan tahun depan (39)inshallah saya bisa memberikan jaminan 7%

K: ya dulu zaman orde baru itu ada namanya kick kmkp ya itu rendah sekali

J: (40)ya, dulu 11% pak karni

K: 11 ya?

J: (41)ya, 11% nah ini 9% tahun depan 7%

K: luar biasa

J: (42)ini kalo bisa kita lakukan usaha kecil usaha mikro kita akan bisa bangkit karena memang bunganya sangat rendah sekali

K: sekarang program bapak yang spektakuler ada jalan tol tadi jalan kereta api ada proyek apa namanya tol laut nah kemudian adalagi ini kereta cepat juga yng bikin heboh , Jakarta-bandung dan ada bagai macam, ini progressnya sampai dimana ini pak?

J: ya saya mungkin cerita yang pertama mengenai tol laut, (43)nah inikan kita dalam proses membangun pelabuhan, pelabuhannya terlebih dahulu, misalnya di sumatera utara (44)kita uda mulai tahun kemarin. membangun pelabuhan kuala tanjung. kemudian juga di makasar ada makasar newboard. (45)Tahun ini kita kan mulai juga di papua, di sorong yang mungkin itu baru akan selesai kira kira 3-4 tahun. setelah selesai tentu saja menyiapkan kapalnya untuk nantinya dari barat menuju ke timur, dari barat menuju ke timur sehingga semua apa pulau besar akan terlampaui dari situ. (46)pelabuhan besar akan ada kapal yang sedang, kapal kecil untuk menuju ke pulau pulau yang lebih kecil. dan (47)kita harapkan nantinya juga sama biaya logistic bisa jatuh lebih murah. biaya transportasi juga akan lebih murah. karena ini sering saya berikan perbandingan, (48)diwamena aja bensin yang premium aja dijual 60 rb 70 rb semen dijual 800rb. (49)komentar pak karni seperti apa?

K: ya bagaimana rakyatnya bisa bangkit dengan keadaan kayak gitu

J: oleh sebab itu, (50)infrastruktur itu perlu sekali toh lautnya perlu tetapi juga didaratnya juga perlu. dan kemarin saya ke lapangan juga setelah dari wamena, kemudian ke kabupaten tuga, dan nantinya akan (51)kita tembus dari wamena untuk bisa sampai kebawah, ke dekat merauke sehingga transportasi menuju ke wamena bisa darat nantinya. (52)misalnya kayak premium bisa lewat darat, kemudian semen bisa lewat darat. dan (53)saya bisa memberikan jaminan harga pasti jatuh separuhnya minimal separuh, (54)inshaallah

K: ya dulu yang diragukan orang bapak bikin apa tol laut ke papua sampai di pelabuhan barangnya stuck gabisa kemana mana

J: (55)ya pasti setelah sampai di pelabuhan, harus ada jalan lain jalan darat menuju ke kota kabupaten yang kita tuju. dan juga (56)inshaallah, (57)tahun ini juga kereta api di papua akan kita mulai

K: di papua?

J: iya di papua

K: Kalimantan?

J: di Kalimantan belum karena akan dikerjakan oleh investasi oleh investor

K: oleh investor luan maksudnya?

J: (58)iya

K: jadi progressnya sesuai dengan rencana?

J: (59)terus saya cek pak karni. (60)saya selalu cek, misalnya kayak tol trans sumatera. (61)saya sudah ngecek kesana. (62)ngecek ke tol trans sumatera sudah lima kali saya cek terus. (63)saya cek lagi saya cek lagi saya cek lagi. (64)saya ingin pertama memberikan semangat kepada yang bekerja, yang kedua saya juga ingin melihat progressnya perkembangannya seperti apa.

K: baik pak bagaimana kalo kita break sebentar

K: pak presiden tadi kita sudah masuk ke proyek proyek spektakuler dan ternyata salah satunya yang paling terkenal itu kereta cepat karena terjadi polemic dan sepertinya ada pertentangan pertentangan antara menteri yang satu dengan menteri yang lain bahkan ada menteri yang kesan saya itu justru tidak setuju walaupun itu dibawah wewenang dia sendiri karena dia bilang kalo mau bikin juga yang kereta cepat kenapa ga ke Surabaya sekalian dan belum factor siapa yang investornya cina atau jepang bahkan ada issue kenapa presiden putusin cina jepang marah mencabut investasinya dari Indonesia jadi ini public perlu dapat pencerahan dari pak presiden

J: (65)ya begini pak karni. jadi kalo kita lihat ya di Jakarta ini macet total. Dibandung, bandung raya juga sudah macet total. Di Jakarta, (66) informasi yang saya terima setahun kita kehilangan kurang lebih 28 sampai 30 triliun karena macet. 28 triliun sampai 30 triliun. kemudian di bandung raya plus kalo ke Jakarta kalo pas macet juga sama setahun kita kehilangan informasi yang saya terima 7 triliun setiap tahun hilang karena kemacetan

K: mubazir ya

J: (67)mubazir hilang karena berhenti dan bensinnya hilang percuma. (68)oleh sebab itu di Jakarta dibangun mrt yang sudah berjalan

K: yang itu yang dengan bapak jadi gubernur

J: (69)iya sudah berjalan. duluni juga rame waktu kita putuskan juga rame. (70)bahkan waktu saya down breaking, saya ingat saat itu didepan saya satu meter didepan saya ada yang demo menolak. juga banyak yang

menyampaikan jakarata kan daerah banjir, (71)nanti kalo terowongan nya kemasukan air pak gubernur gimana? (72)Saat itu saya jadi gubernur, tanggung jawab gak? (73)Waduh loh itukan ada engginernyakan ada insinyurnya, inikan dijakarta suka kadang kadang ada gempa gimana nanti kalo. waduh loh itukan kalo kita cerita seperti itu misalnya di perancis ke inggris itu ada trowongan juga dibawah laut kan kalo belum dinegara Negara yang lain. artinya yang menjauh itu (74)saya tidak ingin menjawab hal yang teknis tetapi secara macro kepentingan Negara setiap tahun kita kehilangan 28 sampai 30 triliun dijakarta dan dibandung. sampai ke Jakarta juga kehilangan 7 triliun, artinya hilang 37 triliun setiap tahun. (75)apakah mau kita terus teruskan? (76)Oleh sebab itu, perlu dibangun di Jakarta mrt, dibangun lrt dibandung raya ini juga baru disiapkan untuk mencari trase yang paling baik. Bukan bandung tapi bandung raya. juga lrt, nah lrt lrt mrt ini akan disambungkan dengan kereta api cepat jadi sekali lagi jangan melihat barangnya itu yang namanya kereta api cepat saja. (77)ini sebuah hitung hitungan macro Negara. untung mana kalo kita tidak punya lrt tidak punya mrt tidak punya kereta api cepat dan kalo kita punya, (78)semua Negara juga menuju kesana dalam rangka apa prduktivitas, dalam rangka apa? Efisiensi. baik waktu maupun biaya dalam rangka apa lagi? Kecepatan. (79)ini semua menuju kesitu, (80)masyarakat diberikan pilihan pilihan, boleh mereka naik bis silahkan, boleh mereka naik lrt silahkan, boleh mereka naik kereta api cepat juga silahkan, atau boleh mereka naik pesawat silahkan. alternative alternative semakin banyak semakin bagus untuk masyarakat. dan ini dikerjakan oleh investor oleh investasi tidak memakai apbn ini yang paling penting. tidak memakai apbn, yang kedua tidak memakai jaminan pemerintah. ga pake jadi kemaren yang diramekan masalah jaminan, itu yang diminta itu bukan jaminan masa keuangannya tetapi jaminan kepastian hukum, ya untuk semua investasi pasti harus kita berikan karena apapun itu menanamkan uang yang sangat gede kalo ga ada jaminan kepastian hokum bagaimana investor dilindungi, sebenarnya itu

K: jadi ga ada peraturan presiden yang bertabrakan dengan keputusan?

J: tidak ada karena yang berpres 107 disitu khusus untuk kereta api cepat yang dituliskan disitu tidak ada jaminan dari pemerintah itu jelas, tidak menggunakan apbn itu disitu jelas, kemudian yang berpres 03 itu untuk proyek proyek strategis untuk smeuanya untuk listrik untuk jalan termasuk untuk kereta api cepat itu ada disitu semuanya dan disitu ditulis dapat , artinya yang spesialisnya yang khusus kereta api cepat tadi yang 107

K: ada kesan cabinet bapak kemaren itu tahun lalulah utamanya itu terlalu gaduh jadi soal kereta itu gaduh, soal mega apa listrik yang 35000 mega juga ribut soal lino juga ini apa ya terjadi pak apa memang apa namanya susah di koordinasikan mereka atau kepentingannya beda beda

J: kalo saya sebetulnya pak karni, kalo ada apa perbedaan itu biasalah. itu dinamika sebuah kita mengelola Negara sebesar ini. dengan kementerian juga sebanyak 34. belom lembaga lembaga. saya kira ada kalo ada apa itu

perbedaan saya kira kalo saya ya itu saya anggap wajar wajar saja. itu dinamika, tetapi kalo sudah diputuskan, (81)kalo sudah presiden memutuskan nah itu harus semuanya mendukung gitu aja

K: ya kalo ribut ribut sepberti itu masih batas wajar ya ga ada yang dimarahin?

J: wajar wajar, (82)kalo sudah ada kepentingan saya lihat ada kepentingan kepentingan yang lain ya baru saya akan memutuskan. kalo masih hanya masalah urusan administrasi urusan turusan teknis sudahlah diselesaikan. saya biasanya saya suruh selesaikan

K: kegaduhan ini ga hanya

J: bukan gaduh lah, perbedaanlah

K: perbedaan ya bukan konflik tapi mungkin kompetisi

J: ada perbedaan mungkin ada kompetisi sedikit kompetisi gapapa

K: tapi kalo di politik mungkin boleh kita bilang gaduh pak di dpr di legislative ini bagaimana pak presiden lihatnya ini partailah dualismenya kemudian ya antara knp dan kia walapun sekarang sudah jatuh tapi selama setahun ini kan runcing sekali

J: ya memang kita memerlukan, pembangunan Negara ini memang memerlukan sebuah stabilitas ya. (84)stabilitas yang betul betul baik dibidang keamanan, dibidang politik sehingga kita ingin sebetulnya antar pemerintah dengan partai itu ada keharmonisan, antara pemerintah dengan dpr itu juga ada sinergi dan keharmonisan. (85)itukan dilihat masyarakat yang pertama dan juga dilihat dari luar juga seperti apasih negara ini dikelola, kalo perbedaan ya gapapa yang namanya juga demokrasi, kan berbeda juga gapapa tetapi ada solusi solusi yang konstruktif. bukan hanya asal beda. menurut saya ya tahun 2015 (86)ada gaduh gaduh dikit ya gapapalah. untuk dinamika. biar karena dinamika tadi dalam Negara juga apalagi dinamika dalam politik juga perlukan. ya tapi (87)Alhamdulillah, (88)kita kelola dengan komunikasi yang baik, dengan ketemu, dengan berbicara. ya saya kira (89)Alhamdulillah, (90)sekarang semuanya berada pada posisi peran masing masing, (91)tetapi sekali lagi memang pemerintah ini perlu ada take and balance. ada yang perlu (92)ngontrol. ada yang perlu ya mengingatkan. ada yang perlu yang mengkritisi, gapapa. ada yang perlu yang mengkoreksi, gapapa. menurut saya gapapa, (93)belum tentu pemerintah juga benar terus, betul teruskan? ada yang mengingatkan, memang harus ada, ada yang mengoreksi harus

K: jadi bukan by design pergolakan di partai partai yang terjadi karena ga cocok dengan pemerintah misalnya

J: (94)ah itukan urusan partai. (95)masa saya harus masuk. ke misalnya harus masuk ke p3 atau masuk ke Golkar. (96)saya betul betul ingin diselesaikan oleh partai partai, tetapi kemarin memang saya terakhir memang harus mengundang beliau beliau ketua ketua partai. saya hanya

sampaikan lebih baik apabila bersatu lebih baik, apabila rukun dan saya kira juga enak dilihat rakyat kalo kita ini semuanya ini bisa rukun, **(97)meskipun berbeda ya gapapa kok. yang indah itu kadang kadang yang perbedaan perbedaan itu, tetapi sekali lagi dalam kerangka semuanya memberikan peran terhadap pembangunan Negara, pembangunan bangsa.**

K: bagaimana bapak lihat perkembangan dengan kpk inikan juga terjadi setahun yang lalu benturan yang cukup keras dengan polri misalnya dan kemudian ide untuk merevisi undang undang karna memang bagi orang orang hokum yang lihatnya konvensional ini undang undang berlebih midalnya ga boleh sp3 menyadap kambak harus minta izin nah inikan yang krusial bagi yang belajar hokum murdi gitu dan kemudia revisi ini ada yang setuju ada yang ga setuju kalo dari pak presiden sendiri bagaimana?

J: (98)saya tegas tegas saya sampaikan, (99)kita ingin kpk kuat. ini tegas kita sampaikan, kita ingin kpk kuat dan masalah revisi uu kpk sampai sekarang kita juga belum lihat draft nya, usulan dari dpr seperti apa. (100)ya bagaimana saya harus berkomentar?

K: oh sama sekali

J: ya draftnya nanti tunggu saja. (101)kan draftnya kalo kita sudah lihat memang itu untuk memperkuat ya avok, tapi kalo misalnya tapi saya kan belum dapat draftnya jadi saya ga bisa komentar dululah

K: ya tapi kemaren juga ada yang juga rame juga dkalangan dunia hokum adalah keputusan bapak untuk menyelesaikan segera kasus novel kasus Abraham samad mungkin bambang wijayanto juga yang kalah cepat itu akhirnya tidak jadi melalui pengadilan tetapi melalui lembaga yang namanya depondering atau spondering atau mungkin juga penarikan perkara dari pengadilan yang bagi dunia hokum juga ini bary terjadi dari masa reformasi baru sekali pak waktu pak bibit candra kalo ini terjadi lagi yang mereka takutkan preseden bahwa kedepan nanti eksekutif itu terlalu sering masuk ke proses peradilan, gimana tanggapan bapak?

J: ya saya hanya menyampaikan kepada jaksa agung dan juga kapolri untuk diselesaikan secepat cepatnya. (102)karena ini sudah menurut saya sudah lama gitu. (103)sudah lama penyelesaiannya seperti apa ya saya serahkan ke jaksa agung dan kapolri tetapi saya ingin ini cepat diselesaikan

K: ya sementara kan mereka sudah mengajukan ke peradilan pak perkaranya bahkan akhirnya sudah disusun waktu disang sudah ditentukan ada instruksi begitu artinya itu tiba tiba itu apa namanya itu kayak di cut gitulah prosesnya

J: (104)ndak, (105)kalo saya menurut saya memang kita tidak ingin mengintervensi, tetapi yang jelas ada hak hak prografif yang diberikan kepada jaksa agung untuk melakukan itu dan itu memang tidak berada di wilayah saya. (106)berada di wilayah jaksa agung. (107)harus cepat diselesaikan karena udah terlalu lama pak karni, sudah terlalu lama

K: memang sudah lebih dua tahun prosesnya mereka terlalu panjang juga untuk sampai ke pengadilan itu

K: pak presiden ini yang terakhir sepak bola pak, sepak bola ini bagi masyarakat pencinta bola ini agak memilukanlah dengan kita satu tahun lebih kena band oleh fifa dan kemudian juga fifa punya persyaratan yang susah dipenuhi juga oleh pemerintah yaitu harus transisi dengan pssi yang notabennya udah di bekukan, tapi dillain pihak ini kalo diterusin memang kita tidak bisa bertanding keluar negeri, luar negeri juga ga boleh bertanding disini bahkan pemain asing juga ga boleh datang, yang saya kasian pak anak anak yang kebetulan saya kenal beberapa anak yang udah berbunga bunga mau menjadi pemain nasional sekarang ini pada nganggur pak, bapak berusaha sekuat tenaga bikin turnamen tapi turnamen itu bukan liga yang jalan tiap minggu pak jadi bisa aja tiga bulan dan selama kosong itu mereka ga kerja, kerjanya ga latihan ga apa karena ga ikut diclub lagi dan a mereka akhirnya ada jual kue adayang jadi petani, saya prihatinnya Cuma ke mereka itu sama tentu saja pelatihnya segala macam, bagaimana konsep bapak kedepan ada ga jalan yang bisa kita tempuh?

J: (108)ya pak karni, (109)sebelum menjawab yang sepak bola. (110)saya menambahi yang tadi, bahwa masalah pak Abraham samad, pak bambang wijayanto dan pak novel tadi perintah saya ke jaksa agung bahwa kepolisian itu diselesaikan secepatnya tentu saja dalam koridor hokum. saya kira yang namanya di pondering skp dua itu juga koridor hokum itu ttap pada koridor hukum bukan keluar dari koridor hokum. (111)Dan kembali ke masalah sepak bola. (112)saya kira itu sangat teknis sekali sebetulnya. (113)itu berada pada posisi wilayah di kementerian di menpora. awalnya juga di kementerian menpora (114)tapi akhirnya mau tidak mau kan masuknya ke presiden gitu. (115)Tentu saja mau tidak mau kan harus kita tangani, tapi saya tahu apa yang disampaikan pak karni tadi. kita (116)ingin selesaikanlah masalah ini secepat cepatnya, secepat cepatnya saya kira 4 6 bulan ini lah harusnya sudah selesai. (117)sebelum pertengahan tahun harusnya sudah selesai. saya harap sudah selesai baik dengan fifa maupun di internal kita. moga moga sudah selesai. Saya juga melihat itu, (118)kalo melihat sepak bola kemudian apa yang nonton begitu banyaknya, sangat dicintai oleh rakyat pemainnya juga sama, kita juga, saya sangat ngerti saya sangat ngerti, tetapi sekali lagi karna sudah dari ke menpora akhirnya terakhir saya yang handle yakan ini akan saya selesaikan secepatnya pak karni secepatnya.

K: menarik sebetulnya didunia mungkin salah satu presiden yang menarik itu setelah Mandela obama baru bapak emang bapak jadi yang siapa ini jadi Mandela yang pengembala dari belakang membiarkan gembalaaanya ada yang duluan ada yang ngikutin dari belakang sementara mereka gatau kalo yang ngatur it tetap si pengembala yang dibelakang, atau kayak paka[agal, paka[agal itu begini katanya pak "seandainya saya bisa melepaskan belegu politik maka saya akan bisa lebih kreatif karena saya bisa mengamil keputusan yang tidak populer sekalipun. Itu kata dia pak jadi saya dalam hal bapak kan kemarenkan bapak itu menjadi presiden tanpa partai kalo ibarat presiden direktur pak pemegang saham semua orang lain itu pak ini menjaga keseimbangan pemegang saham ini berat, silahkan

apa komen bapak. kalo pak sby bagi saya gampang pak dia presdir tapi dia juga pemegang saham mayoritas jadi apapun putusannya ya ga ada yang bantah

J: (119)kalo saya pak karni ya, inginnya jadi ya, inginnya jadi diri sendiri. (120)inginnya jadi jokowi yang seperti ini. (121)orang melihat dengan asumsi asumsi, dengan hitungan hitungan yang lain ya silahkan. (122)tapi yang jelas memang pengalaman kita menyelesaikan baik problem problem politik problem problem ekonomi di 2015 yang betul betul pontang panting kita menyelesaikan, mengantisipasi masalah krisis yunani, mengantisipasi masalah dipresiasi uan, mengantisipasi kenaikan suku bunga the fact, kemudian terakhir kemaren mengantisipasi jatuhnya harga minyak perseteruan antara saudia Arabia dan iran. (123)Hal seperti itulah yang menurut saya sekarang ini lebih mendominasi karna itu sulit, sulit kita prediksi dan sulit kita perkirakan kapan akan datang, eksternal itu. (124)Kalo internal kita lebih mudah, karena bisa komunikasi dengan partai, juga komunikasi dengan parlemen, dpr juga komunikasi. saya kira ya sampai saat ini, semuanya menurut saya ya baik baik saja ke parlemen, perlemen ke dpr misalnya masalah pengajuan apbnp suka lancar lancar saja, (125)pengajuan apbn juga baik baik saja ga ada mundur. mundur aja tidak mundur sehari aja tidak kok. ga ada masalah jadi menurut saya. ya (126)saya kok ga begitu melihat saham dan presdir itu harus seperti itu juga tidak kan, karena sekarang ini menurut saya orientasinya adalah orientasi ke rakyat. orientasinya (127)semuanya harus ditujukan kesana juga dan juga dukungan rakyat terhadap program program yang telah kita putuskan seperti apa. (128)kalo rakyat mendukung, kalo rakyat memberikan dorongan kita akan lebih gampang menyelesaikan masalah, orientasinya kesana.

K: apa kiat bapak mengelakkan tekanan pemegang saham? Sekarang kita sama sama tidak pemegang saham

J: (129)tadi yang saya sampaikan, dukungan rakyat itu sangat penting sekarang ini, dukungan rakyat sangat penting, tetapi juga dukungan partai juga sangat penting dan dukungan dpr juga sangat penting. (130)Bagaimana menjaga keseimbangan itu, komunikasinya baik saya kira (131)inshaallah ga ada masalah.

K: ya baik pak presiden semoga benar2 bisa diatasi semua halangan ataupun gelombang sekalipun karna tekatnya saya lihat sangat bulat , dan pemirsa sampai disini acara kita. Terima kasih pak presiden.

J: (132)mari pak karni.

NB:

BOLD: JOKOWI

UNBOLD: KARNI