
Navigating Global Challenges and National Interest: The Discourse of Indonesian President Joko Widodo at the 2022 G20 Summit

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Abstract

The 2022 G20 Summit marks a pivotal moment for Indonesia, traditionally seen as a regional leader, to assert its global leadership amidst domestic challenges. This article argues that as the Chairman of the 2022 G20 Summit, Indonesian President Jokowi set a crucial agenda in his opening speech. Initially, he emphasized collective action, urging member countries to address global challenges collaboratively. However, upon closer examination, his narrative reveals a primary focus on advancing Indonesia's national interests within the context of global issues. Specifically, these interests promoted a green economy and attracted investments in renewable energy, sustainable infrastructure, and environmentally friendly industries. This perspective is reinforced not only through Jokowi's personal words but also through statements made by his ministers. Utilising NVivo 12 Plus, a detailed discourse analysis was conducted on President Jokowi's address at the 2022 G20 Summit. This research builds on previous studies on narratives in international relations (IR), identifying gaps related to the interplay between global leadership communication and national interests. The findings highlight Jokowi's pragmatic diplomatic style, which balances global collaboration with national priorities, thereby contributing to a deeper understanding of the dynamics of international collaboration and responsibility.

Keywords

Jokowi, Presidency, Economy, Challenges, Discourse analysis

Introduction

Regional powers are sovereign states that exercise significant power within a given geographical region. They shape the polarity of a regional area and have capabilities that are important in the region, but do not have capabilities at a global scale (Destradi, 2010). A regional power is a state belonging to a geographically defined region, dominating this region in economic and military terms, able to exercise hegemonic influence in the region and considerable influence on the world scale, willing to make use of power resources and recognized or even accepted as the regional leader by its neighbours (Navari, 2022). Additionally, regional powers have the ability to influence the region's political, economic, and security affairs. They can exert decisive influence on the geographic extension of the region as well as on its ideological construction (Prys-Hansen et al., 2023). Regional powers, on the other hand, tend to adopt a hegemonic mentality towards neighbouring countries as their military and economic capacities grow (Emmers 2005). Simultaneously, when regional powers arise from developing countries, they sometimes spark ambitions to supplant established powers (Narlikar, 2019).

Indonesia's regional hegemonic position in Southeast Asia has its roots during the era of the country's first president, Sukarno, who espoused the concept and vision of *Indonesia Raya* (Greater Indonesia), thus stating its early intention to be a dominant force in the Malay Archipelago which encompasses mainly the maritime domain of Southeast Asia (Putra, 2015). Specifically, Indonesia has long aspired to be a regional leader, a vision that dates back to President Sukarno's era, when he spearheaded the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and hosted the Asian-African Conference in Bandung in 1955 (Brigg et al., 2016; Gunn & Wei, 2022). After Sukarno was ousted in the mid-1960s and longtime dictator Suharto took over, Indonesia's regional clout only increased. In 1967 the country was one of the founding members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), then – and now – the most important regional organization in Southeast Asia (Emmers, 2014). Indonesia was a natural leader in the region under Suharto's leadership (Emmers 2014). Increasing Indonesia's role in ASEAN was first viewed as a concession to Indonesia's accomplishment in eradicating communist ideology and fostering regional stability following the country's confrontation with Malaysia (Anwar, 1997; Maksum & Bustami, 2014). In fact, some argue that the foundation of ASEAN was also intended to temper Indonesia's assertiveness in the region (Roberts & Widyaningsih, 2015). Nevertheless, notwithstanding regional and domestic dynamics, Indonesian leadership has consistently exerted an impact on regional politics ever since Sukarno assumed office, employing populist tactics and rhetorical strategies (Nair, 2023). Indeed, this diplomatic approach, characterized by neutrality and leadership within the Global South, continues to influence Indonesian diplomacy today. Understanding how these

historical influences shape President Jokowi's diplomatic style is crucial for comprehending the strategic narratives employed in his speeches.

The inclusion of Indonesia into the G20 group in 1999 was a noteworthy occurrence, given the country's vulnerabilities in key areas such as the economy and political stability, which were significantly impacted by the adverse effects of the 1997 monetary crisis. Nevertheless, the crisis's impact served as evidence of Indonesia's ability to successfully navigate and emerge from adversity, establishing itself as an exemplary model for other nations. Indeed, it subsequently emerged as one of the most significant democratic nations following a prolonged period under an autocratic administration. The fact that Indonesia possesses the largest Islamic population and exhibits a significant level of purchasing power parity serves to enhance its position as a constituent of the G20 (Naqsabandiyah et al., 2022). Furthermore, in 1999, despite just recovering from a crisis, Indonesia's economy exhibited a very favourable standing in comparison to other emerging nations, including fellow members of the G20 such as Argentina, Saudi Arabia, and South Africa. Indonesia, due to its substantial GDP size and population, is regarded as a potential representative of developing nations, capable of providing diverse solutions to the tortuous challenges they encounter (Salim, 2010). The insertion of Indonesia as a member of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) in the G20 is seen as a means of bridging the divide between Western and Eastern civilizations, which has been strained by the unfavourable perception of the slogan "Clash of Civilizations," particularly following the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United State (Hermawan et al., 2011). The entry of Indonesia into the G20 has greatly enhanced the country's regional power and elevated its standing. Despite Indonesia's authoritarian past, the nation has since undergone a transformation and emerged as a middle power (Ardhani et al., 2023; Grzywacz & Gawrycki, 2021).

Given the importance of Indonesia's G20 membership amid various challenges (Maksum et al., 2023), it is vital to investigate the dynamics of its leadership within the G20. Numerous past studies have sought to explore Indonesia's G20 presidency from diverse perspectives. Solechah & Sugito (2023), for instance, contend that Indonesia's goals during its G20 presidency revolve around advancing sustainable economic development. Indonesia, in its 2022 G20 presidency, highlighted global health architecture, the digital economic revolution, sustainable energy transition, and six pivotal economic and financial agendas. Intenilia (2022) suggests that the current G20 presidency offers a significant chance for Indonesia to amplify its global influence by championing cultural themes. Yet, while it's an opportunity for showcasing global leadership as a middle power, it seems overly ambitious given internal democratic challenges and complex domestic issues (Al-Fadhat, 2022). These analyses echo the government's stance, as reflected across various news outlets, that Indonesia stood to benefit from its G20 candidacy in 2022 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of

Indonesia, 2022). The 2022 G20 Summit represents a critical platform for Indonesia to assert its leadership on the global stage amidst domestic and international challenges. Analysing President Jokowi's speech at this summit is significant for several reasons. First, it offers insights into how Indonesia navigates its dual role of addressing global challenges while prioritizing national interests. Second, it highlights the evolving nature of Indonesia's foreign policy under Jokowi, which has shifted towards a more introspective and pragmatic approach compared to his predecessors. This shift reflects a broader trend in IR where countries seek to balance global cooperation with domestic imperatives (De Vries et al., 2021; Kinne & Maoz, 2022).

Indeed, the G20 Summit provides an important venue for Indonesia to discuss critical concerns and collaborate on solutions during economic downturns. As the holder of the G20 Presidency in 2022, Indonesia used the Bali Summit to advance its goals and ambitions on the international stage. Furthermore, the 2022 G20 Summit facilitated the formation of strong international alliances, promoting favourable conditions for trade, security, and several other areas of collaboration (Kuo, 2021). Furthermore, this was an opportunity to demonstrate the nation's efforts and initiatives in addressing major global concerns like climate change, poverty, and inequality (Fry & Egel, 2021). Global development leadership is waning, but it is still required for promoting an equitable recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic, addressing global issues, and driving progress towards the SDGs (Calleja et al., 2021). Three crucial studies delve into analysing Joko Widodo's speech at the 2022 G20 Summit: Hardiyanti et al., (2023), Rizqi & Sabat (2022) and Situmorang et al., (2023). However, these studies primarily focus on linguistic analysis without delving into international politics. Hence, this research gains importance by merging discourse analysis with international relations. It stands out by introducing two key ideas: narrative in international relations and the nexus between narrative and global challenges, aspects largely missing in prior research endeavours.

President Jokowi's opening speech at the G20 Summit in Indonesia reflects a significant moment in international discourse. The main question for this study is: How did President Jokowi strategically construct the narrative of global and national interest during the 2022 G20 Summit? This article argues that as the Chairman of the 2022 G20 Summit, Jokowi set a crucial agenda in his opening speech. Initially, he emphasized collective action, urging member countries to address global challenges collaboratively. However, upon closer examination, the narrative reveals a primary focus on advancing Indonesia's national interests within the context of global issues. Specifically, these interests revolve around promoting a green economy and attracting investments. This paper aims to conduct a detailed discourse analysis of President Jokowi's address, examining the language, rhetoric, and underlying themes that shape the narrative of global and domestic challenges. This research is important since its contribution to understanding global leadership

communication, aligning discourse with host country priorities, and illuminating the dynamics of international collaboration and responsibility. Therefore, the structure of this work consists of the following sections: introduction, narrative conceptualization, methodology, findings, discussion, and conclusion.

Narrative and Global Challenges

Narrative in International Relations

In the realm of International Relations (IR), the concept of narrative pertains to the utilization of storytelling and historical narratives for the purpose of elucidating and interpreting global politics. It underscores the significance of comprehending occurrences and phenomena through a narrative framework, rather than exclusively relying on theoretical or mechanistic cause-and-effect connections. The narrative explanation in IR involves scrutinizing the unfolding of specific events and grasping the historical context and influences that contributed to their unfolding (Linklater, 2009). This approach challenges the conventional boundary between IR and International History and underscores the importance of generating historical knowledge to address substantial issues in IR. Consequently, narrative in IR assumes a central role in understanding and depicting the intricacies of global politics, providing a pragmatic avenue for presenting assertions of truth regarding worldwide affairs (Suganami, 2008).

Narrative is an important concept in IR in order to understand how different actors construct their identities, interests, and goals. According to Benedikt Franz (2020), narratives not only explain but also transform the way we see and act upon the world by creating a “surplus of meaning” (p. 762). In other words, narratives can shape perceptions of the world and influence behaviour (Franz, 2022). Furthermore, narratives can also be used to legitimize certain policies or actions. For example, states may use narratives to justify their foreign policies or military interventions. Narratives can also be used to create a sense of national identity and to mobilize public support for certain policies or actions (Franz, 2022). Additionally, narratives can be used to build bridges between different cultures and societies, helping people gain a better understanding of each other’s perspectives and experiences, which, in turn, promotes mutual respect and cooperation between nations (Hagström & Gustafsson, 2019; Stevenson, 2019; Subotić, 2016).

Strategic narratives serve as a mechanism for political entities to collectively interpret global politics, influencing the behaviour of both domestic and international players. The analysis of narratives enables several outcomes. Initially, strategic narratives function as a means for states to express their interests, values, and aspirations concerning the global order. Secondly, from a policy perspective, Risse (2000) views attempts at shaping narratives by leaders as endeavours to overcome institutional constraints, both domestic and

international, emphasized in much historical institutionalist literature (Risse, 2000). To be more precise, strategic narratives act as tools for political actors to modify the discursive context in which they operate, shape expectations, and expand their influence. These narratives encompass discussions about both states and the overarching system, addressing questions of “who we are” and “what kind of order we desire” (Miskimmon et al., 2017).

Narrative plays a crucial role in diplomacy and foreign policy. According to Alisher Faizullaev and Jérémie Cornut (2017), narratives are instrumental for presenting a state’s case, achieving political goals, building coalitions, and developing and maintaining relationships. Narratives can be used to gain legitimation on certain policies or actions, create a sense of national identity, and to influence public perception of the government’s policies. In addition, narratives can be used to shape the perceptions of other states and actors. For instance, states may use narratives to justify their foreign policies or military interventions (Faizullaev & Cornut, 2017). Narratives can also be used to create a sense of continuity and stability as well as creating a sense of predictability and stability in international relations by providing a framework for understanding the behaviour of other states and actors (Faizullaev & Cornut, 2017).

In the case of the Russian annexation of Crimea, for instance, Russia used a narrative of protecting ethnic Russians in Crimea to justify its annexation of the region. Ukraine, on the other hand, used a narrative of defending its territorial integrity to justify its resistance to Russian aggression. Both Russia and Ukraine used narrative in order to gain public support as well as international legitimation (Faizullaev & Cornut, 2017). Meanwhile, the US used a narrative in its foreign policy that depicted China as a rising threat to the US and its allies. This narrative portrays China as a revisionist power that seeks to challenge the US-led international order and undermine the values and interests of the democratic world. The narrative also emphasizes the need for the US to counter China’s assertive behaviour and protect its leadership and credibility in the Asia-Pacific region (Chang, 2023; Mitter, 2022).

Ronald Krebs (2015), in his work entitled “Narrative and the Formation of US National Security,” prompts us to consider the influence of prevailing narratives on the development of national security policies. When examining the Cold War discussions on national security within the United States, Krebs suggests that these public narratives establish the acceptable boundaries of legitimacy, thereby restricting politicians in the scope of their legitimate arguments. Krebs focuses on how narration establishes boundaries for legitimacy. By examining how U.S. presidents craft narratives for the nation, he provides insights into how these narratives define the constraints of what is deemed plausible (Krebs, 2015). This, in turn, shapes the range of policy options that are perceived as viable (Tanquary, 2022).

Contrary to realist perspectives that attribute national security policies to the structure of an anarchic international system or liberal views that attribute them solely to negotiations

among different elites, Krebs aligns with Jackson's (2006) work, 'Civilizing the Enemy: German Reconstruction and the Invention of the West' (Sadriu, 2021). Together, they articulate a perspective highlighting how conflicts over the interpretations of common knowledge and existing discourses impact potential policy outcomes by prescribing the limits of acceptable argumentation. The theme of legitimation is a central focus for Jackson as well, as he delves into the rehabilitation of Germany post-Nazism and World War II. He examines how narratives emphasizing belonging to Western civilization were strategically employed by the U.S. and West German policymakers to integrate Germany into the U.S.–European alliance (Jackson, 2006). While Jackson maintains a policy-oriented perspective, his approach is more discerning, employing a process-tracing method that treats narratives as data to scrutinize the construction of our perceptions of what is feasible. Jackson's interest lies in how specific political configurations emerge through rhetorical strategies that legitimize certain courses of action over others.

The narratives surrounding the ascendance of China and Japan, for instance, carry implications for both regional and global peace. These narratives derive their influence from their associations with broader, more general narratives, such as the realist account of the rise and fall of major powers and the rational management of state responses to shifts in material capabilities (Hagström & Gustafsson, 2019). Ling and Nakamura (2019) counter these narratives by constructing an alternative storyline concerning the territorial dispute between China and Japan, challenging the prevailing state-centric narrative that has traditionally dominated the field of international relations (Ling & Nakamura, 2019). Furthermore, narratives delineating what is considered 'normal' or 'abnormal' in global politics, as well as the segmentation of the world into distinct sovereign states, serve an organizational purpose and mold perspectives on international relations (Gustafsson et al., 2018).

Moreover, strategic narratives play a pivotal role in influencing the adoption of policies in response to China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). As defined by van Noort and Colley (2020), strategic narratives are purposefully constructed stories that assure tangible benefits without compromising a state's fundamental sense of security. The authors posit that states are more inclined to embrace a new policy if they can strategically frame it in a manner consistent with their interests and identity (van Noort & Colley, 2021). The strategic narratives surrounding China's BRI underscore themes of connectivity, trade, and prosperity, which attract numerous states (Bloomberg News, 2019). Nevertheless, these narratives face challenges due to apprehensions about China's motives, its human rights record, and concerns about potential indebtedness. Some countries, for instance, worry about falling into debt traps and losing land, while others express unease about China's aspirations to establish a Sino-centric world order (Yao, 2019).

The adoption or contestation of China's BRI strategic narratives becomes apparent in the reactions of other states. For instance, Kazakhstan and Italy have formally aligned themselves with the BRI, although Italy has exhibited more reservations. Both nations echoed China's strategic narrative commitments to connectivity and partnership, but Italy approached the matter with greater scepticism (van Noort & Colley, 2021). In the case of China's BRI, narratives exert influence on policy adoption by shaping how states perceive the BRI and whether they align with the promises embedded in China's narratives. The degree to which states strategically present the BRI is influenced by their material interests and concerns about ontological security, ultimately influencing their policy choices.

In the context of Indonesian diplomacy, narrative construction has been a significant aspect of its international engagements. For instance, President Sukarno utilized the narrative of anti-colonialism and non-alignment to position Indonesia as a leader of the Global South. His speeches at the Bandung Conference in 1955 emphasized solidarity among newly independent nations and resistance against colonial and neo-colonial powers, which resonated with many countries in Asia and Africa (Brigg et al., 2016; Gunn & Wei, 2022). Similarly, President Suharto's New Order regime framed its narrative around economic development and political stability. During his tenure, Indonesia's diplomatic efforts were often couched in terms of attracting foreign investment and fostering regional stability. Suharto's narrative focused on portraying Indonesia as a reliable and stable partner for economic cooperation, which helped in securing international support and investment. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) shifted the narrative towards democratic values and global engagement. His administration emphasized Indonesia's transformation into a vibrant democracy and its active participation in global forums such as the G20 and the United Nations. SBY's narrative highlighted Indonesia's role as a bridge between the developed and developing worlds, advocating for issues like climate change and interfaith dialogue (Aspinall et al., 2015; Grzywacz, 2020). Therefore, comparing Jokowi's approach with those of his predecessors highlights the continuity and changes in Indonesia's diplomatic strategies, demonstrating how each leader has shaped and been shaped by the narratives they construct.

Narrative on Global Challenges

A decade ago *The Economist's* declaration that Africa was a lost continent sparked intense criticism from Africans (The Economist, 2011). However, in recent years, a shift in perspective has occurred among Western media outlets such as *The Economist*, *Financial Times*, and *Time Magazine*. They now highlight African countries as having some of the world's highest GDP growth rates, attracting a surge of investors (Perry, 2012). This narrative of Africa rising has found favour among African elites, particularly in South Africa, where it is

used to advocate for accelerated economic growth to generate employment, including measures such as reducing wages and labour standards (Wallis, 2013).

Critics argue that the Africa rising narrative, while alluring, is deceptive. Firstly, in cases where growth is supported by reliable statistics, the reported high growth rates often originate from a low initial baseline, providing limited substantive information. Secondly, even when there is statistical support, the narrative emphasizes substantial growth in extractive sectors without acknowledging the overall detrimental impact on Africa's resources being sent abroad. Thirdly, it is asserted that the narrow focus on GDP growth, favoured by investors primarily interested in their own returns, may hold little significance for the lives of ordinary people (Fioramonti, 2014). Frequently, the expansion of mining activities, dam construction, or the establishment of export zones for global conglomerates can lead to the displacement of people from their land or environmental contamination, as exemplified by Shell's oil explorations in Nigeria's Ogoni region (Pillay, 2015). A profound reassessment of the existing economic growth framework, especially within the African context, is imperative. The assertion is that the narrative of "Africa rising" is deceptive, advocating for a fresh perspective to escape the pattern of escalating inequality, dispossession, and ecological ruin.

In the case of China, the significance lies in its ability to shape strategic narratives that influence the regional order, particularly during times of substantial transformation, while highlighting the role of skilled leaders in setting the agenda and framing political discourse. A specific emphasis is placed on China's President Xi Jinping and his endeavours to construct a narrative placing China at the heart of the global order (Zeng, 2019). China's utilization of narrative, as seen in the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), is depicted as a comprehensive strategy projecting benevolent regional leadership. Nevertheless, there is a growing perception that China's narrative is rooted in principles of patronage, serving its strategic advantage and marked by asymmetric systems of influence and control (Byrne, 2020).

There is a necessity to present an opposing narrative for the future regional order, emphasizing the inadequacy of the established "rules-based order" in counteracting China's ambitious model. The "free and open Indo-Pacific" vision, initially articulated by Japan's Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, is proposed as a potential substitute, relying on collective leadership from Japan, India, and Australia (Rudyak, 2023). However, the current deficiencies in the effectiveness of the "Indo-Pacific" narrative are highlighted in areas such as clarity, consistency, and its potential association with containment efforts against China. The emphasis is on engaging China within the narrative, identifying shared interests, and advocating for collaboration over competition (Byrne, 2019).

Arguably, the prevailing narrative surrounding climate change often focuses on negativity, highlighting, expenses, and detrimental effects. Narratives, defined as socially

constructed “stories” that interpret events and phenomena within worldviews (van der Leeuw, 2020) play a crucial role in shaping preferences and opinions, thereby influencing human behaviour (Fløttum & Gjerstad, 2017). In the realm of climate change, it is widely recognized that these narratives, rather than raw climate information, significantly impact the motivation or demotivation of climate action (Chapman et al., 2017; Moser, 2010). This has sparked considerable debate over whether the pessimistic narrative is counterproductive for climate action, as the fear it instills may discourage proactive measures (Chapman et al., 2017).

Conversely, narratives possess the potential to empower individuals to address challenges such as climate change. In this context, Tàbara et al. (2018) propose the concept of transformative narratives—bottom-up stories that convey a positive and engaging perspective, outline a vision of the desired future, and offer practical solutions for achieving this vision, rather than merely highlighting problems to be avoided.

In the past, discussions about climate action mainly focused on global risks and solutions through international agreements to cut emissions. This view was supported by traditional models of how science and policy interact, where policies aimed to address a lack of knowledge (Simis et al., 2016). Climate research informed policymakers about the impact of greenhouse gas emissions, showing that current emissions would burden future generations with more extreme weather events, rising sea levels, and pressures on livelihoods, food, and health (IPCC, 2014). While developed countries and major economies were major emitters, the severe impacts were often felt by developing countries.

This narrative made strong ethical arguments for cutting emissions and helping developing countries adapt to the costs. It successfully put the climate issue on political agendas, leading to the creation of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Ethical arguments were crucial in getting commitments to ambitious climate goals and financial support from developed to developing countries, as seen in the 2015 Paris Agreement where 195 UNFCCC member states pledged to limit global warming to below 2°C (United Nations Climate Change, 2015).

However, the 2015 Paris Agreement introduced a new, bottom-up narrative that stressed voluntary contributions to climate action through Nationally Determined Contributions (NDC) from each country (Hinkel et al., 2020). This approach acknowledges the tough choices countries face between economic growth and climate action, focusing more on solutions that match the specific interests of individual countries. Although this bottom-up approach highlighting economic and sustainable development benefits is not new, its global acceptance within the UNFCCC is a recent development.

Indeed, narratives play a crucial role in shaping international relations (IR) by constructing and conveying states' identities, interests, and strategies. One prominent example is the narrative constructed by American President George W. Bush following the

9/11 attacks. In his address to the nation, Bush framed the attacks as a defining moment, leading to the “War on Terror” narrative. This narrative not only unified the American public but also influenced global politics, leading to military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq and significant changes in international security policies. The “War on Terror” narrative had far-reaching implications, shaping global alliances and contributing to divisions in global politics (Lee, 2023; Walldorf, 2022). Another example is the narrative American President Franklin D. Roosevelt used during World War II. His speeches, including the “Day of Infamy” speech after the Pearl Harbor attack, framed the conflict as a struggle between democracy and tyranny. This narrative galvanized American support for the war effort and helped forge strong international alliances crucial for the Allied victory (Dockter, 2022).

In the context of Indonesian diplomacy, narrative construction has also played a significant role. President Sukarno’s narrative of anti-colonialism and non-alignment during the 1955 Asian-African Conference in Bandung positioned Indonesia as a leader of the Global South. This narrative resonated with many newly independent nations, fostering solidarity and cooperation (Acharya, 2016). President Suharto’s narrative during the New Order regime focused on economic development and political stability. His diplomatic efforts emphasized Indonesia’s reliability as a partner for economic cooperation, attracting international support and investment (Liddle, 1991). Under President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), Indonesia’s narrative shifted towards democratic values and global engagement. SBY highlighted Indonesia’s transformation into a vibrant democracy and its active participation in global forums, promoting issues like climate change and interfaith dialogue (Fionna et al., 2018).

Methodology

This research employs discourse analysis, a regularly utilised approach among scholars for examining various forms of communication such as speeches, news releases, political rhetoric, and political campaigns (Biria & Mohammadi, 2012). Discourse analysis is employed to analyse the ways in which political power is expressed through language usage by different political entities in forums or events, such as campaigns or responses to public political concerns (Khan et al., 2019). In contrast to the utilisation of quantitative data sampling techniques, the discourse analysis approach places greater emphasis on employing small-scale sampling methods in order to attain a more profound understanding of conversation (Sriwimon & Zilli, 2017; Waikar, 2018). Hence, the present study centres on examining the discourse delivered by President Jokowi during the commencement of the G20 Summit held on 14 November 2022. The public can receive data pertaining to President Jokowi’s address in Bahasa Indonesia through the official channel of the Ministry of State Secretariat (Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia, 2022). Subsequently, the researchers meticulously transcribed the speech, ensuring that it aligned with the transcript that has been

extensively disseminated by diverse national media outlets. The English language transcription speech derived from the official video available in the Ministry of Communication and Informatics of Indonesia YouTube channel (Kemkominfo TV, 2022). The address presented by President Jokowi, delivered primarily in Indonesian with some English, comprised 557 words, while the English translation comprised 564 words. This research focuses on the English translation to ensure broader relevance and accessibility for the international community. Once the transcription was validated, it was analyzed using NVivo 12 Plus software. This analysis yielded various types of data, such as word dominance, tree-map, and text search queries.

Specifically, to provide a comprehensive analysis of Jokowi's speech, we utilized several analytical tools from NVivo, including sentiment analysis, word dominance, word tree, and tree-map analysis. Each tool offers unique insights into different aspects of the speech. Sentiment analysis, for instance, evaluates the emotional tone of the text, categorizing segments of the speech as positive, negative, or neutral. Meanwhile, word dominance or word frequency, identifies the most frequently used words in the speech, highlighting key themes and focal points. Word tree analysis, visualizes the relationships and contexts of specific words within the speech, showing how they are connected to various phrases and ideas. Tree-map analysis displays the hierarchical structure of word usage, illustrating the relative frequency and prominence of different terms (Alam, 2021; Dalkin et al., 2021; Phillips & Lu, 2018). Indeed, analysing emotions and word usage is crucial for understanding how leaders like Jokowi construct their narratives to persuade and engage their audiences. Emotions play a significant role in shaping audience perceptions and reactions, while the strategic use of words highlights the priorities and concerns of the speaker (Chapman et al., 2017; Nandwani & Verma, 2021). Discourse analysis provides clarity by contextualizing these elements within the broader social and political framework, allowing for a deeper understanding of the intended impact and effectiveness of the speech (Betty et al., 2022). The data processing procedure can be depicted in the following diagram.

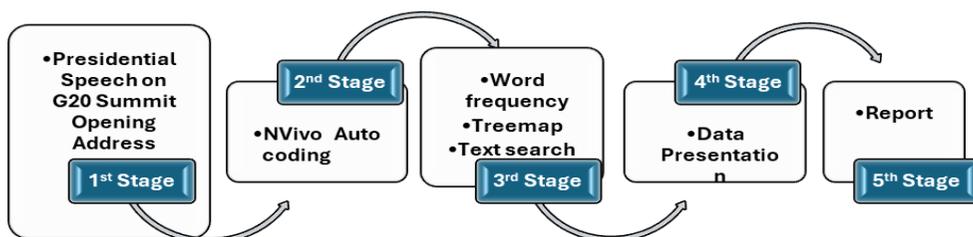


Figure 1 Data analysis procedures using NVivo.

Source: Author's own modification

Analysis and Findings

Jokowi's speech analysis using NVivo 12 Plus

In this section, we delve into a comprehensive analysis of President Jokowi's speech at the 2022 G20 Summit, leveraging the advanced capabilities of NVivo 12 Plus. Our examination unfolds through four distinct analytical lenses namely, sentiment analysis, word dominance, word tree, and tree-map analysis. Firstly, the sentiment analysis of President Jokowi's speech at the 2022 G20 Summit, conducted using NVivo 12 Plus, reveals a nuanced emotional landscape (Figure 2). Notably, around 19.9% of the sentiments were characterized as very negative, reflecting a segment of strong disapproval or criticism. A larger portion (48.2%), expressed a moderately negative tone, indicating a prevailing sense of scepticism or concern. On the positive spectrum, 16.1% of sentiments were identified as moderately positive, suggesting an acknowledgment of favourable aspects in the discourse. Moreover, a substantial 15.8% conveyed a very positive sentiment, underscoring a noteworthy level of approval or optimism. This distribution of sentiments portrays a complex emotional tapestry within President Jokowi's address, highlighting the diversity of reactions and perceptions it elicited, which range from strong criticism to significant approval.

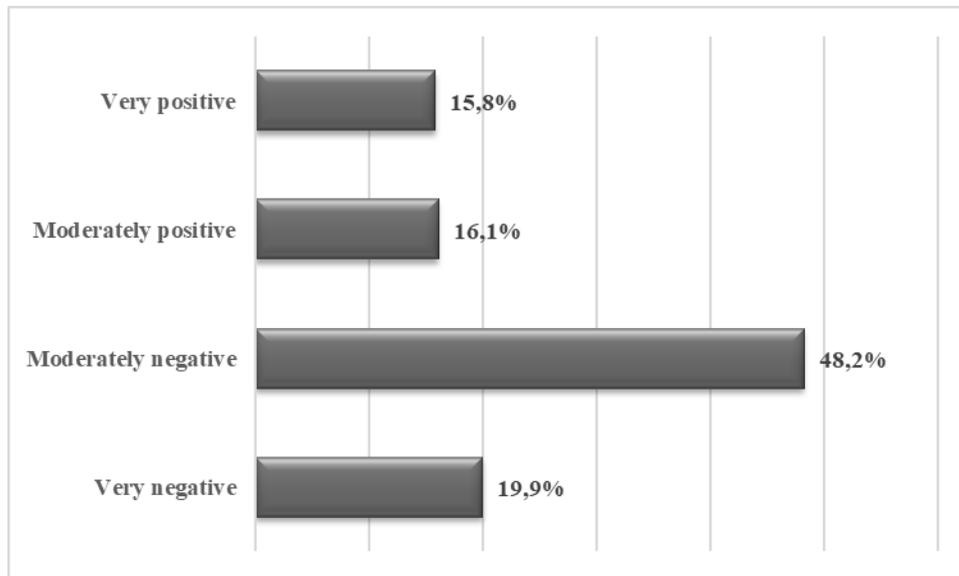


Figure 2 Sentiment analysis of Jokowi's opening speech during the G20 Summit.

Source: Generated using NVivo 12 Plus

Secondly, Figure 3 as a word cloud visualization, serves as a compelling visual representation of the dominant themes in President Jokowi's speech at the 2022 G20 Summit. The prominence of certain words, visually indicated by their larger size, unveils key

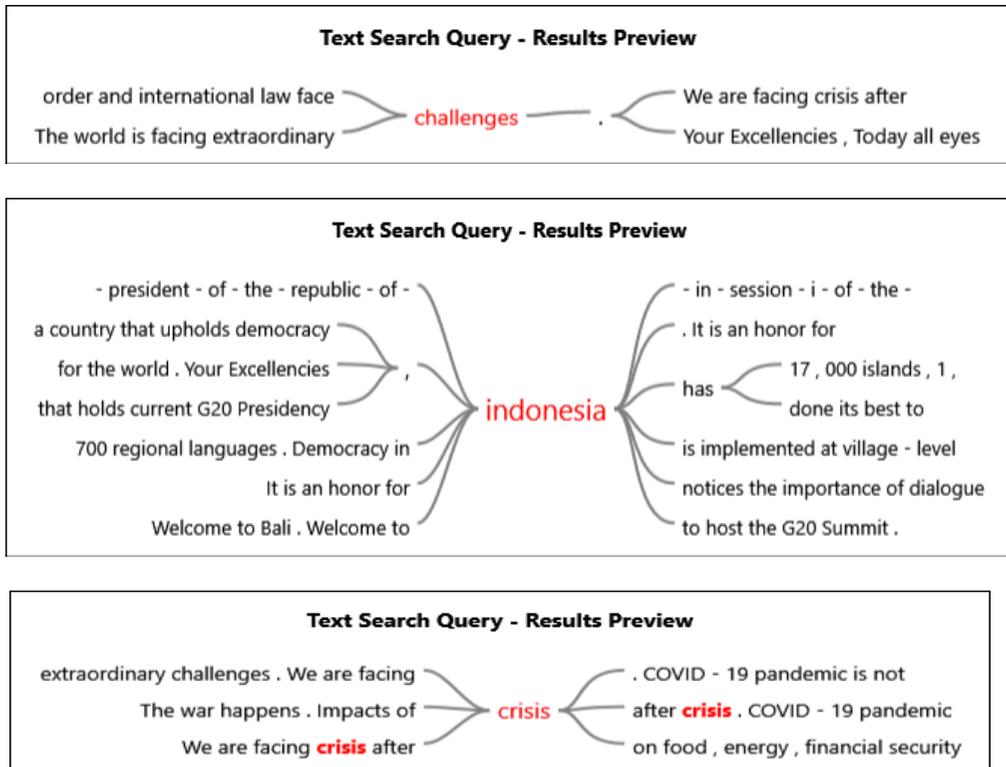


Figure 4 Word tree analysis of President Jokowi's speech during the G20 Summit.

Source: Generated using NVivo 12 Plus

Fourthly, Figure 4 is a tree-map illustrating the patterns of many commonly used terms by President Jokowi during the G20 Summit. The top part of Figure 4 illustrates the correlation between the most frequently used terms: world, g20, Indonesia, and the entire text, as represented by President Jokowi. President Jokowi delivered a statement using carefully selected words to convey a clear message about Indonesia's leadership role as the holder of the G20 Presidency. The address acknowledged the challenges of global politics and the need to balance domestic interests while emphasizing Indonesia's commitment to showcasing its leadership as the holder of the G20 Presidency.

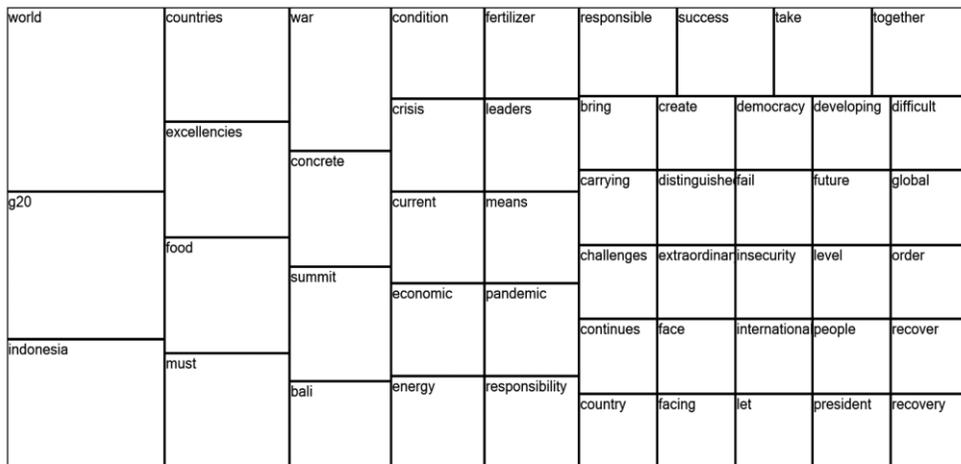


Figure 5 Tree-map flow of frequently used terms.

Source: Generated using NVivo 12 Plus

All in all, at the G20 Summit, where global leaders gather to address pressing world issues, the choice of words and the emotional tone of Jokowi’s speech played a crucial role in setting the agenda and fostering collaboration. The use of the keywords “challenges” and “crisis” is significant in the post-pandemic environment amidst ongoing wars and other global challenges. By emphasizing “challenges” and “crisis,” Jokowi aimed to galvanize action and foster a sense of solidarity among the member countries, encouraging them to work together towards common goals. At the same time, “green economy” and “energy transition” are aligned with global sustainability goals and Indonesia’s national interests. In this context, Jokowi sought to attract investments and partnerships to support Indonesia’s economic growth while addressing environmental concerns.

Discourse analysis of Jokowi’s opening address at the 2022 G20 Summit

In this section, we will employ discourse analysis to further deconstruct Jokowi’s speech by selecting several crucial excerpts that are considered pivotal to explain Jokowi’s narrative of conquering global difficulties while protecting domestic interests.

Excerpt 1: *The world is facing extraordinary challenges. We are facing crisis after crisis. COVID-19 pandemic is not over yet. Rivalry continues to grow. The war happens. Impacts of crisis on food, energy, financial security greatly affected all countries, especially developing countries. Do not underestimate the issue of fertilizer. If we fail take immediate action to fulfil fertilizer demand, 2023 will be worse.*

In this excerpt, President Jokowi highlights the world's ongoing challenges, including the lingering COVID-19 pandemic, growing rivalries, and the impacts of war on a global scale. He underscores the interconnectedness of these crises, which particularly affect developing countries in terms of food, energy, and financial security. Jokowi specifically draws attention to the critical issue of fertilizer, urging immediate action to meet demand and emphasizing its significance in mitigating the global food security and agricultural challenges. The language used conveys a sense of urgency, with a warning that failure to address these issues promptly may lead to a worsening situation in 2023. Overall, the discourse strategically emphasizes the need for swift, collective action to navigate and overcome the complex global challenges at hand.

The opening sentence of President Jokowi's discourse effectively captures the gravity of global challenges, signalling to the audience that the world is in a state of crisis marked by the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, escalating rivalries, and armed conflicts. However, what makes this narrative particularly compelling is the focus on the global fertilizer shortage, which directly impacts food production and agricultural stability. This addition serves as a nuanced and interesting element, showcasing Indonesia's unique position as an agricultural country, often regarded as one of the world's key food producers especially during the pandemic era (Halimatussadiyah et al., 2022). By emphasizing the potential scarcity of fertilizer, Jokowi underscores how this issue could pose a significant threat to global agriculture. The pivot to the critical topic of food security at the beginning of his speech further establishes the centrality of agricultural concerns in the discourse, portraying them as pivotal aspects of the broader global challenges discussed.

Excerpt 2: *Current higher food prices will be even worse and trigger lack stock of food. Fertilizer insecurity can lead to crop failure in several regions around the globe. Forty-eight developing countries with highest food insecurity will face serious condition. Moreover, we also can see that the world order and international law face challenges.*

In this elaboration, President Jokowi dives deeper into the implications of the agricultural issue, emphasizing its widespread impact and the critical need for global attention, particularly among G20 members. He begins by asserting that the current surge in food prices has the potential to exacerbate, triggering shortages and exacerbating the global food crisis. This immediate consequence serves as a global call to action, urging countries to recognize the severity of the issue. Jokowi's specific reference to fertilizer insecurity leading to crop failures across different regions underscores the interconnected nature of agricultural challenges, emphasizing that this is not a localized problem but one with global repercussions. The inclusion of the forty-eight developing countries facing the highest food

insecurity adds a poignant dimension, emphasizing the real and immediate consequences for nations already grappling with food shortages. This stark reality emphasizes the urgency of addressing agricultural issues and the need for collective efforts, particularly within the G20, to mitigate the potential humanitarian and economic crises that could arise.

Moreover, Jokowi's acknowledgment that the world order and international law face challenges suggests that addressing agricultural concerns is not just about food security but also has broader implications for the global governance framework. By pointing out challenges to the existing world order and international law, he underscores that the agricultural crisis is a multifaceted issue with implications beyond immediate food shortages. This broader perspective highlights the need for comprehensive and systemic solutions to address the root causes of the problem. Jokowi's articulation of these challenges within the global governance framework also signals that international cooperation and collaboration are crucial to effectively navigate the complexities of agricultural issues. In this context, the mention of G20 members becomes particularly significant, as it implies that these influential nations must play a central role in developing and implementing coordinated strategies to address the far-reaching consequences of agricultural challenges on a global scale.

***Excerpt 3:** We have no other option. Paradigm of collaboration is badly needed to save the world. We all have responsibility, not only for our people, but also for the people of the world. Being responsible means respecting international laws and principles of the UN Charter consistently. Being responsible means creating win-win, not zero-sum situations. Being responsible here also means we must end the war. If the war does not end, it will be difficult for the world to move forward. If the war does not end, it will be difficult for us to take responsibility for the future of current generation and future generations. We should not divide the world into parts. We must not allow the world fall into another cold war.*

This discourse highlights the urgent need for a collaborative approach to address global challenges, stating that there's no alternative. It underscores the importance of responsibility, not only towards one's own people but for the entire world, emphasizing adherence to international laws and the UN Charter. The narrative promotes the idea of creating mutually beneficial situations rather than competitive ones. It strongly connects responsibility with the imperative to end wars, suggesting that ongoing conflicts hinder progress and make it difficult to secure the future for current and upcoming generations. The discourse rejects division and warns against the dangers of falling into another Cold War, advocating for a united global stance. Overall, it calls for collective responsibility, cooperation, and a commitment to preventing conflicts for the betterment of the world.

Furthermore, this narrative reflects President Jokowi's strong advocacy for peace, collaboration, and the avoidance of conflicts, a perspective that can be traced back to the influence of Javanese culture (Koentjaraningrat, 1987). Jokowi's emphasis on the imperative to end wars and create collaboration aligns with the Javanese cultural inclination towards conflict avoidance and the promotion of harmonious relationships. The commitment to responsibility for the entire world and the rejection of division resonate with the Javanese cultural values of consensus-building and fostering unity (Winarti & Sabrina, 2021). The preference for win-win situations over zero-sum games is consistent with his anti-conflict message (Salim, 2023) and the Javanese approach to interpersonal relationships, which emphasizes cooperation and mutual benefit. In essence, this discourse not only underscores the urgent global need for collaboration but also reflects the cultural influences shaping Jokowi's diplomatic philosophy, rooted in the principles of peace, responsibility, and mutual benefit inherent in Javanese culture (Nofrima et al., 2021).

Excerpt 4: *It is our fervent hope that the G20 can continue becoming a catalyst for inclusive economic recovery. Amid uncertainties condition, the G20 continues working to create concrete achievements, including pandemic funds for pandemic prevention, assistance for low-income countries through resilience and sustainability trusts, support for achieving SDGs, create thousands of concrete partnerships, as well as support for global economic recovery that is greener and more sustainable through the Bali Compact on energy transition. We do not just talk, but we take concrete steps. Let us show the world that we can behave prudently, undertake responsibility, assert leadership. Let us join hands for the world. Recover stronger, Recover together.*

This statement expresses a hopeful outlook for the G20, positioning it as a catalyst for inclusive economic recovery. It highlights concrete achievements, such as pandemic funds, support for low-income countries, and initiatives for sustainable development and green economic recovery. Emphasizing practical steps over mere talk, the G20 is portrayed as actively addressing global challenges. The rhetoric encourages unity, responsibility, and leadership, urging collective efforts for a stronger and shared recovery. Overall, the discourse underscores the G20's commitment to tangible actions and collaborative measures to navigate uncertainties and promote a resilient global economy.

Moreover, this narrative encapsulates Jokowi's crucial message within the G20 forum — a fervent call for attention to and utilization of the platform for advancing specific policies. Jokowi strategically emphasizes the importance of the green economy, a consistent theme he advocates on various global stages. By highlighting initiatives like the Bali Compact on energy transition, he not only promotes sustainable practices but also ties this to national

priorities, such as the electric vehicle industry and nickel mining. These are contentious issues within Indonesia (Maghfiroh et al., 2021; Thomas, 2022), and Jokowi's emphasis on them in the international arena signals his dedication to aligning global efforts with national interests. The narrative reinforces Jokowi's adeptness at utilizing the G20 platform to push for policies that are not only globally relevant but also intimately connected to Indonesia's ongoing domestic discussions and aspirations.

All in all, within this forum, Jokowi subtly underscores Indonesia's investment appeal, indirectly drawing attention to the vast potential of the country's natural resources. By championing initiatives via the Bali Compact on energy transition, which involves sustainable practices often tied to resource-rich sectors, Jokowi implicitly signals to potential investors. The emphasis on creating partnerships and pursuing a greener and more sustainable global economic recovery aligns with Indonesia's position as a resource-rich nation with opportunities for environmentally friendly investments. In doing so, Jokowi strategically utilizes the G20 platform not only to advocate for global collaboration but also to attract investments that can contribute to Indonesia's economic growth and development. This subtle economic agenda underscores the multifaceted nature of Jokowi's engagement at the G20, combining environmental advocacy with a pragmatic approach to economic opportunities.

Discussion

Typically, narratives about regional and global power aim to advance influence and may be provocative (Prys-Hansen et al., 2023). The presence of existing power fosters a hegemonic mindset that exerts influence on other nations and seeks to indirectly engage in competition with established powers (Emmers, 2005; Narlikar, 2019). Under Jokowi's leadership, Indonesia's foreign policy has shifted towards a more introspective and less proactive approach to multilateral cooperation, in contrast to President Yudhoyono's assertive stance (Weatherbee, 2016; Widiatmaja & Albab, 2019). The address delivered by Jokowi at the commencement of the 2022 G20 Summit demonstrates a compelling approach to fostering global unity while simultaneously prioritising domestic concerns. Narratives that prioritize cooperation and mutual gain are consistently emphasized by Jokowi and his administration, along with pragmatic approaches that have been a defining feature of his political style (Andi et al., 2021). The growing emphasis on internal affairs is becoming more apparent as popular approval of Jokowi rises following the 2022 G20 Summit in Bali (Hafil, 2022).

A further outcome of Jokowi's narrative is that several key achievements were secured, as explicitly stated by Jokowi and his ministers. For instance, Indonesia has received USD 20 billion through the Just Energy Transition Partnership (JETP) (Wisnubroto, 2022). The US government has pledged to invest USD 600 billion in infrastructure projects in

Indonesia. In response to this commitment, Jokowi expressed great enthusiasm, urging the rapid establishment of a “Special Task Force.” He explicitly stated:

I saw that when I was in Bali, at B20, the positive energy was very visible: it was hot. Therefore, do not let existing investment commitments not be realized in the field (Wulan, 2022).

Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Retno Marsudi also made a statement regarding investment:

So, Basket I is purely G20, the second is what Indonesia is doing with countries in the G20 with a total of 140 projects with a value of around USD 71.49 billion. So, now, of the 140, 80 are more mature, 60 have started to be discussed and we are continuing to monitor this (Wulan, 2022).

Indonesia’s achievements were reinforced by the Minister of Finance, Sri Mulyani, who said:

This needs to be followed up together with the energy transition mechanism platform which has currently received a commitment of 500 million US dollars and can be leveraged to 4 billion US dollars (Wulan, 2022).

The narratives in Jokowi’s speech strategically represent Indonesia as a proactive and collaborative leader in addressing global challenges. By emphasizing key issues such as the green economy, food insecurity, and investment attraction, Jokowi underscores Indonesia’s commitment to sustainable development and economic resilience. These narratives highlight Indonesia’s unique position as a resource-rich country with the potential to lead in sustainable practices and economic innovation. By positioning Indonesia as a leader in sustainability and economic resilience, Jokowi’s narratives support the country’s regional power aspirations. With the repeated calls for collaboration and responsibility, Jokowi seeks to enhance the country’s economic prospects and leverage its natural resources for development. While Jokowi’s speech covers several critical issues, less emphasis is placed on human rights and democratic values, which are also significant in the global discourse. At the same time, although the digital economy and innovation are emerging areas of interest, they received less attention in the speech, indicating a potential area for further narrative development.

Finally, Jokowi’s diplomatic narrative at the 2022 G20 Summit marks a significant shift in Indonesia’s foreign policy approach. The discourse underscores a strategic balance between fostering global unity and prioritizing domestic concerns, aligning with Jokowi’s pragmatic political style. The outcomes, as explicitly stated by Jokowi and his ministers,

reflect tangible advantages for Indonesia, including substantial investments and commitments. Indeed, Jokowi's pragmatic diplomatic style is evident in his speech, characterized by practical solutions and a focus on tangible outcomes. This style is influenced by previous Indonesian diplomatic approaches, particularly the country's history of non-alignment and leadership in the Global South. However, Jokowi's approach is more focused on immediate economic and environmental concerns, reflecting a shift towards a more pragmatic and less ideological diplomacy. Nevertheless, these achievements not only contribute to Indonesia's economic growth but also solidify its position as a key player in the global arena. The heightened emphasis on internal affairs, coupled with the positive reception domestically, underscores the effectiveness of Jokowi's diplomatic strategy in navigating both international collaboration and domestic priorities.

Conclusion

This study investigated Jokowi's opening address at the 2022 G20 Summit in Bali. Using discourse analysis, this study goes beyond simply investigating the meaning of the words used by President Jokowi in his speech. Rather, the result provides a better grasp of Jokowi's objective, namely, to maximise the benefit of his G20 chairmanship in order to achieve national interests. Jokowi's narrative approach to addressing global challenges is critical, and this is an excellent opportunity for Indonesia to demonstrate global leadership in order to alleviate tension and escalation, particularly in the region. This is a significant transition in Indonesia's foreign policy, which was formerly oriented internationally under President Yudhoyono, to a global rhetoric while remaining domestically focused.

While this study provides valuable insights into Jokowi's diplomatic discourse at the 2022 G20 Summit, it is important to acknowledge its limitations. The analysis predominantly focuses on investigating ideas within the discourse. Future research could incorporate theoretical perspectives, such as constructivism in International Relations (IR) theory. Examining how Jokowi's discourse aligns with constructivist principles, which emphasise the construction of ideas and norms, could offer a richer understanding of the diplomatic strategies employed. Additionally, a doctrinal exploration within the context of Indonesia's foreign policy, known for its neutral or "free and active" stance, amid the intensifying rivalry between the US and China, could provide a more comprehensive framework for analysis. By examining the foundational principles and theoretical frameworks, future researchers could explore the nuances of Indonesia's diplomatic maneuvers within the global geopolitical landscape. This study opens avenues for further investigation, encouraging scholars to explore the connections between discourse analysis, IR theories, and the doctrinal foundations of Indonesia's foreign policy to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the diplomatic dynamics at play.

Disclosure of interest

We declare that we have no conflicts of interest in this research.

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