

## Discourse analysis of Joko Widodo's last state of the nation address 2024

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**Abstract** In a dynamic political context, presidential speeches are crucial in shaping public perception and guiding policy. President Joko Widodo's latest speech on August 16, 2024 that was uploaded through the Presidential Secretariat's YouTube channel, has come under scrutiny for containing important elements relating to communication strategies and leadership legitimacy. This study aims to analyse the speech by exploring how Jokowi's distinctive rhetoric reflects his role in the political agenda. Using a qualitative approach and Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis technique, this study employs a socio-cognitive framework to guide the analysis. Lingual data was collected through free listening techniques, including transcription, observation, and research subject determination. Meanwhile, non-lingual data was obtained from credible news documents and analysed using hermeneutics and phenomenology methods. The results showed that Jokowi built his image as a responsive and effective leader through language that highlighted the successes and challenges of his leadership and built leadership authority by presenting himself as a skilful, strategic, and reality-based leader. This research contributes to understanding rhetorical strategies in political communication and leadership authority studies, with far-reaching implications for public perception and political dynamics.

**Keywords:** critical discourse analysis van Dijk; joko widodo; political speech; socio-cognitive analysis

### INTRODUCTION

A political speech is a relatively autonomous oral statement delivered by a politician to a general audience, which aims to persuade, rather than to inform or entertain (Dedaić, 2006). Critical discourse studies of political speeches are always interesting and challenging in this context. The narratives constructed by politicians in their speeches are not just everyday linguistic phenomena, but should be positioned as political acts (Triana et al., 2022a). The nature of political discourse includes its role as a tool to build legitimacy, strengthen support, and shape political identity. In various contexts, political discourse can mobilise the masses, convey vision and mission, and respond to relevant social issues (Isa & Zayyad, 2023). Autonomy in political discourse also varies by political system. In democratic countries, politicians usually have greater freedom of speech and openly express their views and ideologies (Ali, 2015). Meanwhile, in authoritarian systems, political discourse is often restricted, reducing free speech and curbing creativity in formulating narratives (Cherikbaeva & Musaeva, 2024). Therefore, it is important to understand how social and political contexts influence how politicians construct speech and use language to achieve their political goals.

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During leadership periods, politicians often use political speeches to gain public sympathy (Salama, 2012). As a political tool, speeches are usually used to gain electoral advantage (Gusthini et al., 2018). In the international arena, political speeches that are widely studied include the speeches of Donald Trump, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, and Vladimir Putin. Research by Aini et al. (2021) Bradshaw et al. (2020), Homolar and Scholz (2019), and Liu and Lei (2018) shows that Trump's speeches contain controversial elements that trigger polarisation. On the other hand, studies by Faruk Zararsız & Seyhan (2024), Liszkowska (2021), Sarwat et al. (2024), dan Hazır (2022) illustrate Erdogan using neo-Ottoman rhetoric to frame national revival. Meanwhile, research by Enas (2023), Ferreira (2019), dan Herning Puspita et al., (2019) highlight Vladimir Putin using speeches to emphasise national pride and sovereignty.

Political speech studies in Indonesia also focus on specific figures. One of the figures highlighted in political speech studies in Indonesia is Joko Widodo (Jokowi). Merrita (2021) study shows that Jokowi is a leader who prioritises the interests of the people and is visionary for the welfare of the Indonesian people. Jokowi started his political career from the bottom, starting from his status as Mayor of Surakarta, then Governor of DKI Jakarta, to finally becoming President of the Republic of Indonesia. Jokowi's political career, which started from the local to the national level, shows how he built an image as a leader who is close to the people, as well as focusing on infrastructure development and innovation and experiencing significant progress (Mahadana, 2023; Sulistia Wargi, 2021). Unlike previous leaderships, Jokowi has also adopted a low-profile foreign policy that focuses on domestic issues (M. Situmorang, 2015). This makes Jokowi a unique phenomenon in Indonesian politics. During his tenure as president, Jokowi was known for his closeness to the people and his focus on concrete programmes for the welfare of the people. During his first term as president, Jokowi built strong credibility and influence in national politics. His political speeches reflect his efforts to realise a vision of inclusive and sustainable development in Indonesia. His leadership that is close to the people and focused on domestic issues is reflected in his use of more straightforward and understandable language to the greater public. In addition, the focus on concrete programmes and people's welfare is evident from the priority issues raised in his speeches. Jokowi often uses discourse that emphasises concrete results and development progress that can be felt directly by the community (Sukristyanto et al., 2018).

In Indonesia's increasingly dynamic political constellation, Jokowi's political speech on August 16, 2024, attracted much attention for several reasons. Firstly, it marked a pivotal moment in Jokowi's political career and his final state of the nation address, after serving as president for a decade. In his speech, Jokowi reflected on his significant achievements during his presidency. Second, the speech was seen as Jokowi's attempt to cement his legacy and ensure the sustainability of the strategic programmes that have been implemented. Thirdly, by apologising and acknowledging his limitations in meeting all the people's expectations, Jokowi showed humility that reflected an awareness of unfinished challenges. The presence of Prabowo Subianto as President-elect in 2024 further emphasises the importance of this speech to strengthen Jokowi's political legacy and ensure the continuity of strategic programmes. In addition, global contexts such as economic and environmental issues also influence the policies that the incoming administration must take to realise the vision of a Golden Indonesia 2045.

This final state speech will be analysed using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) developed by Teun A. Van Dijk. Critical discourse analysis is an approach used to empirically examine how discourses, including texts, speeches, and other communications, relate to social and cultural developments in society (Fairclough, 1996). In a linguistic context, this analysis examines language elements such as sentences, narrative structure, and word choice to understand how they influence readers, propagate ideologies, or reproduce existing power relations. In other words, CDA seeks to understand how texts contribute to wider social realities (Darani, 2014; Eissa, 2014; Humaira, 2018). This approach is non-conformist or opposes existing domination, with the aim of challenging social injustice (Dijk, 2009; van Dijk, 2006). According to Dijk, discourse has three main dimensions, namely text, social cognition, and social context, which are interrelated (Dijk, 2019).

The text dimension consists of macro structure, superstructure, and microstructure. Macro or thematic structure refers to the central theme of a text, which highlights important elements. Superstructure or schematic describes the flow of the text from beginning to end, creating an overall meaning through summary and story content. The semantic microstructure

includes the choice of words, sentences, and language styles used in the text (Dijk, 1980). Then, in the social cognition dimension, the data is categorised into knowledge, opinion, attitude, and ideology (van Dijk, 2006). Knowledge examines factual beliefs held by a particular group or culture. Opinions and attitudes examine the writer's evaluative beliefs on an issue to influence readers. Ideology examines the social representations embraced by a group and plays an important role in defining political systems, organisations, movements, practices and political cognition. Meanwhile, the social context dimension relates the social background to the discourse presented. Social context is very important in interpreting discourse (Dijk, 2009). Critical discourse analysis often connects the ideological tendencies of discourse markers with the social context in which the discourse appears. This analysis highlights that political discourse produced by politicians is a political act that utilises language as a tool. In addition, social context analysis also examines overall social dynamics to strengthen the meaning of discourse.

In analysing Jokowi's speeches, it is important to delve deeper into how CDA is applied, including certain aspects of discourse to be analysed, such as identity portrayal, metaphor use, and argumentation structure. Emphasis on these elements can provide a stronger theoretical foundation and explain how Jokowi's speeches reflect and shape societal power dynamics.

Based on the information presented in the table below, it can be concluded that political speeches have been used in a variety of themes to convey a particular message or agenda. Similar topics regarding Jokowi's speeches have also produced important findings in previous research. Table 1 summarises some of the findings from these studies, as follows:

**Table 1.** Previous Research

<b>Author</b>	<b>Main Findings</b>	<b>Method or Theory</b>
Khansa et al. (2023)	Jokowi's speech showed a mismatch between verbal commitment and actual policy implementation	Political Discourse Analysis
Daar & Jemadi (2023)	Jokowi uses expressive, assertive, and directive speeches to encourage peaceful resolution of conflicts	Speech Acts Analysis
Juliana & Tia Fahira Putri Army (2021)	Jokowi emphasises unity and peace and calls for a halt to war	Communicative Translation
A. R. Situmorang et al. (2023), Putra (2023)	Jokowi constructed his self-image and ideological stance through specific linguistic choices The language games in Jokowi's speeches reflect the use of a variety of speech acts to convey messages effectively	A Discourse Analysis Perspective Austin
Paulina & Novi Suryani (2022) Hidayat et al. (2022)	The most dominant type of deixis in Jokowi's speeches SBY and Jokowi both used polite words in their inauguration speeches	Deixis Function Critical Discourse Analysis
Mustaqim (2022)	Jokowi used various rhetorical elements and strategies in his speech regarding IKN Nusantara to achieve his communicative goals	Rhetorical Situation
Rahmawati (2021)	Jokowi uses various types of speech acts for strategic reasons to provide information, convince the audience, and show optimism	Speech Act

Source: Processed by the Author (2024)

Based on Table 1 above, previous studies have not addressed critical discourse analysis of Jokowi's state of the nation address, and this article not only analyses Jokowi's speech text linguistically, but also explores the socio-cognitive dimensions behind Jokowi's use of language in his speech. This research provides deeper insights into how Jokowi's thoughts and perceptions as a leader influence how he communicates and delivers political messages. By analysing Jokowi's speeches, this research makes an important contribution to understanding how political leaders with different backgrounds use rhetoric to build legitimacy and support. It also paves the way for further research on how other political leaders in Indonesia and around the world use language to build legitimacy and achieve their political goals. This is particularly relevant in Indonesia's diverse and dynamic political context.

With the emergence of the internet in the new media era, political communication has changed, providing new challenges and opportunities for politicians to shape public opinion (Klinger & Svensson, 2015). Jokowi's speeches in the public sphere are heavily influenced by various interests, whether personal, group, or community interests (Barnhurst, 2011; Bennett & Pfetsch, 2018). Making a speech means producing language or discourse that is then interpreted by the audience. The language used by Jokowi has a communicative function, especially a persuasive function because the neutrality of language depends on who the speaker is (Bohman, 2007; Martika et al., 2022). Therefore, studying Jokowi's political speeches

provides a new perspective in understanding how leaders with different backgrounds can succeed nationally. Critical discourse analysis of Jokowi's speeches reveals his use of language to achieve his political goals and how he builds legitimacy and support through the narratives he creates. With this, the research questions of this study are as follows: a) How is critical discourse analysis applied to Jokowi's final State of the Nation Address in 2024? b) How do the socio-cognitive dimensions of the speech emerge and contribute to the portrayal of Jokowi's leadership image?

## METHODOLOGY

This research uses qualitative research methods. Qualitative method is an approach that describes, and analyses phenomena based on non-numerical data (Lune & Berg, 2017; Saryono & Anggareni, 2013). This method is used to analyse and interpret the phenomenon of the problem and the behaviour of the actors who are the focus of the research, examining the problem as a whole. This method helps the author uncover new facts and understand the situation and conditions relevant to the research question (Ugwu et al., 2017). In this research, qualitative methods are explicitly applied to explore political discourse, particularly in the context of political speeches. The analysis was conducted inductively using Critical Discourse Analysis proposed by Van Dijk. Van Dijk's framework was chosen for its ability to map and explore ideological aspects in political speeches. It is relevant for understanding how discourse is shaped and influenced by power and ideology. This approach allows researchers to uncover the underlying structures of texts that reflect domination and inequality and identify how discourse influences social perceptions and actions. As such, Van Dijk's framework offers a comprehensive tool to explore the complexities and dynamics of political discourse, making it suitable for this study.

In this context, lingual realities in President Joko Widodo's speeches are used as data to map aspects of Jokowi's ideology as a discourse producer. The values, beliefs, and views underlying Jokowi's policies and political decisions can be identified through the analysis of language and delivery in his speeches. This lingual reality is crucial to understanding how Jokowi shapes, conveys and influences public opinion and how his discourse reflects his ideology. The lingual data in this study are words, phrases, clauses, and sentences contained in Jokowi's speech in the context of his final state address while commemorating the 79th Anniversary of the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence on 16 August 2024. The data was taken from a video entitled '*LIVE: Pidato Presiden RI pada Sidang Tahunan MPR dan Sidang Bersama DPR dan DPD*' broadcast through the YouTube channel of the Presidential Secretariat. The video has a duration of 1:54:35 and can be accessed at <https://www.youtube.com/live/70QKLHFAfDY?si=wbtCULucGDdl2> Up. This video has been viewed 134,656 times, received 2,700 likes, and received 249 comments. This approach makes the analysis richer and more in-depth, covering various aspects of message delivery and reception in a broader context. Thus, this research provides a comprehensive picture of how President Joko Widodo's State of the Nation Address was shaped and received by the public.

The selection of this speech is based on several important reasons. First, the State of the Nation Address is a time when the president conveys the achievements, vision, and policy direction that are the focus of the government. It reflects President Joko Widodo's official views and ideology and how these are conveyed to the public. Secondly, the speech was delivered in the context of Indonesia's Independence Day commemoration, which added symbolic and nationalist weight to the message.

The use of a combination of video and text sources enhances the analysis by providing visual and auditory context that enriches the lingual interpretation. The video was analysed to understand the non-verbal elements and visual context that accompanied the delivery of the speech. This helped identify how expressions and intonation reinforced or emphasised certain messages. Online media integrations such as Instagram posts and YouTube videos related to the speech were analysed to see how key messages from the speech were adapted for social media platforms, including how visualisations and captions were used to capture the audience's attention and reinforce the messages conveyed. To strengthen the validity of the data, the researcher supplemented the video data with the text of the speech published on the website of the Indonesian Cabinet Secretariat and Joko Widodo's Instagram posts on the official @jokowi account on the same date.

Lingual data were collected using the free listening method (Nor, 2015). Data collection was carried out with the stages of transcription, observation, rereading, and determining the research subject. The data were then classified into three types: macro structure, superstructure, and microstructure. Lingual data analysis was conducted using the commensurate method (Triana et al., 2022a). In addition to lingual data, this study also considers non-lingual data which includes social, political, cultural, and cognitive aspects related to Joko Widodo's personality in his capacity as president. This non-lingual data includes Jokowi's background as a furniture entrepreneur who entered politics, his experience as a regional head before becoming president, and the various political challenges he faced, both from within and outside his government (Ritonga, 2023). In addition, these non-linguistic aspects also include how Jokowi utilises relationships with the public and his political strategies in dealing with national and international issues. This non-linguistic data was collected from various news documents in credible and highly reputable mass media using hermeneutic and phenomenological methods that emphasise direct experience (Jones et al., 2024). Existing data in various mass media were analysed by involving the context and events that occurred at that time.

Lingual data is used to answer research questions about the textual dimension. Meanwhile, non-lingual data is used to answer research questions regarding social cognition and social context (Triana et al., 2022b). The integration of these different types of data is important to provide a more comprehensive understanding of Joko Widodo's discourse. The data analysis technique in this study involved several steps: Firstly, data was collected objectively based on observation and internet archive documentation. Data collection was done carefully to ensure its accuracy and relevance. Second, the data was reduced by selecting important elements, identifying themes and patterns, and discarding irrelevant information. Third, the reduced data was analysed using Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis theory, which includes discourse mapping, metaphor analysis, and presupposition, to explore the deeper meaning of a text. Finally, conclusions are drawn based on careful analysis to provide a clear and comprehensive understanding of the data.

The analysis model of this research includes three main stages: text analysis, social cognition analysis, and social context analysis. The first stage is to analyse the elements of the text, including the topic, structure, and language style used in Jokowi's speech (Dijk, 2006). The second stage is to connect the findings from the text with Jokowi's social cognition as an individual, including how his background before entering politics affects how he shapes and delivers discourse. The third stage is social context analysis, which explains the broader social reality around Joko Widodo and the internal and external political situation. The analysis of discourse structure according to Van Dijk can be seen in the table 2.

Table 2. Van Dijk's Discourse Structure	
Element	Analysis
Text	Macrostructure
	Superstructure
	Microstructure
	Knowledge
Social Cognition	Opinions and Attitudes
	Ideology
Social Context	The social context of discourse producers
	Social context of society

Source: Triana et al., (2022a)

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Macrostructure (Thematic)

The title of Joko Widodo's political speech on 16 August 2024 was '*Live: Pidato Presiden RI pada Sidang Tahunan MPR dan Sidang Bersama DPR dan DPD*', which also coincided with the 79th anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence of the Republic of Indonesia. This speech implies two important meanings related to his leadership. First, Jokowi's speech was official and delivered in a state forum involving various state institutions and international representatives. This suggests that the speech has broad authority and impact and serves as an official report and reflection of leadership. The speech was open to the public, with live broadcasts through various media, demonstrating the transparency and openness of the government under Jokowi's leadership. The presence of many journalists and broadcasting through the media shows that

the message had national significance and was addressed to all Indonesians. Secondly, the speech emphasised Jokowi's position as head of state and head of government with ultimate authority. On this occasion, he represented himself as the President and a symbol of the state delivering official policy. The choice of traditional clothing used was a typical Betawi demang shirt and an ujung serong cloth that reflects local cultural identity and values of simplicity, obedience, strength, and wisdom. The choice of traditional clothing, which is diverse and different every year, reflects the President's commitment to appreciate and preserve Indonesia's rich culture (Kementerian Sekretariat Negara RI, 2024).

In accordance with its title, Jokowi's speech contained three main themes that became the main ideas. First, Jokowi highlighted the government's achievements in the fields of economy, infrastructure development, and people's welfare as evidence of his administration's commitment to national development. Second, Jokowi apologised for his two-period leadership if there were parties who felt disappointed. Third, at the end of his speech, Jokowi discussed the leadership transition, announcing that on 20 October, the baton of Indonesia's leadership will pass to Prabowo Subianto as President-elect for the 2024-2029 period (See Table 3).

**Table 3.** Macro Structure of Jokowi's Speech

Heading	Theme
Speech of the President of the Republic of Indonesia at the Annual Session of the People's Consultative Assembly and the Joint Session of the House of Representatives and the House of Representatives	Achievements and Progress of Government Programs Apology Leadership Transition

Source: Processed by the Author (2024)

### Superstructure (Schematic)

A schema is a series of opinions that are arranged and organised, such as an introduction, body, and conclusion. Dijk includes a systematic scheme or flow in a discourse. President Joko Widodo's speech on 16 August 2024 shows a structured scheme, with an introduction that builds a relationship with the audience, a body that includes achievements, challenges, and hopes, and a conclusion that invites people to continue working hard and reflect the spirit of nationality. This analysis shows how a systematic discourse scheme helps convey messages effectively and thoroughly. The following are details of the sentence contexts that correspond to the systematic discourse scheme in Table 4.

**Table 4.** Superstructure of Jokowi's Speech

<b>Introduction</b>	President Joko Widodo greeted the audience and thanked them for the opportunity to give a speech
<b>Body</b>	The content of the speech covered various important topics related to achievements, challenges, and hopes for the future
<b>Conclusion</b>	President Joko Widodo expressed hope and calls for continued hard work in his closing remarks

Source: Processed by the Author (2024)

In the opening sentence, the President greeted the attendees who came from various religious backgrounds and beliefs, showing a sense of inclusiveness and appreciation for diversity in Indonesia. The use of spiritual expressions and greetings in various languages shows the President's efforts to reach out to all levels of society. This sentence illustrates the success of national development during the President's tenure. The focus on 'Indonesiacent' development and building from the periphery demonstrates a commitment to inclusivity and prosperity in all parts of Indonesia, not just in the big cities. The closing sentence of the speech is a direct invitation to all Indonesians to continue contributing to national development. The words '*Dirgahayu*' and '*Merdeka*' emphasise the spirit of independence and national pride with which the speech concludes.

### Microstructure (Semantics)

Semantically, Jokowi's political speech has background, details, intentions, and presuppositions that support his ideas. The following is a discussion of these elements in table 5. This final State of the Nation Address was an important moment for Jokowi to communicate the achievements of his decade-long administration. The speech highlighted the successes and authorities of his administration, not only as a reflection of the achievements during his tenure, but also as an effort to prepare for the upcoming leadership transition. The elements of detail in Jokowi's political

speeches are used to illustrate Jokowi's meticulous leadership. In the speech, the details presented focus on concrete data related to the government's achievements, such as resilience to the COVID-19 pandemic and climate change, economic growth, infrastructure development, and social policies that have been implemented. These details aim to provide tangible evidence of the government's success and strengthen the narrative that the government is working hard for the welfare of the people. These detailed elements include specific information on the government's achievements in infrastructure development over the past ten years (Table 6).

**Table 5.** Background of Jokowi's Speech

Background	Intention
This speech was delivered at the Annual Session of the MPR RI and the Joint Session of the DPR and DPD RI to celebrate the 79th Anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence of the Republic of Indonesia, held at the Nusantara Building of the MPR/DPR/DPD RI	Highlighting his achievements during his ten years in office shows that the government under Jokowi's leadership has brought substantial progress

Source: Processed by the Author (2024)

**Table 6.** Details and Intention of Jokowi's Political Speech

Detail	Intention
<b>Infrastructure Development</b> 366 thousand kilometres of village roads 1.9 million metres of village bridges 2,700-kilometre new toll road  6,000-kilometre national road 50 new ports and airports 43 new dams 1.1 million hectares of new irrigation network	Improved connectivity and access in remote areas Improving transportation infrastructure at the village level Improving transport networks between cities and provinces Developing major national transport routes Improving logistics and air transportation facilities Supporting food security and water resource management Expanding irrigation networks to support agriculture
<b>Logistics Cost Reduction</b> Logistics costs decreased from 24% to 14% (2023)	Demonstrate efficiency in logistics and distribution systems
<b>Increased Competitiveness</b> Competitiveness rating increased from 44 to 27 (2024)	Demonstrate economic progress and investment attractiveness
<b>Economic Growth</b> Economic growth maintained in the range of 5%  Papua, Maluku grew above 6%, North Maluku above 20%	Demonstrating economic resilience amidst global challenges Demonstrated growth in eastern Indonesia
<b>Inflation Control</b> Inflation is under control in the range of 2-3%	Indicates economic and price stability
<b>Poverty Reduction and Stunting</b> Extreme poverty drops from 6.1% to 0.8% (2024) Stunting decreased from 37% to 21.5% (2023)	Demonstrate success in reducing poverty Demonstrates progress in child health
<b>Unemployment Reduction</b> Unemployment drops from 5.7% to 4.8% (2024)	Indicates increased employment opportunities
<b>Social Protection Program</b> IDR 361 trillion for Healthy Indonesia Card  IDR 113 trillion for Smart Indonesia Card  Rp225 trillion for the Family Hope Program  IDR 60.3 trillion for Pre-Employment	Extensive benefits in health care for 92 million JKN participants Education for 20 million students from primary to high school/vocational school Economic improvement for 10 million underprivileged families Skills training for 18.8 million workers
<b>Processing Industry Development</b> Smelter and nickel, bauxite, copper processing industry 200 thousand jobs and state revenue of IDR 158 trillion (8 years)	Reduce raw material exports, create jobs, and increase state revenues Demonstrate the positive impact of the processing industry on the economy and employment

Source: Processed by the Author (2024)

**Intention**

The speech contains intent, both explicitly and implicitly. Jokowi expressed his appreciation and gratitude to all Indonesian people, his colleagues in government, and those who supported and contributed during his administration with Vice President Ma'ruf Amin. He outlined various achievements in infrastructure, economic, social, and legal development that have been achieved during his administration, such as the construction of rural roads, bridges, and airports, reducing logistics costs, increasing competitiveness, controlling inflation, reducing poverty, and social programmes such as the Healthy Indonesia Card (*Kartu Indonesia Sehat*) and Smart

Indonesia Card (*Kartu Indonesia Pintar*). Meanwhile, the implied meaning of the speech is that although Jokowi conveyed various successes, he also reminded that the results achieved during his administration have not fully met the expectations of the community. This shows a realistic attitude and realisation that there is still a lot of work to be done to achieve the goal of a Golden Indonesia 2045.

### Presumption

Speeches also contain some elements of presumption, where the statement contains assumptions that have not necessarily been tested but are used as a basis to support certain ideas (Winingsih et al., 2022). Here are some elements of presumption in Jokowi's speech that fit the description in Table 7.

**Table 7.** Presumptions of Jokowi's Political Speech

Sentence	Presumption
<i>Sejak hari pertama saya menerima amanah ini, saya sangat menyadari akan ada banyak gelombang yang harus dihadapi, akan banyak tantangan yang harus diselesaikan.</i> (From the first day I received this mandate, I understood there would be many waves to face, many challenges to overcome.)	Jokowi has known from the beginning that his leadership will be full of challenges
<i>Indonesia merupakan satu dari sedikit negara yang mampu pulih lebih cepat, bahkan terus bertumbuh.</i> (Indonesia is one of the few countries that has been able to recover faster, and even continue to grow)	This statement contains the assumption that Indonesia is recovering faster and continues to grow compared to other countries, which requires comparative data from different countries to corroborate this claim
<i>Selama 10 tahun ini kita telah mampu membangun sebuah fondasi dan peradaban baru, dengan pembangunan yang Indonesiasentris.</i> (During these 10 years we have been able to build a new foundation and civilisation, with Indonesia-centric development)	Over the past ten years, development has resulted in significant new foundations and civilizations, the integrity of which needs to be improved and requires further verification

Source: Processed by the Author (2024)

### Sentence Form

The sentence form element in the speech text uses a deductive pattern, where the main statement regarding achievements and challenges during the term of office is presented first. Then, details and supporting data that explain or strengthen the statement are elaborated to provide additional context and evidence. For example, the sentence "*Saya yakin dan percaya dengan persatuan dan kerja sama kita, Indonesia sebagai negara yang kuat dan berdaulat akan mampu melompat dan menggapai cita-cita Indonesia Emas di tahun 2045*" (I believe and trust that with our unity and cooperation, Indonesia as a strong and sovereign country will be able to leapfrog and reach the goal of a Golden Indonesia in 2045) is an explanatory sentence that shows optimism that with continuous effort and focus on a common goal, Indonesia will be able to achieve this great goal. This statement encourages people to keep working hard towards a better future.

### Pronouns

The pronoun element in the speech uses the first-person plural pronoun '*Kita/Our*,' which is used repeatedly for various strategic purposes. As in the sentence "*Ini adalah hasil kerja keras kita bersama. Ini adalah fondasi besar kita bersama. Ini adalah bukti bahwa persatuan kita, bahwa kerukunan kita, bahwa kerja keras dan kegotongroyongan kita dapat membawa Indonesia melompat lebih tinggi lagi*" (This is the result of our hard work together. This is our great foundation together. It is proof that our unity, harmony, hard work and cooperation can bring Indonesia to leap even higher). The repeated use of the word '*Kita/Our*' in the speech serves to equalise and unify the view that the achievements discussed are the result of the participation of all individuals and groups. This shows the importance of togetherness, solidarity, and collective contribution in achieving the nation's progress and development.

Syntactically, the speech is dominated by active verbs, which emphasise the active role of President Joko Widodo as the main actor in the achievements described. These active verbs give the impression that Jokowi is consciously and directly involved in the actions and policies reported. Here are some examples of active and passive verbs used in the speech on Table 8.

In terms of language style, diction was used strategically in the speech to create a positive atmosphere and build an emotional connection with the audience. These words



highlighted the government's achievements and successes and emphasised Jokowi's commitment to diversity, unity and the country's progress. Here are some of the dictions used in the speech, along with analyses in Table 9. In addition, there is the use of metaphors in speech, such as in Table 10.

**Table 8.** List of Active and Passive Verbs in Jokowi's Political Speeches

Subject	Verb	Construction
Jokowi	receive, handle, give, build, lower, improve, strengthen, process, open, take, expand, give, modernise, realise, value, run, finance, stand, grow	Active
	managed, utilised, taken, continued, maintained, accepted, completed, improved, maintained, achieved, realised	Passive

Source: Processed by the Author (2024)

**Table 9.** The Use of Diction in Jokowi's Political Speech

Diction	Sentences	Meaning
Meaningful and Positive	<i>Bismillahirrahmanirrahim</i> ", "Assalamualaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh", "Good morning", "Greetings", "Om Swastastu", "Namo Buddhaya"	This diction reflects respect and openness that is inclusive, covering various religious backgrounds and beliefs in Indonesia
	"Alhamdulillah"	The expression thank you is used to show appreciation for the achievements that have been made
	"Terima kasih"	Expresses deep appreciation for the support and co-operation

Source: Processed by the Author (2024)

**Table 10.** Sentences of Majas in Jokowi's Political Speech

Metaphor	Sentence	Meaning
Metaphor	The smiles, greetings, and prayers of Fathers, Mothers, and brothers and sisters in the country are all sources of strength for me ( <i>Senyum, sapa, dan doa Bapak, Ibu, dan Saudara-saudara sebangsa setanah air semua adalah sumber kekuatan saya</i> )	Mentioning 'smiles, greetings, and prayers' as a source of power gives humanity to an abstract concept. It creates the impression that the emotional and moral support from the community has real and concrete power, strengthening the emotional connection between Jokowi and the community
	Leadership baton ( <i>Tongkat estafet kepemimpinan</i> )	The change of leadership is like in a relay race, where the baton symbolises responsibility and leadership passing from one individual to another. This suggests continuity and a smooth transition in government
	Jump higher ( <i>Melompat lebih tinggi</i> )	This metaphor symbolises the aspiration to achieve more significant and better achievements in the future. 'Leaping higher' denotes the drive to continuously improve and overcome the limits of current achievements
	Achieving the goal of Golden Indonesia ( <i>Menggapai cita-cita Indonesia Emas</i> )	This metaphor describes the vision of Indonesia's precious and coveted future "Golden Indonesia". "Reaching the ideal" means achieving ambitious and idealised goals, providing an optimistic and inspiring picture of Indonesia's future.

Source: Processed by the Author (2024)

Jokowi's use of metaphors in his speeches reinforces the message and makes the speeches more memorable and inspiring. Through metaphors, Jokowi conveys information and builds an emotional connection with the audience, illustrates abstract concepts concretely, and motivates listeners to support future visions and goals.

## Social Cognition Analysis

Jokowi's social cognition as a text producer can be seen from the sources of information he uses which refer to various state institutions, such as the Supreme Audit Agency, the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, and various ministries. The information he conveys includes achievements and policies made during his tenure, which indicates that his sources of information come from various government institutions. For example, Indonesia's Constitutional Court has handled more than 202 judicial review cases and election disputes. In contrast, the Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia and its subordinate judicial institutions have

strengthened restorative justice to harmonise the interests of victims and the responsibility of defendants without punishment. By referring to the active role of these institutions, Jokowi demonstrates his seriousness in addressing important issues and seeks to build public trust.

Jokowi's experience in managing businesses and understanding market needs has helped him implement result-oriented and efficient policies and design programmes to improve people's welfare. His forays into politics, from Mayor of Surakarta (2005-2010) and Governor of Jakarta (2012-2014), have shaped his views on social and political issues. His background as a businessman and his symbolic '*blusukan*' method reflect his direct engagement with the community. Jokowi is known as a hard worker and ambitious, as seen from his goal to accelerate infrastructure development to support economic growth, as outlined in the 2015-2019 RPJMN (*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional*). To maintain the stability of his government and the sustainability of his political agenda, Jokowi has secured the support of various interested parties. This support comes from coalition parties that have a strategic interest in maintaining the sustainability of the reforms and policies that have been launched. His consistent track record in executive positions gives him credibility and leadership ability. Although he does not have a military background, his successes in infrastructure and public service reforms reinforce the view that he has sufficient capability to lead the country.

As the President of Indonesia, Jokowi's leadership status is very important in social cognition. Every speech he delivers is a political calculation that reflects his position as head of state and government. Jokowi also actively uses social media, Instagram, and Twitter (X) to communicate with the public, such as conveying information about government policies, explaining achievements, and responding directly to emerging issues. This strategy strengthens his closeness to the people and helps maintain public support amidst political challenges. Through speeches and social media publications, Jokowi seeks to increase the legitimacy of his administration and adapt to evolving political dynamics, with the goal of increasing public trust and supporting the country's stability and progress. As such, Jokowi's political speeches reflect skilful, strategic, and reality-based socio-political cognition in governance.

### **Social Context Analysis**

As a discourse unit, Jokowi's political speech cannot be separated from the social context that surrounds it, especially related to the vote acquisition in the election. In the first context, in the 2014 general election, Jokowi ran as a presidential candidate nominated by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and won the election with 53.15 per cent of the vote (Komisi Pemilihan Umum, 2014). This victory reflected the broad support of the Indonesian people for Jokowi, who was known at the time as the 'people's president', and his promise to bring significant change through pro-people programmes. In the 2019 election, Jokowi won again with 55.50 per cent of the vote (Komisi Pemilihan Umum, 2019). This second victory demonstrated the people's continued trust in Jokowi's leadership and programmes. In the 2024 election, Jokowi also won again, further strengthened by the vice-presidential candidate who is his biological son, Gibran Rakabuming Raka. This shows that public support for Jokowi remains solid and sustained and confirms the increasingly close family ties in Indonesian politics.

In the second context, Jokowi often emphasises infrastructure development as one of his administration's main achievements. Since taking office in 2014, Jokowi has prioritised the construction of toll roads, ports, airports and other infrastructure projects, as well as emphasising cooperation by bringing investment into Indonesia (Anwar, 2019). These developments and investments are intended to drive economic growth, improve connectivity between regions, and reduce economic inequality between regions (Agastia, 2021). This context is often the background of Jokowi's speeches, which underline the importance of development for the nation's progress (Cabui, 2022).

In the third context, internal challenges remain, particularly in maintaining party stability and cohesiveness. As a President supported by PDIP, Jokowi must ensure that the relationship between himself and party leaders and cadres remains harmonious. The PDIP Chairperson, Megawati Soekarnoputri, has significant influence within the party and is often a strategic policy maker. Jokowi's position within the party is inseparable from Megawati's support, and he must navigate this power dynamic wisely to ensure continued support. However, some PDIP cadres felt disappointed after Jokowi took a different stance with the party on the dynamics of the 2024 presidential election (Koran Tempo, 2024).

### **Discourse Analysis of Jokowi's Leadership Narratives: Rhetoric and Social Cognition**

Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis of Jokowi's final State of the Nation Address shows that the narrative constructed by Jokowi is consistent with the image of a leader who is ambitious and committed to achieving big goals for the country. Jokowi uses rhetoric that emphasises achievements and challenges and embraces values of diversity and progress to strengthen public support and reinforce his position as a leader who is responsive to the needs of society. The most dominant representation of Jokowi's social cognition in the speech is his background as a businessman and his experience as Mayor of Surakarta and Governor of DKI Jakarta. According to Van Dijk's perspective (Dijk, 2009; van Dijk, 2006), experience is the main competence of Jokowi's thinking as a discourse producer. He is known for his '*blusukan*' approach, which is going directly to the field to see and understand people's problems. This experience also influences how he builds a leadership narrative that is close to the people.

Based on Van Dijk's concept of social cognition, each of Jokowi's experiences shapes his thinking as a leader. The way Jokowi represents his leadership through speeches confirms the research findings of Azmi et al. (2022), Mauliana and Sampurna (2023), Uali et al. (2023), and Honcharenko (2022), that every political figure will always utilise public communication media to build a positive image of himself. According to research findings (Claudia et al., 2024), Jokowi's political speeches reflect a complex interaction between communication strategies, personal branding, and public perception. His speeches often emphasise infrastructure development, which resonates positively with the public and enhances his image as a strong leader. Rofe'i et al. (2024) revealed the dominance of representational speech acts, indicating their focus on factual statements and descriptions to engage the audience. In the run-up to the 2024 presidential election, Jokowi's political strategy was shaped by public expectations and his party dynamics, with social media playing an important role in shaping his image (Ridha, 2023). His speeches also include logical reasoning, using clear and practical language that enhances comprehension (Sari & Supriyadi, 2021). Jokowi's word choice, grammar and text structure of his speeches are crucial in conveying his political beliefs and values (Munandar et al., 2021; A. R. Situmorang et al., 2023). In his speeches, Jokowi uses various speech acts, including assertive and directive speech acts, to convey messages of peace and encourage conflict resolution. His communication style aims to influence and engage both domestic and international audiences (Daar & Jemadi, 2023). All these studies reflect efforts to maintain leadership identity and image (Fetzer & Bull, 2012).

However, some of the previous findings differ with Jokowi's speech discourse. Jokowi's speeches do not fully reflect a genuine commitment to the issues raised but are merely rhetoric without adequate implementation. This suggests a mismatch between what is said in speeches and what is done in practice. As a leader, Jokowi is an interesting research subject. One of the topics studied is lip service, the inconsistency of actions, words, attitudes, and policies (Sibaweh & Cangara, 2021), specifically in Lip Service on Democracy and Anti-Corruption Issues (Khansa et al., 2023). Reflecting on the findings of Susila et al. (2020) and Capone (2010), effective political communication uses techniques such as demonstrating confidence, competence, and respect to the audience, which collectively increase trust in political figures. Similarly, Weinberg (2023) found that political contact and authentic communication are effective strategies for politicians to build trust in political leadership (Weinberg, 2023). Moreover, the language of political speech plays a role in influencing the image of politics in society (Kusumawati, 2016; Noermanzah et al., 2018). The theoretical implications of these findings suggest that Jokowi's speeches need to reflect accountable commitments. Jokowi's speeches are expected to be a rhetorical tool and reflect real commitments and actions. This is important to build public trust and support and enhance leadership credibility.

### **CONCLUSION**

Based on the results of the research and analysis above, Jokowi's final State of the Nation Address represents the sociocognitive aspects of himself as head of state. The research findings show that the sociocognitive elements in Jokowi's speech are well integrated, blending personal experiences and the broader social context. The individual element, which relates to his background as a businessman and regional leader, is seen when Jokowi talks about concrete achievements in infrastructure development by mentioning projects that have been successfully implemented and their impact on society. Meanwhile, the social element can be seen in his

efforts to maintain political and economic stability and promote unity in a diverse society. By emphasising the importance of solidarity and transparency in government, Jokowi builds public trust and invites people to be actively involved in the development process. This narrative illustrates how personal and social elements influence each other, shaping people's perceptions of his responsive and inclusive leadership.

The analysis of Jokowi's speeches provides a significant theoretical contribution to the study of political speech texts. The research emphasises that skilful and strategic political communication, grounded in the realities of governance, is crucial to building a solid leadership image. In contrast to traditional approaches that tend to highlight individual achievements, Jokowi's speeches underline the importance of transparency, accountability and solidarity in promoting the government's agenda. This new perspective shows how speeches can strengthen leadership legitimacy in complex contexts. A recommendation for future research is to apply the same methodology to other political figures or contexts to better understand how political communication can be built in different situations. In addition, Jokowi's speech strategy can be a reference for other leaders in creating constructive dialogue and building public trust. By understanding these elements, political communication research can further develop and provide new insights into how leadership narratives can adapt to the challenges of the times.

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