Jokowi's Opinions and Attitudes towards Covid-19 in Indonesia: A Critical Discourse Analysis

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Abstract
This study aims to investigate the discourse structure, social cognition, and social context of Jokowi's speech about Covid-19 which partly represents about Jokowi's opinion and attitudes towards Covid-19 in Indonesia. The method used is a qualitative research which employs critical discourse analysis (CDA) as its design of analysis. The CDA used in this research focus on Van Dijk concept. The data collected was from the video of his speech entitled *Pandemi: Fakta dan Data, Bukan Kira-Kira* on Presiden Joko Widodo YouTube channel and then transcribed into texts. The results show that Jokowi's speech about Covid-19 presents all elements of discourse analysis concept proposed by Van Dijk including text structure, social cognitive, and social analysis. The speech focuses on the perspective of Jokowi about Covid-19. The strength, the power, and the purposes of Jokowi can be shown from the languages used. They can truly be felt, expressly seen and well understood.

Keywords: *Jokowi, opinion, Covid-19, speech, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)*

1. INTRODUCTION

As for now, Corona Virus Disease (COVID 19) has been a hot topic not only in the realm of social politics but also in academic realm. A lot of academicians conducted research regarding this new pandemic, either in the field of natural science or in the field of social science. The examples of research in natural science are plentiful since this matter is obviously a natural science topic. Other than that, there are also considerably numbers of research that look at this pandemic from the social aspects and perspectives (Banikalef, 2020; Grzelka, 2020; Joharry & Turiman, 2020; Zhao, 2020). These research studies focus on analyzing discourse that exist on media like public letters, online comment, quotadian expression in China's cyberspace and in wedding card. Thus, this study focuses on spoken discourse that utters by a leader of a country-Indonesia. What he said is considered important of what he believes his country has done to deal with the pandemic.

As the world is facing a great pandemic-COVID-19, many countries are overwhelmed by the pandemic as it can affect their economy. Until now, there are several countries that have been able to deal with the pandemic and some have not. According to Center for Strategic and International Studies (2020), Indonesia is one among other countries that still has high recorded cases. This does not mean that Indonesia does not put enough effort to deal with the pandemic, in fact, Indonesia has done many efforts to deal with this pandemic such as large-scale restriction, massive COVID test, mask program, and many others.

Due to the current condition, Jokowi Dodo as the president of Indonesia has reminded his people working together to solve the problems. In some of his speeches, he delivered his opinion and he also encouraged the government to work their best in dealing with the pandemic. As a man in power, his speeches, of course play important roles to people of Indonesia since power and discourse are interrelated (Chiang, 2015). His speeches could contain information dealing with COVID-19 and also his attitudes towards it. There could also other meanings beyond what is said based on the norms and conventions of a specific society, or context, in which it takes place (Tulgar, 2016).

What his opinion and attitudes towards COVID-19 in Indonesia will be analyzed using critical discourse analysis (CDA). Critical discourse analysis is a technique that makes a vigorous evaluation of what is supposed to be represented and explained by words. As what is concluded by Mullet that CDA is a qualitative theoretical approach to objectively define, analyze and clarify the forms where social differences are constructed, maintained and legitimized through discourses (Mullet, 2018).

This research aims to see Jokowi's opinions and attitudes toward Covid-19 in Indonesia. In the same way, the authors want to see what he believes and how confident he is in dealing with Covid-19. Jokowi's opinion and attitudes will be seen through the discourse of his speech about Covid-19 since its first case discovered in Indonesia. In other words, the research questions of this study are (1) How does Jokowi present the discourse structure in his speech about Covid-19 (2) How is social cognition of Jokowi in his speech about Covid-19?, and (3) How is social context of Jokowi in his speech about Covid-19? According to the purpose of the study, it is expected to be the interpretation of Jokowi's believes and opinion about Covid-19 that people who read this can understand more easily about what has been delivered by Jokowi through his speech.

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In addition to the introduction, Amoussou and Allagbe (2018) compiled and explained the CDA theory from three prominent figure of CDA i.e. Fairclough, Van Dijk and Wodak. They elaborated that the discourse analysis method of Fairclough has three dimensions, as discourse can be seen collectively as a text, discourse, and socio-cultural practice. Consequently, for the analysis of text and discourse, Fairclough offers three frameworks, including its linguistic description; its interpretation regarding the relationship between processes and text; and its explanation of the relationship between discourse and social and cultural reality (Amoussou & Allagbe, 2018).

Instead of as the mediating part between text and culture, Van Dijk concentrates on social cognition. He argues that the CDA needs to account for the different types of social cognition experienced by social groups. Two stages of analysis are further defined by Van Dijk, macro and micro. The micro level of social order is characterized by language usage, discourse, verbal interaction and communication, while the macro level refers to control, supremacy and inequality between social classes (Tannen, Hamilton & Schiffrin, 2015).

Wodak sees discourse as a mode of social activity. The interdisciplinary and broad nature of the CDA has been the subject of Wodak, as issues in culture are too nuanced to be studied from a single point of view. One essential CDA concept is "that all discourses are historical and can therefore be interpreted only in relation to their meaning." This implies that debate is synchronically and diachronically related to other communicative activities that occur simultaneously or that have occurred before (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

The present endeavor aims to see the presidents of Jokowi's opinion and attitudes towards the Covid-19. It is expected that by using CDA, his opinion and attitudes towards Covid-19 can be elaborated. As what mentioned before that CDA is a technique that makes a vigorous evaluation of what is supposed to be represented and explained by words. Similar research using CDA reveal that the opinions implied in the discourse (Xie, 2018). It means, Jokowi opinions can be extracted from his discourse that he used during his speech about COVID-19.

Other studies show how CDA can be used in explaining further meaning beyond the discourse itself are as follows:

The first study was by Banikalef (2020). He wanted to research the generic frameworks of invitations cards and the role of socio-cultural-religious norms and beliefs. He discovered that the linguistic behavior of Jordanians was closely correlated with the religion of Islam and tribalism. The findings of this study have consequences for the use of language and sociolinguistics, as well as improving the awareness of online wedding invitation activities during a state of emergency in public health (Banikalef, 2020).

The second one aimed to investigate Pakistani Premier Imran Khan's (IK) addresses to the nation about the causes, consequences, precautions, and solutions of the Novel Corona Virus (COVID-19) awareness. To grasp the social and political convincing style used by the premiere, they use Aristotle 's compelling and rhetorical instruments, combining them with Socio-Political Discourse Analysis (SPDA). The results show that IK has used stable linguistic features to reassure the minds of individuals. The defending claims surrounding semi-lockdown or smart-lockdown were well-defined to reassure people. Later, the opposition and the world praised the policies of Pakistan's Prime Minister, IK, also as a developing nation in the world's eyes (Iqbal et al., 2020; Zafar, et al., 2020).

The last one was to investigate how vulnerable groups are viewed by the Polish public in the pandemic of Covid-19. Critical discourse analysis was applied to this study focusing on certain articles and comments that were released in the week following

March 4, 2020. The findings show that a large number of readers of Gazeta.pl are aware that elderly people are extremely vulnerable to becoming seriously ill with the COVID-19 virus. In addition, preexisting conditions are stated by some readers. Some readers share their concern for elderly people, while others ridicule them as if they were expendable and joke for them (Grzelka, 2020).

The similarity among those three studies that they use the same method of CDA and all of the discourse analyzed has relation to Covid-19. The differences among these previous studies are the focus of the analysis. Overall, they use CDA to analyze the meanings and interpretation beyond the discourses. Despite the revelation found from the analysis mentioned, it is not necessarily the absolute fact of what the discourses represent. There is more than what each research found. It is also affected by where the analysts' position themselves, what they analyze, why they analyze, how, they analyze, and to what end they analyze the discourse (Graham, 2018).

Therefore, the study using discourse analysis can only reveal some part of the information of the discourse. In the present study, it will investigate the structure, social cognition and social context of discourse in form of a speech given by a country's leader about COVID-19.

3. METHODS
3.1. Research Design
The design of this research is qualitative. The use of this research design is to support the characteristics which investigate Jokowi's speech. The qualitative approach is assumed in line with the research. It means that the purposes, process, and its data comprise of multi-aspects of the discourse being analyzed. In line with the purpose of this investigation is to get depth understanding and critical issues which are related to the Jokowi's opinion and attitudes toward Covid-19.

3.2. Object
The object of this research is Jokowi's speech which has been uploaded to his official YouTube channel namely Presiden Joko Widodo. The speech was uploaded on October 3rd 2020 under the title of *Pandemi: Fakta dan Data, Bukan Kira-Kira*.

3.3. Data Collection
How the data used in this research was collected are as follows: (1) downloading the subject's video which consist of Jokowi's speech (2) Transcribing the video to make it more easily to analyze, (3) analyzing webpages and other documents which are related to the Jokowi's opinions and attitudes towards Covid-19.

3.4. Data Analysis
To answer those questions, the authors which employed CDA as its design of analysis. The CDA used in this research focus on Van Dijk concept which focus on text structure, social cognition, and social context. And to investigate further, descriptive

analysis was employed and to see his attitudes towards Covid-19 in Indonesia; CDA was employed.

4. RESULTS

4.1. Jokowi's discourse structure in his speech about Covid-19

What Jokowi talked about in his speech was how the government of Indonesia has been dealing with Covid-19. He elaborated on programs that have been run by the government of Indonesia throughout this pandemic as he said some of these statements-

"*Namun tidak sedikit yang telah kita kerjakan*",
"*Singkatnya strategi pemerintah sejak awal adalah mencari titik keseimbangan*",
"*Banyak yang telah pemerintah lakukan, banyak sekali, macam macam programnya*"

Translation:
"Yet, not a little have we done"
"Shortly, the government's strategy is to look for a balance point from the first place"
"The government has done many, many kinds of programs"

He also emphasized on the main strategy used by the government to take care of both economic and the pandemic at the same time whereas both negatively correlated. Therefore, he said that the main strategy the government use is to look for the balancing point between both cases in order to raise the economy and reduce the pandemic problems. In addition to that, he claimed that how the government has been handling with the Covid-19 in Indonesia is not bad, in fact it is quite good. He supported his ideas by providing some data comparison between Indonesia and other countries by saying-

"*Saya bisa mengatakan penanganan Covid-19 di Indonesia tidak buruk, bahkan cukup baik*".

Translation:

"I can say that the treatment of Covid-19 is not bad in Indonesia, it is even good enough."

At last, he encouraged all elements of the country to contribute and to be optimistic in handling the Covid-19 together by having better programs for the government and being obedient and aware for the people as his speech–

"*Saya ingin menteri-menteri lebih baik lagi dalam bekerja*",
"*Namun tidak kalah pentingnya adalah peran peserta masyarakat untuk berubah*",
"m*enyesuaikan diri, menaati protokol kesehatan*"

Translation:

"I want all the ministers to work better"
"What more important is the role of community's participation to change"
"to adapt, to obey the health protocol."

The scheme of the speech consists of opening, contents, and closing. The opening was the greetings in Arabic and the solution to the audience by saying-

"*Bapak, Ibu, dan Saudara-Saudara yang saya hormat*i"

Translation:
"Ladies and gentlemen"

-and then directly talked about the pandemic and how the government has been handling it. The content of the speech in short was about the how the government of Indonesia deals with the Covid-19, the strategy used, how well the government has worked on it, and the encouragement to all elements to work together in dealing with the pandemic. The speech was closed by praying and closing in Arabic.

The background in Jokowi's speech was not stated in the speech thoroughly but there is a sentence that indicates as the background of what he was trying to deliver to the people of Indonesia-

"*Tujuh bulan sudah kita bersama-sama menghadapi pandemi ini*"

Translation:

"We have been facing this pandemic together for seven months"

The sentence is translated as "we have been dealing with this pandemic for seven months". This indicates broader meaning because the explanation in his speech consist of report and further effort that is expected to do in dealing with the Covid-19. This can be summary or response to what have been going on to deal with the pandemic since a lot of news have been talking about COVID-19 in Indonesia. To avoid hoax and inform what's right may be the background of this speech.

The speech of Jokowi seems to have quite enough coherence because there were twelve conjunctions were found in the speech. The coherence are also various, they are additive, adversative, and also causal. The reference was only used when Jokowi refers to the government and the all the minister that assist him in is presidential. The sentences used in the speech were mostly active, only few sentences are in form of passive voice. Some of them are-

"…t*etap yang harus diutamakan*"

"…d*ibandingkan dengan beberapa negara Asia Tenggara lain misalnya…*"
"*Angka angkanya silhkan dilihat sendiri di tampilan yang ada di sini*"

Translation:

"…still have to be prioritized"
"…compared to some South East Asian nations, for instance…"
"The numbers can be seen on the screen here"

The others are in active sentence. The word choices used are various including positive, neutral, and negative.

4.2. Jokowi's social cognition in his speech about Covid-19

Social cognition addresses how the discourse can be made, and sometimes the understandings are different. The sense of the debate relies on the authors or the speaker. What they write and say will represent their ideology.

In the discourse that is being analyzed, Jokowi, the president of Republic of Indonesia delivered his speech about how the government has done dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia for the last seven months. As the president and the one who delivered the speech, he wanted his people to know that he, represented the government has done many in dealing with the COVID-19. This is seen as a convincing to the people that the government has been seriously doing some actions to overcome the problem that is caused by the COVID-19. He not only mentioned that he had done many actions once, but several time throughout his speech for instance in his saying-

"*Namun tidak sedikit yang telah kita kerjakan*",
"*Banyak yang telah pemerintah lakukan, banyak sekali, macam macam programnya*",
"*Angka angkanya silhkan dilihat sendiri di tampilan yang ada di sini*"

Translation:

"Yet, not a little have we done"
"The government has done many, many kinds of programs"
"The numbers can be seen on the screen here"
-pointing out data on the screen and others.

As the leader, he also wanted his people to know what strategies he use and what has been the result of the strategies. As he said that he pointed out on the balance between public health without ignoring the economy because they are somehow interrelated. This is because as a leader, he wanted to look good and care by being transparent in his work. None would be more satisfying knowing the transparency from their government's work.

Other than that, he also tried to motivate their people and those who work with him dealing with the COVID-19. The motivations he gave were described in many forms like reminding his subordinates not to be sloppy in taking actions, encouraging people to be optimistic, reminding the minister to work harder, encouraging people to be aware of the protocol, and appreciating those who have been working hard helping the government to deal with COVID-19. This motivation is required to elaborate in his speech since his performance will be seen through how his subordinates work and also to engage the people to participate in overcoming the problems related to COVID-19.

4.3. Jokowi's social context in his speech about Covid-19

It needs inter-textual interpretation when examining the social context. Inter-textual research must therefore be conducted by analyzing how the discourse is created and developed by society in order to examine the text. Past, circumstance, incident, and social state of social analysis that affect the language in a text.

The speech of Joko Widodo was published on October 3rd 2020 on his YouTube channel. This is believed to be the review and his response to what has been going on lately on the news about how Indonesia in dealing with COVID-19. Since Indonesia was officially announced the first case on March, many international and national news media like BBC, CNN, Liputan6, Kompas, Detik, and others reported that the increase of cases in Indonesia had been significant. As quoted also from CNN Indonesia (2020), the epidemiologists mentioned the cases in Indonesia were uncontrollable. This of course can be based for the reader to judge that the government had not been doing well in dealing with the COVID-19.

Before Jokowi published this speech, there were more than ten videos that had been published regarding the COVID-19. Yet, those videos were specific to particular thing like encouraging to wear masks, adapting to new life style, applying lock-down policy, and others. By publishing this speech, he wrapped up information and facts that has been done by the government of Indonesia in dealing with the pandemic.

Among other topics, he mentioned efforts and strategies that have been done by the government, giving motivation and evaluation to both the people who work for the government and to the people of Indonesia. Just like what mentioned earlier that this speech is a response to the information that has been spread out about the condition of Indonesia dealing with the COVID-19. He emphasized that he as a represent of the government have done many actions to solve these problems by finding out the balance point between public health and economy. He also claimed that the efforts that have been done to deal with COVID-19 was not bad. This can be the response to that news that reported the lack of the progress of how Indonesia have been dealing with COVID-19.

In addition, motivation and evaluation was also elaborated like when he mentioned about lock-down policy. He was giving a sarcasm related to lock-down policy in a big scale that have been done by some of regional governments. This statement may be motivated by the massive dismissal that had been going on because of COVID-19 as a result of the policy that is applied in a big scale. In another word, the

unemployment rate was high because of the big-scale-lock-down. Looking at what have been done by the ministers of Indonesia, especially those whose works are dealing with COVID-19, Jokowi reminded them to work harder. At last, he encourages people to be aware of the protocol and appreciated those who work in medical services and always be optimistic in fighting with this pandemic. This may be seen as a necessary topic to cover in his speech as the leader of a country because he needs to address those who have been doing great in their job overcoming COVID-19.

5. DISCUSSION

The finding shows that Jokowi as a represent of Indonesian government has done many efforts in dealing with the pandemic. This is actually supported by study that record responses to COVID-19. Indonesian government has issued many regulations related to COVID-19 even from early January, before the first case was found. This confirms what Jokowi said was considered true. Besides, the policies that has been made by the government must aim at the good of the people of Indonesia and the country itself. In fact, a survey shows that so far the policy responses of the government have been aimed at steadying the ship, addressing the needs of both the poor and the potentially poor or vulnerable classes (Olivia, Gibson & Nasrudin, 2020).

Additionally, the strategy used by the government which is to find the balance point between public health and economy is considerably right. Looking at both impact that eventually end up in the same point, these two have to be considered as important as one another. Related to health it can cause serious respiratory failure even death (Singhal, 2020), to economy it also can cause negative impact to like low investor sentiment (Nasution, Erlina & Muda, 2020). It can also directly cause of losing the jobs of the people (Shalihah, 2020) which leads to poverty. A forecast about how poverty will be in Indonesia caused by COVID-19 described that the poverty rate will rise from 9.2 percent in September 2019 to 9.7 percent by the end of 2020 under the mildest COVID-19 effect on development, meaning that 1.3 million more people will be forced into poverty. The poverty rate will grow to 17.9 percent under the most extreme forecast, meaning 23.4 million more people will become poor, reversing Indonesia's gains in poverty reduction back to 2002, when the poverty rate was 18.2 percent (Suryahadi, Izzati & Suryadarma, 2020).

Other information that he delivered in his speech claiming that Indonesia has been done not bad compare to other countries. He emphasized that since Indonesia is a large country, it also has to be compared with the similar scale country not to countries that has significantly smaller than Indonesia. Five days after the release of the video on his YouTube channel, Narasi (2020) also released a video entitled "*Membaca Maksud Pernyataan Jokowi Soal Pandemi*" defying that the data given by Jokowi showing small numbers of cases because the testing was not many. They then showed the comparison of testing per a thousand people to countries that is about the same scale as Indonesia and found that Indonesia has almost 10 times less testing than those countries. Not only that, Indonesia's positive rate was the highest among those countries.

Regarding the lock-down policy on large scale that Jokowi did not suggest because it would have impact to Indonesia's economy unfortunately was not supported by a study that was conducted in Indonesia suggesting that the country should impose large scale lockdown, improve healthcare service, and quarantine the case contact (Setiati & Azwar, 2020).

Other than that, the fact that there was much news on many media that reported about COVID-19 in Indonesia is not actually a good thing. It can create misleading speculation like what a study suggested that the continued coverage of the COVID-19 pandemic has produced an alarming specter in Indonesia's 567 traditional media and 2,011 online media, one that misleads the public (Garrett, 2020). In a result, it is good that if this was the reason Jokowi published his wrap up speech about the development of COVID-19 cases in Indonesia.

The motivation and evaluation that Jokowi delivered in his speech can be a good move towards the impact of how Indonesian can deal with the COVID-19. Of course, not only through the motivation but also education that teach them how and what to do in fighting with the pandemic since what they know about COVID-19 has positively correlated to attitudes and actions to prevent themselves from getting infected of COVID-19 (Moudy & Syakurah, 2020). Another study also found that in Indonesia, most people have strong awareness and an optimistic outlook about the COVID-19 pandemic. Nevertheless, detrimental perceptions have also been established in this study and as a result, transmission reduction strategies are unlikely to achieve their full efficacy by merely promoting to the general public the rise in day-to-day cases (Sari, Amelia, Dharmajaya, Sari & Fitri, 2020).

6. CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATION

In conclusion, this research aims to see the discourse structure of Jokowi's speech, its social cognition, and social context. The discourse structure of Jokowi's speech indicate: What Jokowi talked about in his speech was how the government of Indonesia has been dealing with Covid-19. The main strategy used by the government which is to look for the balancing point between both cases in order to raise the economy and reduce the pandemic problems. He claimed that how the government has been handling with the Covid-19 in Indonesia is not bad. He encouraged all elements of the country to contribute and to be optimistic in handling the Covid-19 together by having better programs for the government and being obedient and aware for the people. As for the social cognition and social context are as follows: As the president and the one who delivered the speech, he wanted his people to know that he, represented the government has done many in dealing with the COVID-19. This is seen as a convincing to the people that the government has been seriously doing some actions to overcome the problem that is caused by the COVID-19. He also wanted his people to know what strategies he uses and what has been the result of the strategies He also tried to motivate their people and those who work with him dealing with the COVID-19.

By conducting this study, it is expected that the speech delivered by Jokowi is well comprehended. This study is also expected to be an example for those who want to

conduct a research using critical discourse analysis especially when they learn about Discourse Analysis.

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