Critical Discourse Analysis of the Indonesian Government in the VIJCA Era

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Abstract. The rapid changes of the times affect various aspects of human life globally. This condition is considered part of the conditions that occur in the Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity, and Ambiguity (VUCA era). The VUCA era has also impacted people in Indonesia, especially in the economic sector, causing prices of basic necessities to keep rising. To manage the economic situation, the Indonesian government must adopt an effective public communication strategy to stabilize society. This research uses Stuart Hall's representation theory, which examines how language produces meaning in public communication. The aim is to analyze the government's communication strategy in responding to global economic and political uncertainty in the VUCA era. The study adopts a qualitative approach, utilizing critical discourse analysis by Norman Fairclough. The primary data comes from the Indonesian government's communications, specifically through the Presidential Secretariat's YouTube account, analyzing three selected videos. The findings indicate that President Joko Widodo's administration aims to shape public perception, reassuring citizens that the nation's economic uncertainty is manageable. This research highlights the importance of understanding the VUCA era and provides insights for the government to adopt appropriate communication strategies to guide public attitudes and behavior.

Keywords: economy, communication, politics, representation, VUCA

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INTRODUCTION

The current global economic conditions are difficult for various countries to predict. This is inseparable from the ongoing elections, polarization, and conflicts within and between countries (Kaya, 2024). Geopolitical conditions pose significant challenges to national economies, highlighting the importance of effective risk management to ensure economic stability. This is exemplified by the ongoing conflicts between Russia and Ukraine, as well as Palestine and Israel.

The current conflict between Russia and Ukraine is seen as a dramatic world event. Not only does it kill people, but it also negatively impacts the environment, economy, and society globally (Pereira et al., 2022). One notable impact is the ongoing increase in crude oil prices (Zhou, 2022). This rise is driven by the uncertainty surrounding the global implications of the conflict, which in turn disrupts the global supply chain. (Siddi et al., 2022).

This condition certainly impaxts Indonesia. This occured because the conflict between Russia and Ukraine affecting caused global inflation, Indonesia. The conflict disrupted the global supply chain to Indonesia, thus disrupting the global economic recovery (Syahtaria, 2022). Indonesia is also experiencing pressure on agricultural product commodities, even discriminatory pressure from the European Union, which has economic implications (Hutabarat, 2023).

The current uncertain global economic and political conditions are a small part of the VUCA (Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity, and Ambiguity) era. Johansen and Euchner explain that the term VUCA is applied to describe the contemporary strategic environment that includes various aspects (Taskan et al., 2022). Some of these aspects include technological change, global economic conditions, unstable financial markets, and consumer behavior.

The VUCA phenomenon needs to be seen as part of the characteristics of the modern world, which is more varied, undefined, multilateral, complex and ambiguous (Fedoniuk, 2020). The term also reflects the consequences of high mobility of people and goods, including management and employment in the future, given the creation of new business models and new skills requirements (Pacheco-Velazquez, 2024). Indonesian government's strategy for addressing the VUCA era and managing public conditions involves developing an effective public communication strategy.. One is done by continuously updating information through the official YouTube channel of the Sekretariat Presiden. As in conditions where oil prices rose due to the war between Russia and Ukraine, the obstruction of global supplies, especially export-import, and the increase in the cost of primary needs. The government took the steps to bring a sense of security and tranquillity to the public amidst global geopolitical and economic uncertainty.

Public communication strategies carried out by the government in the VUCA era cannot be separated from the practice of representation. Stuart Hall argues that representation, especially with a constructionist approach in using ordinary language, is used to fix or reconstruct the meaning of messages (Rosida & Saputri, 2019). Representation can be part of the practice of meaning

production that can be exchanged directly or mediated through the media (Anzari, 2020). Public communication by the government to face the VUCA era is an important representation practice to observe. Based on this background, this study aims to conduct a critical discourse analysis of the Indonesian government's public communication strategy in dealing with global economic and political fluctuations in the VUCA era. This research focuses on information communicated through the Youtube of the State Secretariat, which focuses on topics related to political economy issues.

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach with a text analysis method. The analysis technique chosen in this research is Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis. This critical discourse analysis focuses on the use of language, especially concerning social practices that pay attention to the three dimensions of language (Prayogi, 2023). The three dimensions are the micro, meso, and macro levels. As seen in Figure 1, microanalysis concentrates on the efforts made by researchers to analyze the text that appears in the form of descriptions. At the meso level, researchers interpret the relationship between the discourse production process and the text. At the macro level, researchers explain the relationship between the discourse process and social processes.

Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model has a relationship with representation. Prayogi (2023) explains three basic elements in the critical discourse analysis model offered by Fairclough: representation, relations, and identity. Representation analyzes how the message's sender displays individuals, groups, actions, and activities as a clause or series of sentences. Representation can also seep into society's normative

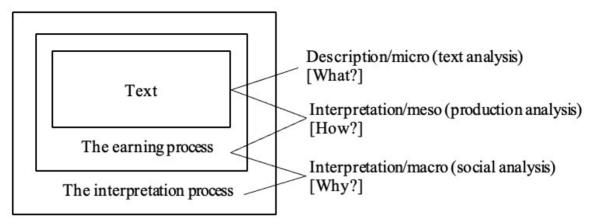


FIGURE 1. Fairclough's three-dimensional critical discourse analysis framework Source: Media, Wacana Korupsi, dan Analisis Wacana Kritis Norman Fairclough: Teori dan Aplikasi Analisis Wacana Korupsi dalam Situs Indonesia.

ideology through various content in the media (Amanda, 2022). In the relation element, an analysis is carried out on how participants in the media are displayed through the text. Meanwhile, identity is associated with how the media displays and constructs information in the field.

Based on the methods and analysis techniques used in this research. the primary data used is the information content published on the YouTube account of the Sekretariat Presiden. The account was chosen because the Sekretariat Presiden is considered one of the accounts representing the government's position in conveying information to the public. Meanwhile, the secondary data of this research comes from previous research and books that complement the analysis conducted by researchers. The sample used for this research is video content selected based on the research topic. The topics chosen are related to the national economy and politics. The topic was selected because Indonesia's economic and political problems cannot be separated from the current geopolitical and global economic conditions, giving rise to various uncertainties in the lives of Indonesian people.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Representation of National Economic Conditions

Indonesia's economic conditions in 2024 are dynamic and subject to frequent changes. These fluctuations are not only driven by geopolitical and global economic factors but are also influenced by domestic conditions. The publication from Kementerian Keuangan Republik Indonesia (2024) explains that strong domestic demand, consumption, and investment amid global economic growth put the Indonesian economy in a weak position. However, Indonesia can still record relatively good growth at 5 per cent. This is seen in the economic growth of the G20 and ASEAN countries.

The published information provides a glimpse into the current state of the national economy. Indonesia can still be resilient and maintain its current economic condition in uncertain global conditions. The government also shows this through various press releases. These efforts are made to control the public's view that Indonesia can survive in its current conditions. As well as through broadcasts from ministries, the president, as the symbol of the state, also has an important role in shaping public perception. One of them is done through the YouTube channel of the Sekretariat Presiden.

Various contents contain focusing messages Indonesia's on efforts to challenge the global economy. One is the content entitled Pernyataan Pers Presiden Jokowi dan Presiden Filipina Bongbong Marcos, Manila, 10 Januari 2024 (Sekretariat Presiden, 2024b). The content shows a video of President Jokowi and the President of the Philippines (Bongbong Marcos) giving speeches. The speeches are related to the 75th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Both countries utilized this momentum to convey the form of cooperation made.

> "We agreed to continue to open market access and Indonesia asked for support from the Philippines regarding special safeguard measures for Indonesian coffee products." President, Joko Widodo – January 10, 2024

President Joko Widodo's statement highlights the country's efforts to strengthen the national economy by enhancing access to a global market. For instance, the statement, "... Indonesia meminta dukungan Filipina terkait safeguard dengan special measure untuk produk kopi Indonesia", reflects Indonesia's initiatives to ensure security in export and import trade. Such safeguard measures are important because missteps in safeguarding can disrupt legitimate trade, thus unilaterally restricting imports (Taufig, 2021). If this were to happen, the destabilization of the global trading system could be disrupted, affecting national economic conditions.

In the speech, President Joko Widodo spoke about Indonesian coffee products. However, special safeguard measures are also essential for global trade in other commodities. This is based on export-import activities and their activity management scenarios that are important to consider. In this

case, strategic planning, operations, and control of these activities are important for the country (Pyroh et al., 2021). This attention is represented in government activities that maintain economic and social conditions. As in the cooperation, which is then publicized so that the public understands the government's efforts in maintaining economic stability.

Adaptive leadership is needed to handle the challenges of the everchanging VUCA era and adapt to an ever-evolving environment (Abukalusa & Oosthuizen, 2023). When the country wants to realize its vision, the Golden Indonesia 2045. Leadership steps taken by the government current government are an effort to achieve this vision. This is also seen in the concept of backcasting planning. Indonesia indirectly carries out this planning by setting goals for the future but still looking at current conditions. The conditions of uncertainty that occur today encourage the need for a major transition, especially to face the challenges of VUCA (Thorén & Vendel, 2019).

President Joko Widodo's next statement, "penguatan kesatuan dan centrality ASEAN," also strengthened the special safeguard measure. This statement aims to build peace, stability, and prosperity at the international level. This is an important concern because the issue of positive force will also benefit the stability of the world economy.

"Regarding the region, we agree on the importance of strengthening ASEAN unity and centrality, which is not just mere jargon. ASEAN must continue to adhere to the principles of international law and maintain a positive force for peace, stability and prosperity." President, Joko Widodo – January 10, 2024

The speech delivered by President Joko Widodo certainly cannot be

separated from the national interests of the Indonesian nation, especially in realizing the welfare of the people. Therefore, the quality of the communication delivered is very important and needs to be accurate (Ratnasari et al., 2024). However, in this case, what needs attention is the strengthening desired by President Joko Widodo. The unity and centrality of ASEAN is certainly a strong hope for all member countries, so there needs to be attention to efforts to increase partnerships in ASEAN, such as strengthening mutual trust, building common perceptions, and reducing tensions between countries. These three partnership efforts, when linked to the verbal text of President Joko Widodo's speech, refer to his hope to strengthen unity and centrality. In this case, unity and centrality can be seen as internalising development efforts into ASEAN countries, especially when creating dynamic economic and political conditions. President Joko Widodo mentioned these various efforts to build a view that strengthening unity and centrality is important, especially for Indonesia and the Philippines.

The two remarks are certainly related. The first speech refers more to the security aspect of global market access, especially between Indonesia and the Philippines. Then, the second speech relates to efforts to build unity and centrality based on the ideals of ASEAN countries. These two aspects become one context of economic interests in the face of global economic instability. particularly in light of current geopolitical conditions. Although conflicts between countries do not occur in Asia, the impact is quite extensive to Asian countries due to the obstruction of the international trade process. This condition is the basis for strengthening the unity and centrality of countries in ASEAN, especially for Indonesia.

The speech delivered by President

Joko Widodo and published on the YouTube account of the Sekretariat Presiden can be seen as a representation practice. This is also an important part of communication technology that changes people's lives (Setiawan et al., 2021). Through his speech, the president is trying to represent the voice and hopes of the people in maintaining the Indonesian economy, especially at the global level. The practice of representation carried out by the president and shown to the public needs to be done because of the perception of the local economy. In the political context, there is a view that the local economy has a negative perception associated with the political representation of the people. In addition, there are complaints from people who have negative sentiments, which are addressed to the people's representatives (McKay, 2019).

This social condition is what Indonesia is now facing in the middle of the VUCA era. Global economic uncertainty has become a challenge for every country, especially when faced with conflicts between countries and the depletion of crops that can be processed for global interests. This uncertainty is also felt in Indonesia, which makes the state need to practice representation various discourse production with efforts. These efforts are to maintain a positive public view in both political and economic contexts, thus minimizing the potential for chaos. The practice of representation through discourse production is one of the efforts that can be made by the state, especially to adapt to the uncertainty in the VUCA era. That way, the state has an important role in building public perception to ensure that economic conditions can be controlled despite facing an era of uncertainty.

Discourse Analysis of Indonesian Government Public Communication

The practice of representation by the government, in this case through the YouTube channel of the Sekretariat Presiden, is one of the reasonable stepsin context of top-down the public public communication. This communication strategy is needed to control the social and economic stability that exists in society today. The current national economic conditions are often unstable and experience significant increases in the prices of basic commodities. This certainly impacts the public's perspective on the government, which can be considered less capable of maintaining national economic stability.

The government indeed continues to make efforts to build public perception that they continue to work to maintain economic stability. The effort to create this perception is also carried out in various media outlets, including President Joko Widodo, who does it through the Sekretariat Presiden channel. This is an important part of the central government's strategy to provide certainty to the public; in this case, the president also directly intervenes. That way, the public can see that the president is also trying to be able to control the national economy even though, in this case, the minister also has this responsibility.

"It's been almost 2 weeks since I've checked. I wanted to check again at Magelang Market, and yes, almost everything was good. The price for cayenne pepper is now at 30, and red onions are at 20 at 22, which is a slight increase compared to other types of rice. Yes, prices are still stable; rice has only increased recently. "Yes, it's not yet the big harvest. If the production is abundant during the big harvest, the price will definitely decrease." President, Joko Widodo – January 29, 2024

On President Joko Widodo's speech taken from the publication

Sekretariat Presiden (2024b) with the title Presiden Jokowi Tinjau Harga Sembako di Pasar Mungkid, Magelang, 29 Januari 2024, it shows that there is a real action of a president to go directly to the community. This is a form of discourse text in which a supreme leader of the country is so concerned with the economic conditions of the people and immediately tries to check. This checking cannot be seen as an action by the president to assess the current economic situation and conditions. It is seen as a discourse of the leader's concern to counter the negative perception of the people towards the government. In addition, this momentum is also part of the president's efforts to assure the people that the instability can still be controlled until the national economy is stabilized again.

In the speech "Saya ingin cek kembali di Pasar Magelang dan ya hampir semuanya baik", the president tries to convince the public through the existing media that the current instability is still reasonably okay. This is supported by the following sentence, which gives examples of commodities such as cayenne pepper, shallots, and rice to emphasize the economic conditions still under control. However, the strongest issue in this economic uncertainty is the increase in national rice. However, President Joko Widodo tried to build a discourse that the price increase was still within normal limits because it was not yet harvest time. At that moment, the president built confidence that rice prices would return to stability (prices fell).

Price increases for basic necessities like this can occur for various reasons, as had previously happened among producers, retailers, and consumers when Covid-19 occurred. The emergence of a pandemic that affects human life globally has led to an increase in food prices, disrupting economic stabilization. When countries face this situation, food

security becomes very important because it is related to the availability of access to food sources needed to fulfil everyone's basic needs (Darma, 2020).

problem The of economic uncertainty is currently of concern to the government because it has become a global challenge (Niehaus & Mocan, 2024). This certainly encourages the need for policies and the government's active role in handling these conditions. In particular, to control restrictions on imports and exports of products. Handling such price fluctuations is also a challenge faced by every country, especially when based on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) program related to humanitarian aspects, especially in SDGs number 2 and 3 on Zero Hunger and Healthy and Prosperous Life. The government has a vital role in solving these problems in its country, especially in the issue of ending world hunger, a global challenge today (Iversen et al., 2023).

This suggests that the political aspect also encourages the government to stabilize the country's economy. This is because they hold international agreements that become joint programs of SDGs. In order for the program to be implemented, the government needs to have a strategy for dealing with this kind of condition. This ultimately encourages the government to build a public communication strategy, which is an important part of managing social conditions in society, especially with the management of public opinion formed through the YouTube channel.

"Yes, good prices. I saw that red onions are a good price of 25, then what was that. Oh chili, the chili is 35, which means it used to be up to 100, but now it's 35, then the rice has gone up a bit. But I have conveyed to Bulog that the SPHP (Food Supply and Price Stabilization) has dropped in the Wonogiri City market. "There's no

problem with rice stocks, we just need intervention on prices." ." President, Joko Widodo – 1 February 2024

As in the president's remarks delivered in the video with the title Keterangan Pers Presiden Jokowi. Wonogiri, 1 Februari 2024 (Sekretariat Presiden, 2024a), There is an effort to produce discourse by emphasizing the text related to price stabilization carried out by the government. In the sentence "Tapi saya sudah sampaikan ke Bulog untuk SPHP-nya drop di pasar Kota Wonogiri", there are three actions that the government wants to show to the public. The three actions of the government are their communication with Bulog, the effort to conduct SPHP, and the visit to Wonogiri. These three things need to be a concern because, in this discourse production, the government needs to build confidence in the public by showing the actions taken.

SPHP emphasizes Bulog because rice-related policies are an important element in controlling food security (Silalahi et al., 2019). This control needs to be demonstrated by the government through public communication practices. as food price volatility is seen as a considerable threat to social welfare economic and political stability (Ginn & Pourroy, 2022). Especially in 2024 in Indonesia, there is a momentum of presidential elections that can affect public trust in the government. This political condition also encourages the current Indonesian government to control national economic conditions to prevent negative attention from the public and reduce their negative perceptions due to the current political phenomenon.

The Indonesian Government's Efforts to Handle the VUCA Era

The practice of discourse production by the Indonesian government through the YouTube channel of

Sekretariat Presiden is an important step in facing the VUCA era. In this case, making the right decision is the responsibility of the leader to determine attitudes and behaviors to solve existing problems. The actions taken by President Joko Widodo, as shown on the YouTube channel of the Sekretariat Presiden, show his efforts in dealing with this condition. The attitudes and behaviors he shows also represent the government's efforts to deal with the economic uncertainty that is happening.

The government's strategy to deal with economic uncertainty and the complexity of the problems has always been demonstrated by public communication techniques through new media. This is because globalization has brought changes in the economic order that the public feels. It also encourages changes in the order of technology utilization, which makes a difference in how people view the world. (Shliakhovchuk, 2021). The government is now utilizing this perspective to manage public perception amid the problems arising in the VUCA era to make them believe that Indonesia can adapt to these situations.

This strategy important Indonesia has experienced because various challenges from uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity, including changes in consumer behavior in the contemporary era (Taskan et al., 2022). This can be understood from the changes in national economic conditions caused by various political conditions and even disasters/pandemics. In the middle of this situation, primarily related to national economic conditions, the government is trying to show its power to control public perceptions. However, in practice, this is not entirely successful because negative sentiment from the public still cannot be eliminated.

In the middle of the conditions faced by every country, including

Indonesia, efforts to fight this uncertainty pointless (Fedoniuk, 2020). seem Therefore, mass collaboration in the form of cooperation is needed to survive in these conditions. The various public communication measures taken by the government to date are an inseparable part of its efforts to build this collective cooperation. Preparing a country to deal with VUCA is not a matter for one person or one organization but for all people, organizations, and society in a country (Tamara et al., 2021).

For an organization, including the state, to survive and adapt in the middle of a VUCA environment, it is also necessary to have a deep reflection to continue to reform it. This reform can be in the form of self-transformation of the community to carry out change management in their lives. The government will certainly not be able to control the economy to remain as stable as it is today. There will be times when economic fluctuations such as price increases will continue as in the previous era. Therefore, self-reflection that encourages people to adjust their conditions to this situation is an important part of collective cooperation in facing VUCA.

Different geographical elements characterize the VUCA era, so the problems faced by leaders in each region are different (Baran & Woznyj, 2021). President Joko Widodo, the leader of Indonesia, certainly understands this. This is manifested in his understanding of the environment in Indonesia, to recognize the threats and opportunities faced by the problems that arise. This understanding results in appropriate actions by the country's leaders for proper management, like the president's efforts to manage the instability of basic needs prices. President Joko Widodo showed his steps by going directly to the field to control and check the market, regardless of political interest. This step is needed to handle the

significant increase in economic value.

The Indonesian government, represented by President Joko Widodo, faced a challenge in terms of leadership in his era in dealing with VUCA conditions. In this case, the president is not only limited to understanding national economic and political conditions. His understanding is needed to solve existing problems. This continues to be shown through broadcasts on YouTube, so that the discourse formed is not only limited to the words given by the president. Real action is taken to control the conditions that are happening.

Therefore, it is understood that it is important for a leader, especially in the realm of government, to have the competence to adapt to the VUCA environment (Kayal et al., 2023). It is necessary to take the right attitude, behavior and action to adapt to VUCA knowledge conditions. The is insufficient for the government or society to adapt to this environment. It requires understanding the economic, social, cultural, and political instability conditions that continue to fluctuate (Mahel, 2021). With a good understanding of these conditions, the government and society can adapt to national and global uncertainties. That way, the changing conditions will not be a big challenge. This effort is what the state is now continuing to build through various empowerment actions and increasing knowledge, in addition to managing perceptions that are built based on issues that arise in the community.

CONCLUSION

The Indonesian government strives to adapt and counter the uncertainty and economic fluctuations it faces today. This is not separated from the geopolitical conditions and global economic uncertainties that are continuing to happen. However, Indonesia is also

experiencing its own challenges within the national scope, such as the momentum and dynamics of the presidential election that's over now happening in 2024. This makes the government need to respond carefully so that global and national challenges do not become problems that increase negative public perceptions of the government.

The efforts made by the government in this condition to produce political discourse are channelled through various media, especially the YouTube channel of the Sekretariat Presiden, which is one of the channels representing the government. This channel acts not only as a means of communication but also as a symbol of the government's identity in the digital world. It represents the government's presence and its role in shaping public opinion. Through this channel, the government can inform its various activities. These activities become a text to build a public perception that the government is trying to control global economic conditions and the national economy in parallel. This is part of the government's action, where facing the VUCA challenge does not only require knowledge and information. However, an understanding of this phenomenon is needed to achieve the goals successfully.

Understanding these conditions also allows the government to take the right attitude and behavior. This relates to how the government defines its identity in the context of global and national challenges and the relational dynamics between the government and the public. This is a step that needs to be well considered so that the government can build positive perceptions in the views and thoughts of the public, to create a good relationship of collaboration government and between the community. This motivates the need for the right public communication strategy, especially when delivering information

to the press published in the new media. Defining this communication strategy is important as part of the communicative actions that the government can take to manage public perceptions and opinions of the government.

This research focuses on analyzing discourse and public communication from the government carried out through the YouTube channel of the Sekretariat Presiden related to dealing with global and national economic uncertainty. Therefore, this research has limitations, especially in selecting media as the primary data source. Future research could explore how different media platforms influence the representation of the government's identity and how these platforms manage relational dynamics with the public. The future research can analyze messages from public communication practices carried out by the government through online or old media. This is certainly different because these media are managed by the press, which is regulated by the press law. In addition, there are also media framing practices that can direct readers to see the government facing a VUCA environment full of turmoil and uncertainty both globally and nationally.

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