

Research Article

Political Communication Strategy of Indonesian Republic President Joko Widodo Through Political Diction and Strategic Grammar

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Abstract.

This study aims to explore Joko Widodo's political communication strategy through political diction and strategic grammar. At this point, language is a tool that is full of political interests to gain and maintain power. With a critical paradigm in a qualitative approach, the data are the text of President Joko Widodo's state speeches in the 2019-2023 period. Data analysis was performed using Fowler's version of CDA (critical discourse analysis). In the end, the results show that the hidden meanings of using political diction in President Joko Widodo's speech include embracing political opponents, gathering support, responding to demands, boosting image, growing optimism, and issuing warnings. Apart from that, Joko Widodo in his State of the Union speech also makes use of grammar strategically to highlight positive things or successes by packing them into active sentences and disguising (covering) negative things or failures by packing them into passive sentences.

Keywords: political diction, strategic grammar, hidden meaning, political communication strategy

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1. Introduction

Communication is the process of the communicator sending messages embodied in language codes and nonverbal signs through certain media aimed at the communicant [1,2]. The message that the communicant captures is not always the same as the communicator's wishes. The communicant has personal freedom to interpret and construct meaning from the language code and nonverbal signs of the communicator. The popular expression for this in society is "the meaning is in the usage" [3,4].

Communication in the world of politics is mostly controlled by communicators, for example formal/informal leaders, politicians, rulers, public officials, legislators, military,



etc. With his power, a communicator in politics usually always tries to dominate political communication by imposing meaning according to his interests to the audience/public [5–7]. In political communication language is never neutral. The choice of words, sentence forms, and expressions of a ruler, for example, are not just a style of expression, but more than that as a political communication strategy that is full of interests which are more often implicit (hidden). In the context of political communication, language is a medium for establishing domination and power [8,9].

Political communication strategy is essentially a combination of communication planning and communication management for the purpose of winning in the battle arena and maintaining power [10,11]. Political communication planning and management is practiced by preparing and managing messages, media, and the intended target audience. Message preparation and management is related to the use of verbal symbols (language) and nonverbal signs to convey political messages to audiences. The use of language is mostly focused on the choice of political vocabulary (political diction) and the forms of sentences that embodies this vocabulary [6,12]. From this choice of words and sentences, the public can interpret the hidden meaning behind the expressions and statements of rulers and politicians. The meaning of a president's expressions and statements in a state address, for example, is not all explicit (explicit), some of the meaning is implied, thus requiring critical interpretation from the communicator (public).

Joko Widodo, the seventh president of the Republic of Indonesia, also choose certain political vocabulary and sentence forms as his political communication strategy? Then, what is the hidden meaning behind his expressions and statements when delivering a state address to the public of the Indonesian people? Why did Joko Widodo choose the active/passive sentence form in his speech? These questions will be answered in this study.

President Joko Widodo's verbal behavior shows a strong relationship between language and power. Conservative-structural studies of the language of the rulers (presidents) in Indonesia, for example, have so far been studied by many researchers. President Soekarno's revolutionary-megalomania political language has been studied by many experts [5,13]. The authoritarianism of President Suharto's power, as reflected in his language, has also been extensively researched [14–16]. Although few, there is also a study on the verbal behavior of President Habibie, who was very technocratic [17]. The language of political communication that is intelligent, strange, and funny, President Abdurrahman Wahid has attracted many studies [18–21]. The style of language and themes of President Megawati's state speeches have also been written by others [16,22]. Likewise, a critical study of the political statements of President Susilo

Bambang Yudhoyono [16,23,24]. Moreover, there are many studies on the behavior of President Joko Widodo's political language. Most research on Joko Widodo focuses on communication style [25–28] and framing of speech messages [29,30]. Meanwhile, the matter of the hidden meaning behind the choice of words and sentence forms (active, passive) has never been studied by anyone until today—and this is the topic that the author will examine.

Efforts to interpret the hidden meaning of the language of the authorities requires people to always involve the socio-political context of a discourse when conveyed to the public. Interpretation of the messages of power politics discourse can be approached from three paradigms, namely positivism discourse analysis, interpretivism discourse analysis, and criticism discourse analysis. Of the three paradigms, the critical discourse analysis paradigm is the most appropriate [21]. In this case the paradigms of positivism and interpretivism are seen as insensitive to the process of discourse production and meaning reproduction. The non-egalitarian position between who produces the discourse and who interprets its meaning, as well as the domination-subordination relationship between the authorities and the public, which characterizes the production and reproduction of discourse, can only be uncovered and explained if researchers approach it with a critical paradigm [6,9,12].

2. Research Methods

The author's study uses a qualitative approach with a critical paradigm. Text data of President Joko Widodo's state speech in the 2019-2023 period were collected using documentation techniques sourced from the official website of the Cabinet Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia <https://setkab.go.id/category/trankrip-pidato/>. Data analysis was carried out using Fowler's version of CDA (critical discourse analysis) [6,12] as follows: (1) describes the political diction contained in the speech text; (2) interpret the hidden meaning behind it; (3) register strategic grammar in the form of sentence forms (active, passive) where political diction is located; (4) interpreting the hidden meaning behind the strategic grammatical choices.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. The hidden meaning of political dictions

The political dictions in President Joko Widodo's state address have a hidden meaning behind them. This is Joko Widodo's political communication strategy which is conveyed

in a non-transparent manner. The hidden meanings meant are: (1) embracing political opponents, (2) rallying support, (3) responding to demands, (4) boosting image, (5) fostering optimism, and (6) issuing warnings.

3.1.1. Embracing political opponents

The meaning of reconciliation “embracing political opponents” is not explicitly stated. Pay attention to text (1), especially in the sentence I respect my friends Mr. Prabowo Subianto and Mr. Sandiaga Uno:

(1) Assalamu’alaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh, Selamat Pagi, Salam Damai Sejahtera untuk kita semua, Om Swastiastu, Namu Buddhaya, Salam Kebajikan. Yang saya hormati, Ketua, para Wakil Ketua, dan para Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Daerah Republik Indonesia; Yang saya hormati, Ketua, para Wakil Ketua, dan para Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia; Yang saya hormati, Ketua, para Wakil Ketua, dan para Anggota Lembaga-Lembaga Negara; Yang saya hormati Bapak BJ Habibie, Presiden Republik Indonesia Ketiga; Yang saya hormati Ibu Hajah Megawati Soekarnoputri, Presiden Republik Indonesia Kelima; Yang saya hormati Bapak Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Presiden Republik Indonesia Keenam; Yang saya hormati Bapak Try Sutrisno dan Bapak Hamzah Haz; Yang saya hormati Bapak Boediono beserta Ibu Herawati Boediono; Yang saya hormati Ibu Shinta Nuriyah Abdurrahman Wahid; Yang saya hormati Bapak Kyai Haji Ma’ruf Amin, Wakil Presiden Terpilih masa bakti 2019-2024; Yang saya hormati sahabat saya Bapak Prabowo Subianto dan Bapak Sandiaga Uno; Yang saya hormati, Para Duta Besar Negara-Negara Sahabat dan para Pimpinan Perwakilan Badan dan Organisasi Internasional; Yang saya hormati para hadirin serta Saudara- saudara se-Bangsa dan se-Tanah Air [31].

(Assalamu’alaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh, Good Morning, Greetings of Peace to all of us, Uncle Swastiastu, Namu Buddhaya, Greetings of Virtue; Honorable Chairman, Deputy Chairmen, and Members of the Regional Representatives Council of the Republic of Indonesia; Honorable Chairman, Deputy Chairmen, and Members of the People’s Legislative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia; Honorable Chairman, Deputy Chairmen, and Members of State Institutions; The Honorable Mr. BJ Habibie, the Third President of the Republic of Indonesia; The Honorable Mrs. Hajah Megawati Soekarnoputri, Fifth President of the Republic of Indonesia; The Honorable Mr. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the Sixth President of the Republic of Indonesia; I respect Mr. Try Sutrisno and Mr. Hamzah Haz; I respect Mr. Boediono and Mrs. Herawati Boediono; I respect Ms. Shinta Nuriyah Abdurrahman Wahid; I respect Mr. Kyai Haji Ma’ruf Amin, Vice President-elect for the 2019-2024 term; I respect my friends, Mr. Prabowo Subianto

and Mr. Sandiaga Uno; Honorable Ambassadors of Friendly Countries and Heads of Representatives of International Agencies and Organizations; I respect the audience and brothers and sisters from the nation and the country)

If you read this first part at a glance, the meaning of this reconciliation cannot be felt. One would think that this is commonplace in the State of the Union address every August 6th every year. However, if people are a little more careful, they might ask with a little suspicion: why are the names Prabowo Subiyanto and Sandiaga Uno mentioned explicitly in their capacity and not as high-ranking state officials of any kind. Moreover, Joko Widodo strictly stated the phrase “my best friend” (sahabat saya). This feels special because “my best friend’s” greeting only appeared once at the 2019 State of the Union address—it didn’t appear at all in the following years’ speeches (2020, 2021, 2022).

Maybe people will argue this way: weren’t the names Habibie, Megawati, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Try Sutrisno, Hamzah Haz, Boediono, Shinta Nuriyah Abdurrahman Wahid, and Ma’ruf Amin also mentioned explicitly? It is true. However, take a closer look, these names are mentioned explicitly in their capacity as officials or former officials (president, vice president). Meanwhile, the names Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno are not mentioned in their capacities except as friends.

The meaning of ‘friend’ is an important keyword—even surpassing the others in terms of attracting public attention. The public certainly hasn’t forgotten, Prabowo and Sandiaga are former presidential and vice presidential candidates who are running to compete in the 2019 presidential election that just passed. Jokowi is well aware that the condition of social interaction at the level of the common people is still very much colored by an atmosphere full of competition, even hostility, between supporters of the respective presidential and vice presidential candidates. Therefore, my friend’s phrase in the 2019 speech is motivated by reconciliation as a real form of embracing political opponents.

3.1.2. Gathering support

As the president of a country as large and as large as the Republic of Indonesia, Jokowi needs support from all parties in implementing public policies and overcoming all problems. Pay attention to the text (2):

(2) Indonesia Maju bukan hanya karya Presiden dan Wakil Presiden bukan hanya karya lembaga eksekutif lembaga legislatif ataupun yudikatif saja. Tetapi keberhasilan Indonesia juga karya pemimpin agama, budayawan dan para pendidik. Keberhasilan

Indonesia adalah juga karya pelaku usaha, buruh, pedagang, inovator maupun petani, nelayan dan UMKM, serta karya seluruh anak bangsa Indonesia [31].

(Advanced Indonesia is not only the work of the President and Vice President, not only the work of the executive branch of the legislative or judiciary. But Indonesia's success is also the work of religious leaders, humanists and educators. Indonesia's success is also the work of business actors, workers, traders, innovators and farmers, fishermen and MSMEs, as well as the work of all Indonesian children).

(3) Kita beruntung dan berterima kasih atas dukungan dan kerja cepat dari pimpinan dan anggota lembaga- lembaga negara yang melakukan langkah-langkah extraordinary dalam mendukung penanganan krisis dan membajak momentum krisis untuk menjalankan strategi-strategi besar bangsa [32].

(We are fortunate and grateful for the support and quick work of the leaders and members of state institutions who have taken extraordinary steps to support crisis management and hijack the momentum of the crisis to carry out the nation's grand strategies).

In detail, one by one, Joko Widodo stated that the success of the government is a result of the contribution and participation of many parties: religious leaders, cultural figures and educators, business people, workers, traders, innovators and farmers, fishermen and MSMEs, and finally Joko Widodo summarized in the phrase long "the work of all the children of the Indonesian nation" (karya seluruh anak bangsa Indonesia). This is not preamble. This is also not just fulfilling the courtesy of public speaking. In this case Joko Widodo really needs the support of all circles. Especially in a situation where the country is being attacked by the Covid-19 pandemic, the support of all Samat parties is needed. This is where the meaning of 'gathering support' finds its rational point. These words were chosen by Joko Widodo and serve as political vocabulary.

The meaning of 'gathering support' was not only conveyed in the 2019 and 2020 State of the Union speeches. In State speeches in subsequent years (2021, 2022) the meaning of the message 'gathering support' was also repeated again, even more than twice.

3.1.3. Answering claims

In the hidden meaning of 'gathering support', Jokowi has bigger interests, so he asked. The hidden meaning of the next political diction is 'responding to demands'. In this next meaning, it is the people who ask. Pay attention to text (4):

(4) Hampir semua Forkopimda bergerak terpadu dalam mengatasi permasalahan kesehatan dan perekonomian. Manajemen lapangan dalam testing, tracing, treatment dan vaksinasi, telah mengasah kepemimpinan di semua level pemerintahan. Saya yakin, kapasitas respons kita dalam menghadapi ketidakpastian di bidang kesehatan dan bidang-bidang lain juga semakin kokoh. Penyediaan layanan kesehatan oleh pemerintah maupun swasta juga mengalami peningkatan yang menggembirakan. Layanan kesehatan di banyak daerah bertambah cukup signifikan, baik dalam hal penambahan kapasitas tempat tidur, maupun fasilitas pendukungnya. Yang sangat mengharukan dan membanggakan adalah kerja keras dan kerja penuh pengabdian dari para dokter, perawat, dan tenaga kesehatan yang lain [33].

(Almost all Forkopimda are integrated in overcoming health and economic problems. Field management in testing, tracing, treatment and vaccination has honed leadership at all levels of government. I am sure that our response capacity in dealing with uncertainties in the health sector and other fields will also become stronger. Provision of health services by both the government and the private sector has also increased encouragingly. Health services in many areas have increased significantly, both in terms of additional bed capacity and supporting facilities. What is very touching and proud of is the hard work and dedication of the doctors, nurses and other health workers [33].

If the text of this 2021 speech is read casually, not everyone can feel the presence of this meaning of 'responding to demands'. In understanding text (4) the reader must consider the context of the social situation of the Indonesian people—even the global situation—which is suffering from extreme anxiety due to the Covid-19 attack. In text (4) Joko Widodo's responsibility for the safety of all the Indonesian people he leads is felt. Phrases or vocabulary such as "addressing health and economic problems, vaccination, response, health services, hard work and dedicated work" (mengatasi permasalahan kesehatan dan perekonomian, vaksinasi, respon, layanan kesehatan, kerja keras dan kerja penuh pengabdian), feel very vital, containing the energy of hard work responding to the demands of the people whose safety is being threatened. These healthcare vocabulary and phrases have morphed into a political diction.

The meaning of 'responding to demands' was not only conveyed in the 2021 State of the Union speech. In State speeches in the previous year (2020) and after (2022) the meaning of the message 'responding to demands' was also repeated again, in fact many times. This is understandable because life at that time in any part of the world was worried about being gripped by the deadly threat of Covid-19.

3.1.4. Image boost

The hidden meaning of 'boosting the image' is not only the positive image of the government, but also the good image of Joko Widodo. In this case Joko Widodo is very subtle in choosing mediocre words and phrases, but then turns into energy as a political diction. Pay attention to text (5):

(5) Menghadapi pandemi yang membutuhkan penanganan yang luar biasa, DPR RI bersama pemerintah juga telah bekerja keras dan bersinergi untuk membangun fondasi hukum bagi penanganan Covid-19. Selain penanganan masalah kesehatan, DPR bersama pemerintah berhasil menyelesaikan UU Cipta Kerja, yang merupakan omnibus law pertama di Indonesia, yang menjadi pilar utama reformasi struktural di negara kita. Selain itu, dengan berbagai macam inovasi, DPR terus melakukan penjangkaran aspirasi masyarakat dan menjalankan pengawasan terhadap pelaksanaan program-program pemerintah [33].

(Facing a pandemic that requires extraordinary handling, the Indonesian Parliament together with the government have also worked hard and synergized to build a legal foundation for handling Covid-19. In addition to handling health problems, the DPR and the government succeeded in finalizing the Job Creation Law, which is the first omnibus law in Indonesia, which has become the main pillar of structural reform in our country. In addition, with various kinds of innovations, the DPR continues to capture people's aspirations and carry out supervision of the implementation of government programs).

In this 2021 state speech, Joko Widodo portrayed himself as a leader who has acted responsively, productively and worked hard. This meaning of 'boosting the image' is at the same time as Jokowi's strategy to restore his image which is considered a failure and therefore has been continuously criticized indiscriminately from some quarters – especially from political opponents and opposition groups. In this case, Joko Widodo made use of the vocabulary and phrases "have worked hard and synergized" (telah bekerja keras dan bersinergi), as well as the phrase "DPR and the government" (DPR bersama pemerintah). It is no accident that Joko Widodo chose the word telah—"has" (in the phrase telah bekerja—"has worked"). This word stores positive energy that the government or the President has done, acted, worked to solve the nation's problems. Joko Widodo twice stated "the togetherness of the government and the DPR", this is to create an image that between the government/president and the DPR there is no hostility and efforts to tear each other down. It is important to emphasize this because the mass media and social media always reduce the impression of hostility between the president and the DPR.

The presence of the meaning of 'boosting the image' can consistently be felt in every state speech every year (2019, 2020, 2021, 2022). Creating, maintaining and maintaining a real image is carried out by all presidents of all countries [23]. So, this is common in the context of political communication strategy.

3.1.5. Foster optimism

As a leader, anyone must cultivate a spirit of development, a spirit of courage and optimism. Leaders, including the president, must not discourage the people's enthusiasm, weaken the optimism of the people they lead. In this case Joko Widodo has acted to foster optimism among his people. Pay attention to the text (6):

(6) Kita tahu 107 negara terdampak krisis, dan sebagian di antaranya diperkirakan akan jatuh bangkrut. Diperkirakan 553 juta jiwa terancam kemiskinan ekstrem, dan 345 juta jiwa terancam kekurangan pangan dan kelaparan. ... Ujian ini tidak mudah bagi dunia dan juga tidak mudah bagi Indonesia. Semua ini harus kita hadapi dengan kehati-hatian, dengan kewaspadaan. Namun, di tengah tantangan yang berat, kita patut bersyukur, Indonesia termasuk negara yang mampu menghadapi krisis global ini. Negara kita Indonesia termasuk negara yang berhasil mengendalikan pandemi Covid-19, termasuk lima besar negara dengan vaksinasi terbanyak di dunia [34].

(We know 107 countries affected by the crisis, and some of them are expected to go bankrupt. An estimated 553 million people are threatened with extreme poverty, and 345 million people are threatened with food shortages and hunger. ... This test is not easy for the world and also not easy for Indonesia. We must face all this with caution, with vigilance. However, in the midst of these formidable challenges, we should be grateful, Indonesia is a country that has been able to face this global crisis. Our country, Indonesia, is a country that has succeeded in controlling the Covid-19 pandemic, including the top five countries with the most vaccinations in the world).

Joko Widodo's statement that "... However, in the midst of formidable challenges, we should be grateful" (... Namun, di tengah tantangan yang berat, kita patut bersyukur) proves that one word can have the power to open the door for optimism in facing serious national problems. The word namun—"but" is here after Joko Widodo pointed out the fact that "...107 countries were affected by the crisis, and some of them are expected to go bankrupt. ... 553 million people are threatened with extreme poverty, and 345 million people are threatened with food shortages and hunger" (...107 negara terdampak krisis, dan sebagian di antaranya diperkirakan akan jatuh bangkrut. ... 553 juta jiwa terancam kemiskinan ekstrem, dan 345 juta jiwa terancam kekurangan pangan dan kelaparan).

Because of one word namun—“however”, a series of disturbing, frightening and deadly facts suddenly become meaningless—readers/listeners are like drugged: be brave to face and confront all of that! Moreover, there are still three supporting clauses, namely “being able to deal with a global crisis” (mampu menghadapi krisis global), “successfully controlling a pandemic” (berhasil mengendalikan pandemic), and the phrase for “the most vaccinations in the world” (vaksinasi terbanyak di dunia). All of this vocabulary is actually neutral, but with his rhetorical intelligence Joko Widodo is able to use it as a political diction for political communication strategies: he is the growth of that optimism!

Like the meaning of 'boosting the image', this hidden meaning of 'growing optimism' can be consistently felt in every state speech every year (2019, 2020, 2021, 2022). So, this is something that is common and a necessity in the context of a political communication strategy.

3.1.6. Issue a warning

The meaning of 'warning' is addressed to political opponents, opposition groups, hard-right figures. Pay attention to the text (7):

(7) Saya ingatkan, jangan ada lagi politik identitas. Jangan ada lagi politisasi agama. Jangan ada lagi polarisasi sosial. Demokrasi kita harus semakin dewasa. Konsolidasi nasional harus diperkuat dan terima kasih kepada ulama, tokoh agama, tokoh masyarakat, dan tokoh kebudayaan yang telah berkontribusi besar memperkokoh pondasi kebangsaan kita serta merawat persatuan dan kesatuan nasional [34].

(I remind you, no more identity politics. No more politicization of religion. No more social polarization. Our democracy must be more mature. National consolidation must be strengthened and thanks to the ulama, religious leaders, community leaders, and cultural figures who have made a major contribution to strengthening our national foundation and maintaining national unity and integrity [34].

Firmly and in detail, Joko Widodo issued three serious warnings: “no more politics of identity” (jangan ada lagi politik identitas), “no more politicization of religion” (jangan ada lagi politisasi agama), and “no more social polarization” (jangan ada lagi polarisasi sosial)! Here Joko Widodo's firm character is seen. The meaning of 'warning' is important to emphasize because so far political opponents have always accused him of not being firm, weak, cowardly, stupid, and so on. It needs to be said that in four years (2019–2022) Joko Widodo has only made one threat to a political opponent. This reality must be read that this time Joko Widodo is very serious, not playing games. For political opponents this will be read no longer as a “warning”, but as a “threat”.

In the context of political communication strategies, “politics of identity”, “politicization of religion”, and “social polarization” are political dictions that have a social impact. In fact, the veiled meaning of ‘warning’ can turn into a ‘threat’.

3.2. Sentence form strategic grammar

Strategic grammar means that aspects of grammar are no longer just a matter of linguistics, more than that grammar has been utilized and functions strategically for imagery political communication strategies. In President Joko Widodo’s state address this can be seen in the utilization of active and passive sentence forms. Pay attention to texts (8), (9), (10) and (11) and (12)!

(8) Untuk itu semua, pemerintah cepat melakukan perubahan rumusan program; menyesuaikan program kerja dengan situasi terkini; melakukan realokasi anggaran dalam waktu singkat; menerbitkan Perppu Nomor 1 Tahun 2020, yang kemudian disetujui oleh DPR menjadi Undang-Undang Nomor 2 Tahun 2020 [32].

(For all of this, the government is quick to make changes to program formulations; adjust the work program to the current situation; to reallocate the budget in a short time; issued Perppu Number 1 of 2020, which was later approved by the DPR to become Law Number 2 of 2020).

(9) Minggu yang lalu pemerintah telah meluncurkan OSS, Online Single Submission, yang sangat mempermudah semua level dan jenis usaha, apalagi bagi jenis-jenis usaha yang berisiko rendah [33].

(Last week the government launched OSS, Online Single Submission, which greatly facilitates all levels and types of businesses, especially for low-risk types of businesses).

(10) ... pemerintah mampu memberikan subsidi BBM, subsidi LPG, dan subsidi listrik, sebesar Rp 502 triliun di tahun 2022 ini, agar harga BBM di masyarakat tidak melambung tinggi [34].

(... the government is able to provide fuel subsidies, LPG subsidies, and electricity subsidies, amounting to Rp. 502 trillion in 2022, so that fuel prices in society do not soar).

(11) Ukuran kinerja para penegak hukum dan HAM juga harus diubah termasuk kinerja pemberantasan korupsi. Penegakan hukum yang keras harus didukung. Penegakan HAM yang tegas harus diapresiasi [31].

(Performance measures for law and human rights enforcers must also be changed, including the performance for eradicating corruption. Strict law enforcement must be supported. Strict enforcement of human rights must be appreciated).

(12) ... perlindungan hukum, sosial, politik, dan ekonomi untuk rakyat harus terus diperkuat. Pemenuhan hak sipil dan praktik demokrasi, hak politik perempuan dan kelompok marjinal, harus terus kita jamin. Hukum harus ditegakkan seadil-adilnya, tanpa pandang bulu [34].

(... legal, social, political and economic protection for the people must be continuously strengthened. We must continue to guarantee the fulfillment of civil rights and democratic practices, the political rights of women and marginalized groups. The law must be upheld as fairly as possible, indiscriminately).

Sentences in text (8), (9), and (10) are in the form of active sentences, while texts (11) and (12) are in the form of passive sentences. In the context of grammar (grammar) the active sentence form is characterized by containing a verb predicate starting with me-, while the passive sentence contains a verb starting with [35]. A linguistic explanation of grammar like this is finished, enough, and doesn't leave any problems. However, such a linguistic explanation cannot answer the question "Why did Joko Widodo choose active/passive sentence grammar?". Those who can answer it are "strategic grammar" (this term was coined by the author, DJ).

Why is it called "strategic grammar?" This is because the active/passive sentence forms are no longer used in linguistic frameworks, but rather are exploited for political motives. In this case, Joko Widodo will choose the active form if he is conveying positive things, information about success, success, or something that cannot be assessed as successful/failure. Meanwhile, when conveying negative things, ugliness, or failure, Joko Widodo will choose the passive form. In text (8), for example, Joko Widodo successively dares to choose active sentences (melakukan, menyesuaikan, menerbitkan—"do, adjust, publish") because all of them are facts of success. The same is true for text (9) (meluncurkan—"launch") and text (10) (memberikan—"deliver").

On the other hand, in (11) and (12) Joko Widodo chooses the passive form because there are still many failures. The public still thinks that the government's efforts in law enforcement, eradicating corruption and upholding human rights have not shown success. In text (12), for example, the public actually sees that legal, social, political and economic protection for the people is still weak and weakened, the fulfillment of civil rights and democratic practices, the political rights of women and marginalized groups, has not received adequate guarantees, and Efforts law enforcement as fair as possible is still not successful and is still "discriminating".

One more, with respect to the passive voice. The perpetrator (subject) may not appear, or may be deliberately hidden. In text (12) the passive sentence Hukum harus

ditegakkan seadil-adilnya, tanpa pandang bulu—”Law must be enforced fairly, indiscriminately”, it does not have to explicitly mention the subject/actor/actor (pemerintah—“government”), for example it becomes “Hukum harus ditegakkan seadil-adilnya oleh pemerintah, tanpa pandang bulu”—”The government must enforce the law as fairly as possible, indiscriminately”. In passive sentences, the actor/subject may not be mentioned or deliberately hidden. It’s another matter if the sentence is changed to active, then the subject/perpetrator must be stated: “Pemerintah harus menegakkan hukum seadil-adilnya, tanpa pandang bulu”—”The government must uphold the law as fairly as possible, indiscriminately”. So, actually, choosing the passive form is the government’s political communication strategy so that it doesn’t look like it’s failed, it doesn’t look wrong, and so on. It is precisely here that the problem is that the choice of active/passive sentence forms is actually “strategic grammar” as a political communication strategy.

CDA Fowler et al. do not specifically suspect that aspects of grammar will be exploited by politicians and authorities for political motives and interests; let alone the form of sentences in a language, for example active/passive sentences in the Indonesian language of the rulers. It must be added here that the syntactical behavior of active/passive sentences is not always the same between one language and another [36]. There are languages that require the presence of an actor in the passive voice. There is another that imposes an optional choice for the presence of the perpetrator. In fact, there are those who, in certain constructions, deny the presence of the perpetrator. Indonesian is an optional language in terms of the actor’s presence in the passive sentence construction. This is what politicians, leaders and authorities exploit for political communication strategies. This exploitation is operated by avoiding the use of active sentences and will choose passive sentences in order to avoid having to make his presence explicit as an actor. And, this is the novelty that this author’s research contributes.

4. Conclusion

Based on the discussion of research results, two conclusions can be drawn as follows. First, the hidden meaning of political diction in President Joko Widodo’s speech is: embracing political opponents, gathering support, responding to demands, boosting image, growing optimism, and (6) issuing warnings. Second, strategically Joko Widodo in his State of the Union speech also made use of grammar strategically to highlight positive things or successes by packing them into active sentences and disguising (covering) negative things or failures by packing them into passive sentences.

The novelty contributed by the author's research is the interpretation of hidden meanings and motives behind political diction and strategic grammar in the form of active/passive sentences as a political communication strategy. The results of this study can be enriched through subsequent research with various novelties. First, the data source is expanded, not only limited to state speeches, but also includes speeches other than state speeches. Second, other CDAs (van Dijk, Fairclough, Derrida, Foucault, van Leeuwen, etc.) [37,38] need to be considered to be applied for data analysis. With these two things it is hoped that more holistic-comprehensive research findings will be obtained.

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