

INTISARI

Pada masa puncak pandemi COVID-19 tahun 2020-2021, Presiden Joko Widodo harus mengomunikasikan respons penanganan pandemi yang berbeda dari komunikasi politik sebelumnya. Melalui pendekatan Analisis Wacana Kritis, disertasi ini mengkaji bagaimana Jokowi mengonstruksi penanganan pandemi di Indonesia melalui perangkat linguistik dan strategi wacana, dan bagaimana dimensi komitmen politik penanganan pandemi disampaikan melalui struktur paralelisme.

Data penelitian ini adalah 103 wacana pidato bertema penanganan COVID-19 yang disampaikan Jokowi dari Maret 2020 hingga April 2022. Analisis fitur linguistik difokuskan pada struktur pidato, pola pilihan leksikal, dan penggunaan perangkat retorik metafora. Eksplorasi strategi wacana meliputi strategi persuasi dengan fokus pada metafora dan intertekstualitas, serta strategi legitimasi yang mencakup substrategi seruan terhadap emosi, visi masa depan hipotetis, dan ekspresi altruistik. Disertasi ini menggunakan Voyant-tools untuk mengidentifikasi fitur linguistik, sedangkan pendekatan Analisis Metafora Kritis diterapkan untuk mengkaji metafora secara mendalam. Piranti linguistik paralelisme digunakan untuk menganalisis dimensi-dimensi komitmen Jokowi dalam penanganan pandemi.

Temuan utaman penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa fitur pronomina pertama jamak *Kita* dan *Kami* serta pronomina pertama tunggal *Saya* difungsikan untuk mengonstruksi hubungan kekuasaan, ideologi, dan struktur sosial. Di sisi lain, strategi persuasi menjadi alat politik kebahasaan yang membentuk opini publik, dan memengaruhi sikap masyarakat menghadapi pandemi, sementara strategi legitimasi menjadi piranti untuk membenarkan tindakan dan kebijakan pemerintah. Kedua strategi ini mengakomodasi berbagai tujuan politis Jokowi, seperti mempertahankan kekuasaan, mencapai penerimaan sosial, memperkuat hubungan masyarakat, hingga membangun citra sebagai pemimpin yang sukses dalam menangani pandemi. Dalam kaitannya dengan komitmen politik, pilihan struktur paralelisme dalam wacana pidato menjadi piranti yang mengungkap ideologi yang dibentuk Jokowi di balik retorika prioritas kebijakan penanganan pandemi, yakni ekonomi di atas kesehatan yang mengarah pada neoliberalisme. Prioritas ini disusun untuk mendukung kesiapan ekonomi pascapandemi dan efisiensi investasi, meskipun hal tersebut berdampak pada ketidakstabilan aspek kesehatan masyarakat.

Penelitian ini berkontribusi terhadap kekayaan penelitian strategi komunikasi politik di masa krisis dan terhadap pemahaman komitmen politik terhadap bencana nonalam, terutama dalam konteks ekonomi, kesehatan, dan politik. Secara emansipatoris, disertasi ini mengungkap bagaimana ideologi dalam penggunaan bahasa dapat membentuk wacana publik terkait isu-isu kritis, serta berperan dalam membangun pemahaman kritis terhadap komitmen politik pemimpin negara dalam menghadapi krisis.

Kata Kunci: *Fitur Linguistik, Komitmen Politik, Pandemi COVID-19, Presiden Joko Widodo, Strategi Wacana*

ABSTRACT

During COVID-19 pandemic in 2020-2021, President Joko Widodo faced the challenge of communicating the responses to the pandemic which was different from political communications prior to the pandemic. This dissertation examines linguistic features and discourse strategies employed by Jokowi in constructing pandemic COVID-19 in Indonesia, and his political commitment to pandemic handling. Using the Critical Discourse Analysis approach, this dissertation examined how Jokowi constructed his policies, measures, and political commitments through discourse strategies. Data were 103 speeches on pandemic handling delivered by Jokowi from March 2020 to April 2022. The analysis of linguistic features was focused on rhetorical structure, patterns of lexical choices, and conceptual metaphor as rhetorical device. The exploration of discourse strategies includes persuasion strategy focusing on metaphor and intertextuality, and legitimization strategy which included appeals to emotions, hypothetical future, and altruistic expressions. Voyant-tools was utilized to identify the most salient linguistic features, while the Critical Metaphor Analysis approach was applied to examine conceptual metaphors in depth. As for the tool to analyse political commitment, parallelism as the most salient strategy found in the dimensions of Jokowi's commitment in handling the pandemic was used.

The findings indicate that the first plural pronouns *Kita* and *Kami* followed consecutively by the first singular pronoun *Saya* were the key factor in constructing power relations, ideology, and social structures. As for discourse strategies, persuasion strategy was employed by Jokowi to shape public opinion and influence people's attitudes towards the pandemic. Meanwhile, the legitimacy strategy was functioned to justify government actions and policies. These two strategies accommodated various Jokowi's political ambitions, such as maintaining power, achieving social acceptance, strengthening public relations, and building an image as a successful leader amidst the chaotic handling of pandemic. In relation to political commitment, parallelism in the structure of the sentences containing political commitment became essential instrument to express various policies and measures. The aspects identified from the commitments revealed the ideology behind the priority of the pandemic handling policy, namely the economy over health indicating neoliberalism. This priority is formulated to support post-pandemic economic readiness and investment efficiency, even though it has an impact on the instability of public health aspects.

This study contributes significantly to the wealth of research on political communication strategies during crises and to the understanding of political commitment related to non-natural disasters, especially in the context of the economy, health, and politics. Emancipatory, this dissertation reveals how ideology in the use of language can shape public discourse on critical issues and play a role in building a critical understanding of the strategies and political commitments of state leaders in dealing with crises.

Keywords: *COVID-19 Pandemic, Discourse Strategy, Linguistic Features, Political Commitment, President Joko Widodo*