



President Jokowi's Lip Service: Politicization of Discourse on Democracy and Anti-Corruption

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Abstract

Communication requires attention to honesty and trust. Communicators must have credibility that can be trusted. The speech will be rewarded if it matches the action. The discrepancy between speech and implementation action will only make a speech as lip service. This research aims to identify lip service from President Jokowi and reveal its context. This intertwined reading of the text and context will provide a comprehensive understanding of President Jokowi's lip service communication as well as an understanding of why this lip service communication occurred. This research uses the Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) method. PDA method analyzes Jokowi's lip service texts and contexts: the permissibility of demonstrations, KPK law revision, call for more criticism, and TWK for KPK employees. It has been observed that President Jokowi engages in lip service communication when the topic of discussion revolves around two key discourses: fundamental democratic values and anti-corruption measures. The research findings suggest that such communication is employed to politicize these discourses and maintain President Jokowi's image as a democratic and anti-corruption leader.

Keywords: lips service, political discourse analysis, discourse politicization, texts, contexts.

Paper type: Research paper

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INTRODUCTION

Communication is not only related to what is said but also related to honesty, trust, and prioritizing the audience. Aristotle named the trustworthy message ethos, and it is a guide for rhetoric (Aristotle, 2007). Rhetoric is not the art of persuasion but is related to the character of a speaker who has credibility so that he can be trusted. Honesty and trust in the message spoken will be obtained if it is by the action. The discrepancy between actions and speech in the millennial tradition in Indonesia is acronymized with *omdo* (*omong doang-by the way*) or *in-service studies*. It is called *lips service*. So when someone uses *lip service communication*, they are actually communicating dishonestly (Alfaroby, 2023). *Lips service* is a part of service (Nelson, 2002) that is easy to think and say but contains dangers if not done. Promises that stop at empty words are a form of service that is insincere, dishonest, and full of lies.

During President Jokowi's leadership, there was overlapping information between the president, the vice president, and his ministers (Tinov, 2018; Aspinall & Mietzner, 2019; Asrinaldi & Yusoff, 2023). In the internet era, this will quickly become known to the public and will certainly have a very significant impact on the dynamics of democratic development (Dewi & Widyawati, 2021). Many people also criticize President Jokowi's way of communicating. Some of the public's criticisms, including students as a middle-class group because of their education (Akbar, 2016), for example, the criticism from the Head of the University of Indonesia's Student Executive Board Leon Alvinda Putra that Jokowi was The King of Lip Service on Twitter account @BEMUI_Official, criticism from the Head of the University of Gajahmada's Student Executive Board that Jokowi General Champion Contest Incompatibility between Speech and Reality, and criticism of Jokowi-like image murals with writing on them 404:Not Found.

The various critical memes that have emerged are part of the art of influencing and propaganda in cyber democracy (Faliha & Putri, 2022) which aims to build collective awareness (Satrio, 2022) and collective movement (Novianto & Wulansari, 2023) regarding existing problems. This is important as a trigger so that criticism does not stagnate (Hady & Ibrahim, 2023). The public certainly hopes that President Jokowi, as the leader of the Indonesian nation, must have conformity between his actions and words (Syarif, 2022). On the other hand, President Jokowi is more busy consolidating the political elite by building a majority coalition in

parliament (Warburton, 2016) and forgetting to consolidate public space to build deliberative democracy so that non-elite people can also control the policies of the political elite (Bachtiger, 2018).

Lip service also occurs in Israel. The Israeli opposition party during 1977-2007 always put forward universal civil service proposals in the Knesset (in Indonesia, it is the DPR) but was always rejected by the majority party supporting the government (Bick, 2016). When the proposal continued to be used as a campaign issue to gain votes, Bick saw this as lip service because this issue had only stopped at the level of discourse for years and could never become a real policy.

Apart from the political field, as in Israel, lip service also targets the field of community empowerment. The community empowerment model that emphasizes rhetoric or is referred to as surface empowerment, has proven to have a less significant impact than deep empowerment, which relies more on actual decision authority that affects the real performance of the community (Biron & Bamberger, 2011).

The world of marketing also discusses lip service. Random research in Nordic Sweden shows that at least one-third of services are in the form of lip service (Gummesson, 2010). Lips service as a service requires professionalism. Measurable special training is important because many incidents that underestimate lips service lead to the failure of subsequent activity services. The study exemplified that when the plumber said they would come at 3 p.m., they didn't. This incident for the review of the professional service is a serious scandal that could damage the company's reputation and reduce consumer confidence.

Lip service communication can occur in any field, including in the world of politics and leadership. Those who like to talk without meaningful impact in real action and only play discourse as if they care will only become a scandal that will damage the leader's reputation and reduce public trust. Communicators who occupy strategic positions, such as the president, in a democratic country like Indonesia, of course, want to be perceived by the public as remaining on the democratic path, fighting against corruption, and caring about transparent processes. In the political realm, it is important to manage the perception of the majority audience in order to

win discourse battles (Baum & Groeling, 2008; Allifiansyah, 2017), be elected in general elections, or increase approval ratings.

President Jokowi has strong democratic legitimacy capital. Capital legitimacy through the first period of presidential elections was 53.15% (Sulistijanto, 2018), and based on katadata.com, the second period was 55.50%. In addition to legitimacy capital, President Jokowi's communication style, which is equalitarian (building equality with the audience) and structuring (wanting to influence the public through packaged political messages) (Sayuti, 2020), can be a very significant capital for gaining public trust. Moreover, coupled with the fact that Jokowi was elected president not from the party elite (political oligarchy), not from an influential family, and not from the military (Muhtadi, 2015; Mietzner, 2014; Tapsell, 2017).

Some of these important assets should have encouraged President Jokowi to no longer issue repressive legal products (Arianto, 2021; Bouchier & Jusuf, 2023) and to have the responsibility of gaining public trust regarding his speeches and remarks. This large investment will be wasted if President Jokowi's positive response regarding social conditions, democratization, and state practices of government institutions or apparatus is followed up differently or even contradictory by the government apparatus under him. Public questions will certainly arise when the president has a clear response to a specific case and the apparatus under him does not move, deviate, or even ignore it. The public instinct will question whether the president's response as a front-stage agenda is different from instructions backstage. The difference between President Jokowi's statement, which contradicts the response of the apparatus under him, will also have consequences for the public's perception that President Jokowi is a contradictory leader (Bland, 2020; Fealy, 2020).

As a leader, President Jokowi is an interesting research subject. One of the things studied was related to lip service. Several studies of President Jokowi's lip service have come to several conclusions. The first study stated that the lip service meme was a student social movement that criticized President Jokowi for his inconsistent words, attitudes, and policies (Sibaweh, 2021). The second research states that lip service texts influence the level of public trust in President Jokowi's credibility (Fikri, 2021). The third research that examines framing analysis states that the reporting on Kompas.com meets four criteria, namely syntactic, script,

thematic, and rhetorical structure (Safiera, 2022). The fourth research concluded that leaders who do lip service are leaders who are not trustworthy and despicable (Syarif, 2022). The fifth research conducted a semiotic analysis of President Jokowi's lip service as part of criticism in the digital era (Faliha, 2022). The fifth research using critical discourse analysis concluded that President Jokowi's lip service has mobilized student morality to criticize the government as well as showing that students feel worried about their uncertain future (Najamuddin, 2022). Students hope for social change.

The subject of the research text this time is the same as previous studies, namely lip service, but the difference between this research is the disclosure of a follow-up text, which is contradictory to the previous text so that it can be justified that President Jokowi is indeed practicing lip service communication. The comparison of two conflicting texts is the basis for researchers to come to a conclusion about why President Jokowi did what he did. Therefore, the aim of this research is to reveal the politicization of democratization and anti-corruption discourse by revealing the text and context (follow-up text) of the same problematic topic.

The disclosure of President Jokowi's lip service communication was carried out using a qualitative critical paradigm utilizing the Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) theory. This intertwined reading of the text and context will provide a comprehensive understanding of President Jokowi's lip service communication as well as an understanding of why this lip service communication occurred. The results of this research can also be used as a basis for improvement for President Jokowi and the team under him to be able to build credible communication, namely the existence of harmony between words and actions taken.

METHODS

To reveal President Jokowi's lip service communication and understand the meaning behind it, researchers used the theory of Political Discourse Analysis (PDA). PDA is the study of political discourse based on the theory and practice of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). CDA work steps to critically read data related to power, action, ideology, history, and context will be integrated into PDA work steps in channeling critical reading of political

discourse. So, PDA will focus on reading political power, political action, political ideology, political history, and political context. The various reading focuses boil down to two things, namely, a comprehensive back-and-forth reading between the text and the political context.

The data taken is online news from September 2019 to October 2021. The media selected are media that have been verified by the Press Council on the Dewanpers.or.id page, especially press company information data. Some media sources of data are Kompas.com, Tribunnews.com, New.detik.com, Nasional.tempo.co, Kumparan.com, Cnbcindonesia.com, Cnnindonesia.com, Republika.co.id, Jawapos.com, and BBC.com. The data that the researcher chose is President Jokowi's communication, which is not in accordance with actual practice in the field, or text containing social inappropriateness (Haryatmoko, 2019). Text as discourse is not placed in a closed and internal space (Eriyanto, 2011). President Jokowi's speaking or making statements is a conscious and controlled action in order to interact and relate to other people or the public.

The existence of the text certainly will not be separated from the context. This research will integratively reveal the text and context of President Jokowi's lip service communication. The works of the integrative PDA method will lead to a more comprehensive critical meaning because data is merged between the text and its context.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

President Jokowi's Lip Service on Issues of Democracy and Anti-Corruption

President Jokowi's lip service communication will be related to four things, namely demonstrations before and during the inauguration of the president and vice president, the KPK Bill, criticism of the president, and the dismissal of KPK employees with TWK. In these four issues, there will be an initial text originating from President Jokowi's statement, followed by a follow-up text that shows contradictions with the initial text that appeared. This initial and continuation text will always be related to the context in which it appears.

demonstrations, namely, Article 28E Paragraph 2 of the 1945 Constitution concerning the right to freedom of association, assembly, and expression of opinions. Second, the Decree of the MPR Number XVII/MPR/1998 Article 19 contains the same content as the 1945 Constitution Article 28E Paragraph 2. Third, Law Number 9 of 1998 concerns the Freedom of Expressing Opinions in Public.

When President Jokowi asked journalists to ask the National Police Chief directly regarding the ban on demonstrations, this showed a number of things: First, President Jokowi understands that banning demonstrations is constitutionally wrong, but he doesn't want to comment on it and doesn't want to rebuke the National Police Chief. Second, President Jokowi wants to send a message that he wants to get away from the police's statement banning demonstrations and hand over the problem to the police. This is, of course, a public question because the president is the highest leader who directly handles the police. The president is given the authority to inaugurate and remove the National Police Chief, but when the police take policies that are contrary to the president and the constitution, the president lets them and tends to wash their hands of the problem.

After the appearance of the initial text, the following text appears as a statement by the National Police Chief that he will not issue a receipt of notification (STTP) for demonstrations ahead of and at the inauguration of the president and vice president.

Picture 2.

Not Giving Permit for Demonstration, National Police Chief Opens Up About Risks



Source: *News.detik.com*, October 17, 2019.

The text that appears on *News.detik.com* states that National Police Chief Gen. Tito Karnavian emphasized that the National Police did not want to risk being labeled as a bad nation if President-elect Joko Widodo's inauguration day caused

chaos due to demonstrations. This was conveyed by Tito when responding to the non-issuance of a notification receipt letter (STTP) for demonstrations ahead of and on the day of the inauguration. Parties wishing to mobilize masses and demonstrate must provide a letter of notification to the police. If not, the authorities have the authority to disperse the crowds. "On the day of the inauguration, state guests will attend. There are heads of state, heads of government, and special envoys. This concerns the nation's dignity," said Tito at the Silang Monas field, Central Jakarta, Thursday (17/10/2019).

When President Jokowi, on Wednesday, 16 October 2019, stated that the right to express opinions is permissible because it is protected by law. It turned out that the substance of the president's statement was not followed up by the National Police Chief, General Tito Karnavian, because he still would not issue STTP before and during the inauguration day of the president and vice president. This fact explains that communication about the permissibility of demonstrations during the inauguration by the president was only lip service. At the time of the inauguration, there was no demonstration because the people who were going to demonstrate had been blockaded away from the DPR RI MPR building. President Jokowi's communication became lip service because the president did not respond, reprimanded the police or the National Police Chief, and even allowed the police to take actions contrary to the president's statement.

Therefore, it is important to know the context of why the President's statement was not followed up by the Chief of Police. Approximately one month before President Jokowi's inauguration for the second term, large-scale demonstrations were held by students and civil society alliances against the Draft Criminal Code (RKUHP), the Land Bill, the Manpower Bill, the Minerals and Coal Mining Bill, the Water Resources Bill, and the KPK Law. Demonstrations were held simultaneously in various cities, namely Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Malang, Medan, Palembang, and Makassar. This demo is the biggest demo after the demo that occurred during the reform. At least 232 people were injured due to clashes during the demonstration. They consisted of students, civil society, security forces, and journalists.

Picture 3.

When the RKUHP Triggered Large Student Demonstrations in 2019



Source: Kompas.com, September 23, 2019.

The wave of demonstrations that ended in chaos and many casualties was one of the reasons the police banned demonstrations before and during the presidential inauguration. The police evaluation indicated that there were intruders in the demonstration who became provocateurs, causing riots. The reason police discretion is used is for security and order, but at the same time, the police have damaged fundamental democratic values regarding freedom of expression in public, which is protected by law.

This condition shows the fact that the police, which has the motto of protecting, protecting, and serving the community in law enforcement, is protecting, protecting, and serving power even though they have to violate Law Number 19 of 2018 on the grounds of police discretion. Article 13 Paragraph 1 states that the Police are obliged to immediately give STTP after receiving a notification letter that a demonstration will be held. Then, in Article 13, Paragraph 3, Polri is responsible for organizing security to ensure security and public order.

Lip Service of President Jokowi regarding the Revision of the KPK Law

Regarding the lip service communication on the revision of the KPK Law, the initial text that emerged was:

Picture 4.

Jokowi Rejects Four Points of Revision of the Corruption Eradication Committee Law Proposed by the DPR



Source: *Cnnindonesia.com*, September 13, 2019.

Cnnindonesia.com's news shows President Jokowi's statement regarding the claims and facts of the revision of the KPK Law. "I do not agree with some of the substance of this bill initiated by the DPR, which has the potential to reduce the effectiveness of the KPK's duties," Jokowi said at a press conference at the State Palace, Jakarta, Friday (13/9/2019). President Jokowi's statement wants to emphasize that he is also the voice of the majority of the people who reject various substances of the KPK Bill.

Then, the follow-up text that emerged was President Jokowi's refusal to cancel the revised KPK Law by issuing a Perppu.

Picture 5.

The next time Jokowi stated that he refused to cancel the revision of the Corruption Eradication Committee Law, what was the reason?



Source: *Kompas.com*, September 26, 2019.

Kompas.com reported that the Indonesian Student Alliance Mass Demanding Complete Reforms asked President Jokowi to issue a government regulation

instead of a law (Perppu) after the revision of the KPK Law was approved by the DPR. The request was denied. "Nothing," Jokowi said in answer to a question about the possibility of issuing a Perppu to revoke the KPK Law at the Merdeka Palace, Central Jakarta, Monday (23/9/2019). When asked what made him have a different attitude between the KPK Bill and other bills, Jokowi only answered briefly. "That one (KPK) was an initiative of the DPR. This (another bill) the government is active because it was prepared by the government," said Jokowi.

The dynamics of the revision of the KPK Law also forced Jokowi to invite important figures in Indonesia to discuss this matter because the wave of public rejection was getting more and more massive.

Picture 6.

Softening, Jokowi is Now Considering Issuing KPK Perppu



Source: Kompas.com, September 26, 2019.

The *Kompas.com* text above shows that President Jokowi has finally softened the demands of students and the public regarding the revised KPK Law. President Jokowi, who previously refused to revoke the KPK Law, is now starting to consider issuing a Perppu. "Regarding the KPK Law, which has been passed by the DPR, a lot of input has been given to us, mainly in the form of a Perppu," Jokowi said at the Merdeka Palace, Jakarta, Thursday (26/9/2019). "Of course, we will calculate, calculate, and later after that, we will decide and convey it to the seniors who are present this afternoon," he said. This statement was made by Jokowi after meeting dozens of figures at the Merdeka Palace, Jakarta, on Thursday (26/9/2019).

From the text of the statement that appeared, President Jokowi previously firmly refused to revoke the KPK Law, but once the pressure grew, dozens of figures were invited to the palace and issued statements to consider and make calculations regarding the KPK Law. This delay step was carried out so that the public would not continue to push forward and get bigger by giving a statement that

had a tendency in the middle (not rejecting or accepting), but this was enough to give hope that there was a possibility of rejection of the KPK Bill. The management of mass psychology was carried out by President Jokowi by conducting blow-up meetings as well as delivering joint statements to the figures in front of the media crew.

The hope given to the public, who in waves conveyed their aspirations against the KPK Bill, that President Jokowi would calculate and make calculations related to the issuance of the Perppu of the KPK Law ended in an anticlimax because it turned out that the president was adamant that he would not issue a Perppu. So, President Jokowi's statement, which substantively wants to make the KPK a strong institution, turns out to be a mere lip service communication strategy that will be deviated and will never be realized.

The demand for the issuance of a Perppu did not receive a response from President Jokowi, but the waves of protests are still massive. The next step chosen by the president is not to immediately sign the draft of the KPK Law, which has been approved by the DPR, as seen in online media reports.

Picture 7.

Jokowi Doesn't Want to Sign, New Corruption Eradication Commission Law Remains Legal and Applies!



Source: News.detik.com, October 17 2019.

The news that President Jokowi did not sign the KPK Law was previously reported by a former member of the Committee for the Revision of the KPK Law, Arsul Sani. "This is about the KPK Law, the news that I heard because I have not had time to confirm with the Acting Minister of Law and Human Rights that the President did not sign the law," Arsul told reporters at the MPR/DPR Complex,

Senayan, Jakarta, Thursday (17/10 /2019). Does not signing the law make the new Corruption Eradication Commission Law null and void? It had no effect. The new KPK Law remains in effect. This is by Article 20 Paragraph 5 of the 1945 Constitution, which is strengthened by the Law on Making Legislation. Article 73 Paragraph 2 states: "If the draft law as referred to in paragraph (1) is not signed by the president within 30 (thirty) days after the draft law is mutually approved, the draft law is valid to become law and must be promulgated.

Once again, President Jokowi implemented lip service communication regarding the KPK Bill. After his first communication related to his disapproval of some of the substance of the KPK Bill, which was indicated to weaken the KPK, was not proven, and the Perppu was not issued, President Jokowi wanted to gain public sympathy on another issue, namely by not signing the KPK Law which had been passed by the DPR. The President wanted to be associated with rejecting the KPK Bill by refusing to sign the KPK Bill, but in the end, even without the president's signature, after 30 days, the KPK Bill automatically became the KPK Law. If he intends to reject the KPK Bill, the president should issue a Perppu.

It is important to understand the context of President Jokowi's lip service communication regarding the KPK Bill. Since the KPK Bill was rolled out, negative responses and sentiments from students, workers, and civil society alliances from various regions have continued to grow. This can be seen from the online media coverage below.

Picture 8.

Corruption Eradication Committee Law Takes Effect Tomorrow; Students Will Demonstrate in Front of the Palace

UU KPK Berlaku Besok, Mahasiswa Bakal Demo di Depan Istana

CNN Indonesia

Rabu, 16 Okt 2019 17:59 WIB

Bagikan :



Source: Cnnindonesia.com, Oktober 16, 2019.

Before the new Corruption Eradication Commission Law was introduced, the KPK and TWK did not hesitate to eradicate corruption. The Hand-Catching Operation (OTT) against ministers, ministry officials, regional heads, party leaders, and officials, as well as members of the DPR, made the KPK disliked by elements who felt their stability and comfort were disturbed. This condition created a commotion in the news and politics in Indonesia. At the same time, President Jokowi has always repeated the message at various events that the Indonesian nation needs politics that are not noisy so that investors want to invest in Indonesia. Various breakthroughs were made by President Jokowi to attract investors, including the Job Creation Law, which also drew a lot of criticism.

President Jokowi's Lip Service Regarding People's Requests to Be More Active in Criticizing

Lip service communication regarding people's requests to be more active in criticizing. President Jokowi asked the public to be more active in conveying criticism, as reported in the online media below.

Picture 9.

When Jokowi Asks People to be More Active in Conveying Criticism!



Source: Cnbcindonesia.com, February 9, 2021.

The *Kompas.com* text above states, "Society must be more active in conveying criticism." This sentence is a fragment of President Jokowi's statement when giving remarks at the Year-End Report of the Indonesian Ombudsman on Monday (8/2/2021). With the same news material, Cnbcindonesia.com quoted Jokowi's statement "The public must be more active in conveying criticism, input, or potential for maladministration, and public services must continue to increase efforts to improve,"

The strengthening of the message so that people are more active in criticizing was also conveyed at the MPR annual session on 16 August 2021. President Jokowi emphasized that constructive criticism is very important and the government always tries to answer responsibly, as the people expect. Jokowi's statement was in the context of handling COVID-19, which caused fatigue, boredom, fatigue, sadness and distress.

There are two keywords from President Jokowi's statement. First, society must be more active in conveying criticism. Second, the government will always answer responsibly according to the will of the people. These two keywords will give the perception that President Jokowi understands and realizes that in a democracy, criticism is a necessity and should not be hindered. State officials must be ready to accept criticism and not be allergic to it. If you get criticism, someone who is in office in the government must answer it with full responsibility. On the other hand, people who hear this statement will feel that President Jokowi is okay with being criticized and, in fact, expecting criticism. This will provide comfort for critics so that they do not need to be afraid of being questioned by law enforcement officials, especially the police, because the police agency is an institution directly under the president.

The continuation of the text from the initial text above is two pieces of news that show that President Jokowi's critics are being questioned.

Picture 10.

BEM UI Urged to Delete Posts Criticizing Jokowi's the King of Lip Service

BEM UI Didesak Hapus Unggahan Kritik Jokowi The King of Lip Service



Source: *Jawapos.com*, Juni 28, 2021.

Jawapos.com news stated that the University of Indonesia (UI) Student Executive Board (BEM) was asked for clarification by the UI Rectorate regarding

uploads on social media, which criticized President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) with the label 'The King of Lip Service'. The UI Chancellor asked his students to delete criticism uploaded via the official social media account. "Then the rectorate also asked whether it could be taken down, we BEM UI refused to take down the post," said Leon (Chairman of BEM UI).

Meanwhile, *Republika.co.id* stated that the police are still looking for the maker of a mural similar to President Joko Widodo's face that reads '404: Not Found' on a wall on Jalan Pembangunan I, Batu Jaya Village, Batu Ceper District, Tangerang City. It's been about a week since it was removed, and the police have yet to find the maker of the mural. "(The mural maker) is being sought," said Batu Ceper Police Chief AKP David Purba. The police removed the mural with black paint. Head of the Subdivision of Public Relations of the Tangerang Metro Police, Kompol Abdul Rachim, said that the maker of the mural violated the law because he insulted President Jokowi as a national symbol. "Whose investigation was it, because after all, it is a symbol of the country," he said.

Picture 11.

Maker of Jokowi Mural '404: Not Found' Still Being Hunted

Pembuat Mural Mirip Jokowi '404: Not Found' Masih Diburu

Jumat, 20 Aug 2021 12:54 WIB
Rep: Eva Rianti Reti Aguirre/ahago



Surce: Republika.co.id, Agustus 20, 2021.

President Joko Widodo responded and said that criticism was normal. "I think this is a form of student expression, and this is a democratic country, so criticism is okay," Jokowi said in his statement on Tuesday, June 29, 2021. Jokowi said criticism of him had existed for a long time. Starting from those who call themselves klemar-klemer planga-plongo, to those who call him an authoritarian figure. Finally, BEM UI uploaded a Jokowi poster and named him The King of Lip Service.

Picture 12.**This is Jokowi's Response after Being Criticized by BEM UI King of Lip Service.**

Source: *Nasional.tempo.Co*, June 29, 2021.

Regarding several BEM members summoned by the UI Rectorate, President Jokowi also asked the campus not to block these criticisms. "Universities don't need to hinder students from expressing themselves. But also remember that we have a culture of manners; we have a culture of politeness. I think it's normal; maybe they are learning to express their opinions," Jokowi said.

Regarding the mural, *Tribunnews.com* reports that the Criminal Investigation Agency for the Indonesian National Police, Komjen Agus Andrianto, said that President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) did not like the police to be too responsive in taking action against any criticism made through art. He said that the National Police Chief, General Listyo Sigit Prabowo, had warned him to be careful in using the ITE Law to deal with critical cases through social media and also the arts. Remind us and the ranks, especially in implementing the ITE Law," Agus told journalists Thursday (19/8/2021).

Picture 13.**Police Stop Searching for Mural Maker Jokowi 404: Not Found****Polisi Hentikan Pencarian Pembuat Mural Jokowi 404:Not Found**

Jumat, 20 Agustus 2021 21:57 WIB



Source: *Tribunnews.com*, August 21, 2021.

In the two cases above, President Jokowi's communication was far better than his response regarding the cases discussed in the previous section. Those who took issue with criticism from students or the public have stopped, but this does not eliminate the conclusion that Jokowi is still playing lip service in this case. President Jokowi should give a warning and sanction to the Chancellor of UI and his staff through the Minister of Education and Culture and to the Tangerang City Metro Police and his staff through the Kapolri because the steps they have taken have greatly degraded the president's authority as head of state who wants to be associated as someone who respects freedom of expression, in public.

We can compare the treatment of Indonesian Presidents from time to time, starting from Suharto, Abdulrahman Wahid, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, to Jokowi in responding to criticism of murals that look like them.

Picture 14.

Comparison of The Security Conditions of Presidential Critics in Indonesia Through Murals



Source: Republika.co.id, Agustus 21, 2021.

After the appearance of the initial and follow-up texts related to public criticism of President Jokowi, we need to understand the context in which these texts appear. During President Jokowi's administration, between 2016 and 2020, there were many figures who were arrested, became suspects, and were imprisoned for

criticizing or opposing the government. The police use the ITE Law, whose articles are controversial because there are multiple interpretations and there are many loopholes that can be played to advantage or disadvantage.

Several people whose cases were directly related to President Jokowi were Ropi Yatsman in 2017 sentenced to 15 months in prison for editing a photo of the president and being categorized as an insult, FMB (Ringgo) in 2018 was sentenced to 18 months in prison for insulting President Jokowi and the National Police Chief, Ahmad Dhani in 2019 was sentenced to 1 year in prison for insulting President Jokowi, and Hermawan Susanto in 2019 became a suspect and was detained for threatening to behead President Jokowi. While other cases related to policy criticism, treason, possession of illegal weapons, spreading fake news, and provoking riots.

Criticizing President Jokowi or government policies from 2016 to 2020 is indeed an activity that is very risky to be arrested, suspected, and jailed. Freedom of expression in public, which is protected by law, has been lost with the massive application of the ITE Law. The government responded to public unrest by issuing Law Number 11 of 2016 concerning amendments to Law Number 11 of 2008 concerning Information and Electronic Transactions and Joint Decree (SKB) Number KB/2/VI/2021 dated June 23, 2021, concerning Guidelines Implementation of Certain Articles in Law Number 11 of 2008 concerning Information and Electronic Transactions.

President Jokowi's Lip Service Regarding the Dismissal of KPK Employees

Lip service communication regarding the dismissal of KPK employees. The initial text that appears is that the results of the National Insight Test (TWK) should not be used as a reason for dismissing KPK employees.

Picture 15.

Jokowi: TWK Should Not Be the Basis for Dismissing 75 KPK Employees



Source: *Republika.co.id*, 17 Mei 17, 2021.

The *Republika.co.id* text above states that President Jokowi delivered his official statement, which was broadcast on the Presidential Secretariat YouTube Monday (17/5/2021). Jokowi asked that the results of the TWK not be used as a reason for dismissing KPK employees who fell into the Unqualified (TMS) category. He said the results of TWK could still be improved by conducting education at the institutional level. "If it is deemed that there are deficiencies, I think there is still an opportunity to improve through official education on nationalism, and corrective steps need to be taken immediately at the individual and organizational levels," said Jokowi. Issues related to TWK have also become a very intense discourse in the digital public sphere, especially on *Twitter* (Sumartias et al., 2023).

Jokowi also said that he agreed with the Constitutional Court's (MK) judicial review decision regarding Law Number 19 of 2019 concerning the Institute for the Eradication of Corruption Crimes (UU KPK). In its decision, the Constitutional Court underlined that the change in employment status for the KPK to become the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) should not harm the rights of KPK employees. In addition, in its decision, the Constitutional Court also stated that all KPK employees must be appointed ASN without any reason because their dedication to eradicating corruption has been proven so far. Finally, Jokowi also asked the Corruption Eradication Committee and other related institutions, such as the Minister of State Apparatus Empowerment and Bureaucratic Reform (Men-PANRB) and the Head of the State Civil Service Agency (BKN), to immediately complete follow-ups on the status transfer of the KPK employee's function.

Three keywords can be concluded from the text of President Jokowi's statement. First, the TWK results are not used as a reason for dismissing KPK employees because they can still be corrected through official education on nationalism. Second, President Jokowi agreed with the Constitutional Court's decision that the transfer of KPK staff status to ASN should not harm the rights of KPK employees. Third, KPK employees must be appointed ASN without any reason. The three keywords of President Jokowi's statement are firm, straightforward statements, and there is no ambiguity in them. In essence, all KPK employees are safe in the process of becoming ASNs. It doesn't matter that anyone,

any institution, as well as intervention from anywhere that may interfere with the process of transferring this function, becomes problematic and hampered.

This condition certainly makes all KPK employees and the anti-corruption community feel safe and comfortable. All KPK personnel who so far have shown their integrity in eradicating corruption and are able to face various pressures to always uphold the eradication of corruption. Changing the status of KPK employees to ASN has very philosophical implications because previously, as an independent institution, when they became ASN, they would be subject to various ASN regulations, which could hinder independent corruption eradication.

The follow-up text from the initial text that appears is that KPK employees who do not pass the TWK are dismissed.

Picture 16.

All KPK Leaders Agree That 51 Employees Who Did Not Pass the TWK Will Be Dismissed On November 1

Semua Pimpinan KPK Sepakat 51 Pegawai Tak Lulus TWK Diberhentikan 1 November

Konten ini diproduksi oleh kumparan



Source: *Kumparan.com*, Juni 8, 2021.

Kumparan.com essentially reported that 75 employees did not meet the TWK requirements. As many as 24 KPK employees will take the retest or training, while 51 other employees cannot take part in the coaching. "The results of the mapping of assessors and then we agreed together that out of the 75 it was produced, there were 24 employees who were still allowed to be coached before being appointed as ASN," said Deputy Chairman of the KPK Alexander Marwata at the office of the State Civil Service Agency (BKN), Tuesday (25/5).

According to Alex, 51 employees can no longer join the KPK. "You can no longer join the KPK," said Alex. The KPK leaders for the two periods stated that they had heard the results of the assessors' assessment regarding the fate of the 75 employees. He emphasized that the results of the 51 employees' national insight test answers could not be corrected. "We have to respect the work of the assessors," said

Alex. So, 51 people were honorably dismissed as KPK employees until November 1, 2021.

The decision to terminate based on the results of TWK certainly contradicts President Jokowi's statement, stating that TWK should not be a reason for dismissing KPK employees. The move to terminate KPK employees also went against the Constitutional Court's decision, which decided that all employees should be appointed ASN without exception so that the process of transferring status to ASN would not harm employees.

When the KPK leadership's decision ignored the direction of the president, MK, Ombudsman, and Komnas HAM, the president remained silent and did not comment. Once again, this shows that President Jokowi is carrying out lip service communications regarding the transition from KPK employee status to ASN. President Jokowi's statement that he wanted TWK not to be used as an excuse for terminating KPK employees and that the president's support for the Constitutional Court's decision was ignored, but the president did not take transparent and accountable steps that the public could appreciate as taking sides with KPK employees and ensuring that KPK employees did not suffer losses.

Regarding the initial text and the follow-up text regarding the dismissal of KPK employees, it is necessary to pay close attention to the context.

Picture 17.

Firli Bahuri Becomes Chairman of the Corruption Eradication Commission and Revision of The Corruption Eradication Commission Law Is Discussed In The DPR: 'Introducing A Trojan Horse Into The Red And White House'

Firli Bahuri jadi Ketua KPK dan Revisi UU KPK dibahas di DPR: 'Memasukkan Kuda Troya ke Gedung Merah-Putih'

14 September 2019



Source: Bbc.com, September 14, 2019.

The dismissal of KPK employees cannot be separated from the unanimous election of Firli Bahuri as Chair of the KPK in Commission III of the DPR RI. Firli had previously been the KPK's Director of Enforcement and had been in the spotlight due to the controversy over serious ethical violations. Before arriving at the final decision regarding this tough ethics, Firli had been recalled to the initial institution before entering the KPK, namely the police.

Firli's election brought major changes to the KPK institution. The KPK Bill, which was previously rejected by KPK chairman Agus Raharjo, has been rolling fast in the DPR since Firli's election. The wave of protests over Firli's election was massive among the KPK employees themselves as well as in civil society. KPK leader Saut Situmorang and KPK spokesperson Febri Diansyah finally announced their resignation from the KPK.

After the KPK Bill became legal as the KPK Law, one of the important contents was that KPK employees would be converted into state civil servants (ASN). Firli led the implementation of the TWK for all KPK employees, which resulted in the dismissal of 51 KPK employees who were deemed irreparable.

A long series of readings of texts and contexts related to Firli Bahuri, the KPK Bill, the KPK Law, TWK, to the dismissal of 51 KPK employees have provided a comprehensive picture that, indeed all of these are scenarios that have been prepared, and the end is to make the KPK comply with the ASN Law and get rid of 51 KPK employees who are considered problematic.

Politicization of Discourse on Democracy and Anti-Corruption

The four materials of President Jokowi's lip service communication can be generalized into two major discourse themes, namely democratic discourse and anti-corruption discourse. When these two discourse themes emerge, President Jokowi will politicize them. The politicization was carried out because the direction of the discourse that emerged was not in accordance with the president's agenda, but the direction of the discourse was supported by an alliance of civil society and students. President Jokowi was elected as a leader because all this time, he has portrayed himself as a leader who is close to the underprivileged, a leader who is willing to listen to the concept of *blusukan* that he is promoting, a democratic and anti-corruption leader who does not want to be associated with fighting and deviating from him.

President Jokowi will always look for ways and loopholes to continue to be associated as a democratic and anti-corruption leader. In the four discourse cases above, President Jokowi's politicization steps were broken by the apparatus below him. The politicization of demonstration discourse is permitted when the presidential inauguration is broken by the Chief of Police, who prohibits demonstrations before and during the inauguration. The politicization of the discourse on the revision of the KPK Law by expressing his disapproval of several substances contained in the revision of the KPK Law weakened it. When the KPK Law was passed by the DPR, the president did not want to issue a Perppu according to the demands of the people. The President tried to politicize again by not signing the KPK Law. But without being signed by the president, the KPK Law will still apply after 30 days.

Discourse politicization asks people to be more active in criticizing. This politicization failed because the police officers easily arrested, named suspects, and imprisoned those who criticized President Jokowi. The politicization of the discourse regarding the results of the TWK should not be used to lay off KPK employees. It was not successful because the KPK leaders ignored it by continuing to lay off 51 KPK employees.

CONCLUSION

There is a clear contrast between President Jokowi's statements as text and the actions of officials under the president as context. First, President Jokowi allows citizens to hold demonstrations during the inauguration of the president and vice president, but in reality, the police do not allow demonstrations before and during the inauguration. Second, President Jokowi did not sign the proposed revision of the KPK Law, but this step was meaningless in supporting the large flow of public aspirations to reject the revision of the KPK Law by issuing a Perppu. Third, the President asked to be criticized, but when someone criticized him, he took issue with it. Fourth, President Jokowi asked that the results of the national insight test not be used as a basis for dismissing KPK members, but in reality, 51 KPK members who did not pass the TWK were dismissed. So, it can be concluded that lip service communication is President Jokowi's choice to politicize discourse so that it still looks democratic and anti-corruption.

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