

Political Rhetoric of President Joko Widodo Critical Discourse Analysis

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Abstract

Political figures usually tend to highly estimate verbal rhetoric and non-verbal symbols in delivering political messages to the public. A political character does not make a speech without consideration selecting words, using sentence form, inserting style and expression when he communicates in public space, whether by direct contact as well as mass media. It also happens to President of Indonesian Republic, Ir. Joko Widodo (Jokowi). By applying critical discourse analysis (CDA), it can be concluded that in each of his statement, in front of the covering journalists and communication forums towards the public, Jokowi tends to choose certain words and sentence forms in conveying ideas of program as well as giving reaction toward political, social events which direct to himself. In expressing successful subject matters, Jokowi always uses the active sentence, while for failing subject matters the chosen form is the passive sentence. Similar with previous presidents, Jokowi selects these sentence forms as political rhetoric to show his success as a president /leader of government and at once to cover his failure is revealing transformation programs which he promised in his early government with the Cabinet of Indonesia Hebat.

Keywords: political communication, political rhetoric, critical discourse analysis, active sentence, passive sentence

INTRODUCTION

All communication activities are related to the effort to achieve, maintain and strengthen power, deserve to be called political communication. In political communication messages are exchanged through verbal and nonverbal symbols; the word is undoubtedly a political message. (Haynes 2014; Cf. Cangara 2014). The rhetorical actions of a figure (politicians, legislators, executives, presidents, etc.), who are expressing statements, interviews, speeches, are mostly in the process of reaching for power.

Thus, he was in political communication. No exception Jokowi- President of the Republic of Indonesia Ir. H. Djoko Widodo, of course. In the jungle of politics in Indonesia, the name Jokowi is a new figure that skyrocketed ahead of veteran political figures, such as SBY, Megawati, Jusuf Kalla, Prabowo, Amien Rais, Wiranto. Jokowi's political career journey is "too fast" like a meteor. In 2005 Jokowi was elected Mayor of Solo; 2009 Mayor of Solo again; 2012 Governor of DKI; 2014 President of RI!

Jokowi figure emerged with a different image with the veteran politicians who first plunge in the political arena. Oratory style and motion Jokowi far impressed calm, populist, pure, innocent. During this time the political figures commonly take into account the verbal rhetoric and nonverbal symbols in launching political communication. (Micciche 2004; Cf. Billig 2008).

They take into account the choice of words, sentence form, and style and expression when communicating in the public space. Cf. Fowler 1996, Wodak 2007). How about Jokowi style political communication? How is Jokowi's rhetoric when conveying a pleasant reality (success)? How does Jokowi's sentence form when it comes to delivering truth is not sad (failure, not succeed)? This issue is what this paper will answer. That these questions are much talked about in the daily huddles, polarized on TV and social media, is clear. However, to this day - if only the writer's search can be trusted - severe academic research on all this has never been found.

A figure (politician, president, minister, the parliament speaker, etc.) tends to choose specific words and sentences to achieve his goals (cf. van Dijk 1998). The use of certain words, sentences, styles, intonations is not merely seen as a way of speaking/ communicating, but, moreover, it must be understood as a political strategy to influence public opinion, mobilize support, gain legitimacy, and remove political opponents (Fowler, 1996; Haynes 2014). In fact, it can be generalized that anything spoken and performed by a character before or addressed to the public should be viewed as a form of political communication (cf. Cangara 2011).

Political figures tend to say something positive and beneficial to him and disguise or even sound anything detrimental and harmful to him. At the same time, it is more often-even just-to say something negative about his political opponents (Fowler, 1996). The messages of a politician are organized with the following considerations. *Over power'em theory*: words that are often repeated, long and loud enough, will be abandoned audiences. *Glamor theory*: beautifully packaged messages, offered with persuasive power, will attract public interest. *Do not tell 'em theory*: if an idea is not delivered, the audience will not know the man nor ask it. *One side issue*: only show goodness (self) and or bad (a political opponent). *Two-side issues*: not only conveying the kindness and the good (person), but also the shortcomings and the bad (opponents) (cf. Putnam 2014, 2015; Gronbeek 2014).

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The approach in this research is the critical discourse analysis (vanon 2015) version of Van Dijk and Fowler (1996) about the passive-language passivity as a reflection of how a communicator puts himself (Beaugrande 2006; Eriyanto 2009). By the analysis of critical discourse, Jokowi's statements will not be studied descriptively solely from aspects of his grammatical structure, but are critically examined by interpreting why Jokowi chose the language form, according to the historical, social context that occurred when the statement was delivered (cf. Bungin 2015) throughout 2015-2016. As a communication study, the appropriate focus for review is the objective, hidden intent, or image desired by the speaker (President Jokowi) and not the grammatical structure or description of the construction of his statement (Fowler 1996; Eriyanto 2009). What is said is not "what is stated," but "how the message is delivered" and "why choose that way" (Beaugrande 2006; Wodak, 2007).

The data were collected through the documentation techniques of the statement and the text of President Jokowi's speech during the period of 2015-2016: the state speech in front of DPR and DPD on August 14, 2015, the President's speech at COP21 Paris 30 November 2015, Jokowi's angry statement related to the case of "Papa Ask for Stock" December 7, 2015, President's speech at the inauguration of the new building of KPK December 29, 2015, the President's statement on the release of 10 Indonesian Citizen Crew, Sunday, May 1, 2016 (www.setneg.go.id/index.php?).

Data analysis is done by following steps. First, mark the sections of the text of the Jokowi statement containing the information/meaning of success or failure. Second, determine the form of language (sentence) selected Jokowi to accommodate information success/failure. Third, interpret the meaning of communication from the choice of the active and passive language.

RESULTS

President Jokowi should communicate the plans, implementation, and assessment of the programs run by the Great Indonesia Cabinet and provide statements regarding actual issues that are becoming public opinion. Accordingly, the findings of the study of President Jokowi's political communication can be described as follows: First, something that is not risky, positive, which contains information of success, which does not have the potential to attract criticism, will be delivered Jokowi in the active sentence. Secondly, passive sentences in Jokowi's 2015-2016 speech are almost always used to convey messages that are less positive, potentially triggering criticism, which is related to things that do not work or fail. Jokowi often chooses a language in the form of an active sentence when conveying something that is not risky, which is positive, which contains information of success, which does not potentially invite criticism. Note the data (1)

Data 1): Brothers of the Nation and the Fatherland, all happy present. Initiating this speech, I invite the audience, to be grateful to the presence of Allah Almighty, Almighty God, because by His grace we can attend the Plenary Session in the framework of the Annual Session of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia. ... through this open forum space for me to invite State Institutions to build cohesiveness to strengthen the Presidential government system (Speech 14-08-2015).

All presented data (1) is neutral information, not risky, not potentially inviting criticism and verbal abuse. Asking the audience to thank God, inviting state institutions (DPR, DPD, DPA, BPK, MA, MK, KY) always to build solidarity, it is just ordinary things. Whoever his president would be and still is. SBY, Megawati, Habibie, Gus Dur, Suharto, also used the same rhetoric in his speeches when addressing the audience, inviting gratitude, urging all to keep unity and unity (cf. Jupriono 2012; Jupriono, Sudaryanto, Sumarah 2016). For ordinary and neutral things like this, Jokowi chose an active sentence-shaped language. Nothing extraordinary! To remind the reader, the form of active sentences marked pacing prefix (prefix) me. (Alwi, Lapoliwa, Dardjowidjojo 2003). The active type of Jokowi's rhetoric in data 1 appears in the clause: inviting the audience, attending the Assembly, inviting State Institutions, building cohesiveness, and strengthening the system of government. Jokowi's active sentence is also used as a medium to convey views, plans, programs, and to inform the public that the government has (started) to perform, implement, implement a program. Note the data (2),

Data (2): ... The government is gradually implementing a national development program as outlined in Nawacita. The government transformed the economic fundamentals and changed the development paradigm from consumptive to productive. To leverage economic growth, in addition to encouraging the development of a

creative economy, the Government focuses on infrastructure development such as toll roads, railways, ports, reservoirs and power plants. The government also diverted fuel subsidies to productive sectors and social safety nets. Now the government is distributing Healthy Indonesia Cards, Smart Indonesia Cards, Prosperous Family Cards, and Social Assistance for People with Severe Disability (Speech 14-08-2015).

Here, in the data (2), Jokowi describes the development programs that have been implemented but does not include how the success rate of implementation, does not explain how the impact to the broader community. For this purpose, the form of the language Jokowi uses is an active sentence. This active form appears in the choice of verbs: running a development program, transforming the fundamentals of the economy, changing the development paradigm, leveraging economic growth, encouraging the development of the creative economy, building infrastructure, diverting fuel subsidies to productive sectors, distributing Healthy Indonesia Cards, Indonesia Smart, Prosperous Family Card, and Social Assistance ...

With the active form, Jokowi's existence is explicit, what is done is also very concrete. Because it is still at the level of the plan and the early stages of implementation of the development program, the level of effectiveness and success cannot be seen, cannot be evaluated, and there is no chance for the public to blame Jokowi! In fact, when Jokowi frankly admits the failures (bad ones) though, the prominent or highlighted is the government's hard business activity to improve the dangerous situation. The action was delivered by Jokowi in the form of an active sentence: ... to combat the problems. Note the data (3),

Data (3): ... The Government recognizes that there are still many problems facing us. Until today food price volatility is still prevalent, the gap between rich and poor and between regions is still open, corrupt practices are still ongoing, and law enforcement is not yet fully established. The government will work hard to combat these issues. (Speech 14-08-2015).

In the data (3) it appears to be described in sufficient detail a series of failures or adverse circumstances. This failure is "locked" Jokowi with two active sentences that open and close it as if to cover up the failures. The two active sentences that the Government recognizes ... and the Government will work hard to combat the problem. The first active sentence (Government acknowledges) impressed the openness, knighthood and "manliness" of a Jokowi. The next active sentence as if sending a critical message that people do not have to worry because the government (Jokowi) will not stay silent; Jokowi will work hard to combat the wrong situation. So even for the failing circumstances, the published impression is still the goodness and liveliness of Jokowi as president and not the failure itself. In fact, the concrete felt by the people is a dangerous situation that makes their lives miserable. This is the extraordinary impact of message structure management in political communication (cf. Fairclough 2005; Beaugrande 2006; Haryatmoko 2013).

Thus, it is not wrong what Fowler (1996;) states that the use of certain words, sentences, not merely seen as a way of speaking/communicating, but, moreover, must be understood as a political strategy to influence public opinion, legitimacy, and even get rid of political opponents/competitors. (Wodak 2007; Putnam 2015). A political figure, not least Jokowi, tends to say something positive and beneficial to him and disguises or even sounds anything negative and self-defeating, like previous presidents (Jupriono 2012; Jupriono, Sudaryanto, Sumarah 2016). So, as innocent as any Jokowi is still a politician who chooses specific ways of launching political communication. Again (Data 4) is presented with the following data to confirm that something positive, kind, success, which does not risk public criticism, will be delivered by Jokowi in the active sentence.

Data (4): ... We all condemn acts that undermine public security, disrupt people's calm and inflict terror on society. ... I ordered the Chief of Police, Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Police to pursue, arrest, both in the event and in these networks. ... Countries, peoples, and peoples should not be afraid, should not be defeated by acts of terror like this. (Statement of President Jokowi, Cirebon, January 14, 2016)

It is a strong statement by President Joko Widodo who while on a working visit in Cirebon has received a report of a terrorist bomb explosion around Thamrin, Central Jakarta, January 14, 2016, which police say killed, four people. Falling innocent victims of a bomb blast certainly hurt the humanity. So, very reasonable if Jokowi dare to be firmly condemned acts of terror by using the form of active sentences to convey his attitude. It is obviously without risk, with no chance of triggering criticism (if it has expressed condemnation). Precisely if you do not dare to be assertive, for example, one of them by choosing a passive sentence form, Jokowi will be unfortunate, gossiped, not even must hail criticized by the public. With this choice, the sympathy and empathy of Jokowi's humanity to the victims can be witnessed by all. That is, it turns out that just the rhetoric of sentence form can reap specific communication messages. Thus, in political communication, language is never neutral. Language always invites political consequences as well (Beaugrande 2006; Billig 2008; Gronbeek 2014). Next. How does Jokowi's rhetoric when conveying information that contains failure, adverse circumstances, unpleasantness, and therefore must potentially invite criticism? Note the data (5)!

Data (5): ... Unexpectedly, a few months ago the Air Force Hercules plane crashed in Medan and claimed some of our best soldiers and civilians. The government certainly does not just stand by. With the existing capabilities, we assist and help to the affected people. We give honor and respect to the soldiers who died due to the fall of Hercules aircraft (Speech 14-08-2015).

Jokowi started the sentence with the passive: Unexpectedly ... This is no coincidence. Passive sentences are chosen as a form of political rhetoric when it comes to reporting unpleasant circumstances to the public. Jokowi does not select the active style. If I decide an active form, Jokowi should call "who does not expect": I do not suspect ... If the active type is selected, Jokowi is forced to admit that he did not expect; and that's a mistake. As president, all that happens in all departments and TNI is his responsibility. Jokowi must know that the Hercules C-130 aircraft is ancient, worn out, it's time to be replaced with a new plane. According to linguistic study, the difference between active and passive sentences is: active sentences contain verbs beginning with, while passive sentences use verbs beginning "di"- or "ter". Consequently, the active sentence requires the presence of the perpetrator (subject), while for the passive sentence, the presence of the perpetrator is not mandatory, may exist, may not (cf. Alwi, Lapoliwa, Dardjowidjojo 2003).

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In the perspective of critical discourse analysis, the use of sentence form is suspected as an attempt to accentuate something (right) and cover up something (wrong) from oneself. In every political and power discourse there is rhetoric and apostasy. Word limits perspective. The choice of words (supposedly or suspect, for example) will direct a particular way of thinking and deny the other way of thinking (Haryatmoko 2012; 2013). The word suspect (active form) in this case, forcing Jokowi to be present in the spoken sentence, while the word allegedly does not oblige Jokowi to call himself, or his pronoun (I, the government) as the subject. In other words, the active form forces the communicator to be responsible for the occurrence of something (failure, misfortune), while the passive form gives the communicator an opportunity to escape from responsibility (cf. Jupriono 2012). In political communication, all effects of language use are calculated as political rhetoric (Micciche 2004; Wodak 2007).

Reminds Readers, on 30 June 2015 the C-130 Hercules aircraft belonging to the Indonesian Air Force fell in Medan, claiming 141 deaths (TNI, civilian). The plane crashed on Jalan Jamin Ginting, Kec. Medan Tuntungan on Tuesday afternoon around pk12.00 WIB, after flying about 2 minutes from LanudSoewondo Medan to Tanjung Pinang, Kep. Riau. In mass media and social media, there is a lot of criticism of the government's failure and indifference to the maintenance and rejuvenation of Hercules airplanes operating in remote areas. Next, note the data (6)!

Data (6): ... Recently, Indonesia is experiencing forest and peatland fires. The hot, dry El Nino has made the coping effort extremely difficult, but strict enforcement of the law has resolved it. Preventive measures have been prepared, and some are beginning to be implemented. One of them with peat restoration... (Speech 30 November 2015).

In data (6) there are four passive verbs: completed, done, prepared, and implemented. If the assessment is conducted with the perspective of ordinary discourse analysis (descriptive), the explanation given is: this sentence is passive; the agent is not present. With descriptive discourse analysis, the veiled meaning of the text of the statement cannot be revealed (cf. Jupriono 2012). Passive forms do not require the presence of the subject of the perpetrator: resolved (by whom), done (by whom), prepared (by whom), and implemented (by whom).

In the law enforcement statements are strictly done, for example, anyone knows that what is meant to have explicitly enforced the law is Jokowi (government). If Jokowi chooses the active form, it should be called explicit himself: The government / I firmly enforce the law. Why not dare to call me firmly, Jokowi, or government? In the perspective of critical discourse analysis, each text cannot be separated from the context of the time and place that gave birth (Eriyanto 2009; Haryatmoko 2013; Bungin 2015). Jokowi must have realized that the empirical reality of law enforcement and the rule of law in Indonesia is still "far from the fire." The expected legal justice born from the court's formal process has not taken place. In other words, Jokowi is well aware of what the consequences and social impacts are if choosing an active form. By choosing a passive form, he does not have to be raised; in a passive sentence, Jokowi could hide behind his failure to uphold the law in Indonesia. As a "homework" for readers note the following Jokowi statement (data 7, note the italics):

Data 7: ... *Alhamdulillah*, praise to Allah SWT, finally, ten crew of Indonesian citizen who was held hostage by an armed group since March 26, 2016, ago, now it can be released... Therefore I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to all parties, all the children of the nation who have assisted the process of this liberation effort... Today, we are still working hard for the release of 4 other Indonesian crew members, "(01-05-2016, www.setneg.go.id)

CONCLUSION

At least the researcher draws two conclusions. First, something that is not risky, which is positive, containing the information of success, which does not have the potential to attract criticism, will be delivered Jokowi in Jokowi speech 2015-2016 with active sentence rhetoric. Secondly, passive sentences are almost always used to convey

less positive messages, potentially triggering criticism, allowing Jokowi as the agent to hide. Overall, to carry success, Jokowi's rhetoric chooses the active form, being to deliver failures, Jokowi within certain limits will use passive sentence form.

The rush should be stated here that this is not typical of Jokowi. The previous presidents (SBY, Megawati, Habibie, Suharto) - except for Gus Dur - also chose the same way of political rhetoric. However, unlike previous presidents, Jokowi prefers more active sentence forms. It means that compared to previous presidents, Jokowi more daring to acknowledge shortcomings and failures to his people.

The findings of this study are expected to stimulate the reader to conduct further studies. A further review is suggested to focus on solving one problem in President Jokowi's administration. Regarding corruption eradication, for example, how political rhetoric is used, what reality is connected, what Jokowi expects meaning, and so on. The applied perspective should also be developed according to the focus of the study. For example, researchers can apply critical discourse analysis Derrida version, Fairclough, Mills, Foucault, and so on.

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