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Prioritizing economic growth over environmental protection: A rhetorical situation of President Joko Widodo's speeches

Memprioritaskan pertumbuhan ekonomi daripada pelestarian lingkungan: Situasi retorik pidato Presiden Joko Widodo

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Abstract: This study analyzes presidential speeches that reflect state policies, the president's political direction, and tools for shaping public opinion regarding environmental issues. Using the corpus linguistic analysis method, this study examines 160 speeches by the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, throughout 2019-2024 that use the keywords *environment*, *climate change*, *climate crisis*, and *global warming*. Using the rhetorical situation theory, this study finds that the president's speeches on the environment are driven by three main factors, namely new capital city development, economic growth efforts, and engagement in international forums. International audiences and economic actors also influence the themes of the speeches. Furthermore, the study finds that the president's speech rarely addresses environmental issues that are close and directly impact the public, does not highlight environmental justice issues, and resolves environmental problems. This study offers novelty in the analysis of the president's environmental speeches with corpus linguistic analysis, which is still rare.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini menganalisis pidato presiden yang mencerminkan kebijakan negara, arah politik presiden, serta alat untuk membentuk opini publik terkait isu lingkungan. Dengan menggunakan metode analisis linguistik korpus, penelitian ini menganalisis 160 pidato Presiden Republik Indonesia Joko Widodo sepanjang 2019-2024 yang menggunakan kata kunci lingkungan, perubahan iklim, krisis iklim, dan pemanasan global. Memakai teori *rhetorical situation* yang melihat faktor *exigence*, *audience*, dan *constraint*, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa pidato presiden tentang lingkungan didorong oleh tiga faktor utama, yaitu pembangunan ibu kota Nusantara, upaya pertumbuhan ekonomi, serta keterlibatan aktif Indonesia dalam forum internasional. Audiens internasional dan pelaku ekonomi juga mempengaruhi tema-tema yang diangkat dalam pidato. Selain itu, penelitian ini juga menemukan bahwa pidato presiden jarang menyentuh isu-isu lingkungan keseharian yang dekat dan berdampak langsung, kurang menyoroti isu keadilan lingkungan, dan penyelesaian persoalan lingkungan. Penelitian ini memberi kebaruan pada analisis pidato lingkungan presiden dengan analisis linguistik korpus yang masih jarang.

INTRODUCTION

Environmental issues are one of the critical issues today. Environmental issues are a common problem throughout the world. Climate change is a complex issue that requires joint action to overcome it (Moshou & Drinia, 2023). The challenges in climate change issues range from cognitive challenges to economic implications in mitigating them, requiring appropriate communication and action strategies to resolve them (Lewandowsky, 2021). The environment is also one of the main pillars of development, especially amidst global demands for sustainable development. The United Nations has agreed to encourage environmental improvements through the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), including clean water and adequate sanitation, clean and affordable energy, sustainable cities and settlements, climate change management, marine ecosystems, and terrestrial ecosystems (United Nations, n.d.).

The state has an important role in resolving environmental issues. This role is generally reflected in presidential speeches. This is because presidential speeches often reflect national policies (Haider et al., 2023). Through speeches, the president communicates his policy preferences to legislators, bureaucrats, and the public, including on environmental issues (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2010). It provides an overview of the strategic direction taken by the state in responding to global environmental challenges. Speeches can also be used to evaluate the extent of the President's commitment to development, which pays attention to the balance between economic growth, social welfare, and environmental sustainability. This is important to understand whether the state

is moving towards sustainable development or vice versa.

Through speeches on various occasions, the Indonesian state also considers the importance of the climate crisis issue. This is done by taking several policies such as a moratorium on forest and plantation permits, reforestation, switching to new renewable energy, developing electric vehicles, which are considered more environmentally friendly, building seed nurseries, and so on (Manihuruk et al., 2024). At the G20 Summit in Bali in 2022, the President conveyed six main priorities for discussing environmental issues, namely land degradation, loss of biodiversity, marine debris, water management, sustainable finance, and marine protection (Saiputra, 2022). Meanwhile, the Government also claims to have taken five major steps in overcoming the climate crisis, including the sustainable forest program, recognition of customary forests, the climate village program, carbon waste reduction, and net carbon sinks (Saiputra, 2022).

Indonesia is one of the countries with the largest biodiversity in the world, and also a country with high carbon emissions. According to the Global Carbon Project report, Indonesia's carbon emissions are ranked seventh in the world, with 714 MtCO₂ (Global Carbon Project, n.d.). Indonesia is also ranked eighth in terms of the largest forest in the world (Rasyid, 2024). Regarding the sea, Indonesia is the country with the largest coral reef in the world, covering an area of 5,020 km² (World Population Review, 2024). With these conditions, Indonesia's strategy to protect the environment will greatly affect conditions throughout the world. In this context, the president's speech is an important illustration of the direction of environmental policy that will

affect the management of natural resources and control of climate change.

Handling the climate crisis is greatly influenced by the ideology adopted by a country. McCright et al. (2016) stated that the handling of the climate crisis in the United States depends on the political ideology of the government in power, as well as in countries in Europe. In the US, democrats and liberals pay more attention to environmental issues than republicans and conservatives. The left group in Europe sees the need to address the climate crisis more than the right group. This is reflected in the ideology of the leader in power.

San Román and Molinero-Gerbeau (2023) explain that the dominant discourse in the current climate crisis issue is the Anthropocene, which sees humans as the main source of environmental damage. However, the capitalocene view, which argues that the capitalist system is the main cause of environmental damage, is a counter-discourse that needs to be discussed (San Román & Molinero-Gerbeau, 2023). This difference in ideology will also affect the response to the climate crisis. From an anthropocentric point of view, environmental improvement will only be realized if humans are responsible. This is also evident from the president's speeches, namely, showing human efforts to reduce damage and improve the environment. Based on this argument, it is important to see what ideology underlies Indonesia's policies on environmental issues through President Joko Widodo's speeches. After all, the president's speech shows the state's commitment, which will be translated into policies, both at the national and local levels. In addition, the president's speech also plays a role in influencing public behavior, praising policies, weakening the opposition, and

defending themselves from opposition criticism (Chan et al., 2021).

To understand the overall context of the speeches delivered by the President in this study, the researcher used the rhetorical situation framework. By using the rhetorical situation framework, this study aims to look at the aspects of audience, presence, and constraints from various speeches by President Joko Widodo throughout 2019-2024. The rhetorical situation theory was proposed by Lloyd Bitzer in 1968. This theory explains that rhetoric or speech emerges as a response to certain situations (Bitzer, 1968). Bitzer argues that rhetoric is not the result of the communicator's ability alone, but is determined by the context or circumstances that trigger the need to communicate persuasively. Meanwhile, Turnbull (2017) argues that rhetoric is not only a response to an existing situation but also an active tool that can shape and respond creatively through the interaction between the rhetorician and the situation.

Bitzer (1968) stated that there are three main elements in a rhetorical situation, namely exigence or demands, audience, and constraints. Exigence is a problem or urgent need that requires a response in the form of rhetoric. This problem is usually situational and requires action or change. Miller explains that exigence comes from a series of certain social patterns and expectations that become socially objectified motives to overcome danger, ignorance, and separation (in Roderick, 2024). This means that there must be a repetition of events in order to create a pattern that forms a particular motive.

The audience is the recipient of rhetoric. When a demand or problem arises that requires a rhetorical response, a rhetorician identifies obstacles to

influencing the audience (Bitzer, 1968). This means that the audience determines the success of a rhetoric. Bitzer (1968) emphasized that the audience is not just a passive listener, but they are people who have the ability to be influenced or motivated to act or respond to the situation. Rhetorical actors need to adapt to their audience regarding the issues presented (Turnbull, 2017). In this study, the audience can be the general public, policy makers, or business managers.

Constraints are factors that influence how rhetoric is delivered and received (Bitzer, 1968). Constraints can be beliefs, values, traditions, or rules that limit or shape how rhetoric works. These constraints can come from the sender, the audience, or the situation itself. Contextual and rhetorical constraints play a constitutive role in constructing a rhetorical discourse and the meaning of experience (Turnbull, 2017).

For Bitzer (1968), rhetoric can be effective if it is able to identify, understand, and respond appropriately to the demands of the situation. The rhetorical situation determines how the message is structured, to whom it is addressed, and how the persuasive strategy is developed. However, Turnbull (2017) sees rhetoric as political because it can create the impression of social change when, in fact, nothing is done to bring about change. Rhetoric allows for manipulation and persuasion to get the audience involved. By using the concept of rhetorical situation, this study wants to see how the rhetoric used by President Joko Widodo relates to environmental issues. Do his speeches try to improve the environment, or are they simply demands from global issues that must be responded to?

It is important to analyze presidential speeches using rhetorical situation theory to uncover the context that forms the rhetoric of the speech. The

corpus is used to see all the speeches delivered by the president, not just one speech, which may not be able to explain the direction of government policy.

Research on presidential speeches is nothing new, including President Joko Widodo's speeches. However, research on presidential speeches in Indonesia still focuses on linguistic analysis, such as style, rhetorical analysis, or cohesion and coherence analysis (Fadhillah & Irwansyah, 2021; Saputra et al., 2020). In addition, several studies also used a critical perspective using discourse analysis (Hajrah et al., 2024; Sakka et al., 2023; Siahaan et al., 2023). The weakness of studies that emphasize textual analysis of language is that they generally only focus on one speech, so they cannot describe policies over a certain period.

Several studies use a political perspective to analyze speeches. The themes that are widely studied in presidential speeches include political communication, national identity, foreign policy, political discourse, and leadership (Cavari et al., 2024; Chávez, 2024; Kujanen et al., 2024; Rahmouni, 2023). Research on presidential speeches related to environmental issues was found in a study of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's speech in an international forum on climate change and peace (Ekawati, 2019). However, this study emphasized the use of modality and still only looked at one presidential speech. Throughout the author's search, no research has been found on presidential speeches in Indonesia using corpus linguistic analysis. To fill this gap, this study was conducted to examine President Joko Widodo's speech in responding to environmental issues using corpus linguistic analysis. Corpus linguistic analysis is a method that uses large amounts of text and is used in various contexts to understand the use of language in constructing discourse and reality

(Baker, 2006; McEnery & Wilson, 1996). Thus, this study will analyze many speeches in one unit.

Studies on presidential speeches using a corpus linguistic analysis approach have been conducted by scholars in many countries, although the number is not as many as studies using linguistic analysis. Several studies using corpus-based discourse analysis include Haider et al. (2023) on the differences in political topics used by King Abdullah II when using English and when using Arabic. In addition, there is a study on the similarities and differences in the speeches of 4 US presidents conducted by Hamed (2021). These studies were able to describe the policy direction of the speeches studied. However, they did not look further into the context of the speech's emergence because they focused on comparing speeches between presidents and comparing language use. By using corpus linguistic analysis, this study is expected to provide a valuable contribution to studying presidential speeches, complementing previous studies.

METHOD

This study uses the corpus linguistic analysis method. Corpus linguistic analysis is a method for studying language use by utilizing a large collection of texts (McEnery & Wilson, 1996). This method aims to uncover language patterns to understand how language is used in constructing discourse or building reality (Baker, 2006). A corpus is a large collection of texts used in various contexts (McEnery & Wilson, 1996). By using this method, researcher try to see the tendency of keywords that appear to describe the direction of President Joko Widodo's policy on environmental issues.

In this study, the material object used is the text of President Joko Widodo's speech on the environment, containing the keywords: environment, climate crisis, climate change, and global warming. The speeches were taken from 2019 to 2024 or during President Joko Widodo's second term. The researcher used a digital footprint in the form of a transcript of President Jokowi's speech taken from the page <https://setkab.go.id/category/transkrip-pidato/> after being sorted using the keywords mentioned earlier. The material object was then approached with a rhetorical situation perspective.

The data was taken using Octoparse software, and it was found that there were 338 speeches. However, there were 117 speech duplications, so after the duplications were removed, the number of speeches found was 221. In this process, the researcher conducted a cleaning to remove speeches that turned out to be irrelevant (e.g., work environment, business environment, investment climate), and the final result was 160 speeches.

After that, the researcher used all of the data for corpus linguistic analysis using Voyant software. Using Voyant, the researcher conducted three analyses, namely frequency, concordance, and collocation. Frequency is used to count the number of words that appear in the corpus. Concordance is used to see the context of word usage in a corpus (Baker, 2006). While collocation is used to identify the relationship of words with other words that appear in the text (Brezina, 2018).

Finally, the researcher conducted a corpus analysis using the rhetorical situation theory, using three aspects in the rhetorical situation, that is, existence, audience, and constraints (Bitzer, 1968). By examining these three aspects, the

analysis was directed to the context of environmental issues raised by President Joko Widodo and issues that received less attention from the President.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Based on the findings of the data analyzed using Voyant software, 113,759 words and 8,375 unique words from 160 speeches have been collected. The researcher removed several words that were considered irrelevant in this study

(stop-words) such as through, when, with, can, although, for, and so on. From the 8,375 unique words, the researcher chose 40 words that appeared most frequently. The following is a list of the most frequently occurring words along with their frequencies.

Table 1
40 Most Frequently Occurring Words

Word	Frequency	Word	Frequency	Word	Frequency	Word	Frequency
state	1012	new	294	technology	191	health	157
indonesia	802	heart	283	industry	190	enter	156
economy	464	public	280	region	188	first	154
good	409	development	224	climate	184	food	152
world	377	government	216	investment	177	trillion	151
percent	355	million	215	nation	173	important	151
big	353	energy	209	green	171	build	151
capital	337	one	202	global	170	pandemic	149
city	313	environment	195	up	168	value	149
work	311	change	193	second	160	forest	149

Source: Result of data analysis

Based on Table 1 above, the word "state" is the most dominant word with a frequency of 1,012 times, and "Indonesia" is the second word with a frequency of 802 times. This shows that the president's speech was indeed carried out in order to show the president's position as a representative of the Indonesian state.

If we observe the most frequently appearing words as shown in Table 1, we can see that there are at least two (2) major

contexts underlying President Joko Widodo's speeches about the environment. The first is the economy. This can be seen from the words that appear, such as economy, percent, work, million, industry, investment, trillion, and value. The second is the development of the new capital city, Nusantara, which can be seen from the words that appear, such as capital, city, new, development, in addition to state and Indonesia.

Figure 1

Grouping of words related to the environment, economy, and the new capital city



Source: Result of data analysis

Words related to the environment, such as forest, sea, pollution, and disaster, appear in small numbers. The following

Cirrus can more clearly describe the words that appear in President Jokowi's collection of speeches.

Figure 2

Cirrus of words in President Joko Widodo's Speech about the environment



Source: Result of data analysis

The next analysis is concordance. Concordance analysis looks at the context of word usage by examining five words on the right and five words on the left (5R + 5L). The words that will be analyzed for concordance are environment and climate. Here are the results of the concordance analysis.

There are 195 words for "environment" and 184 words for "climate" analyzed. The results of the concordance analysis show that President Joko Widodo's speech on environmental issues is driven by economic factors and the development of the Indonesian new capital city. Some examples of sentences that appear related to the economy are as follows,

"... green finance initiatives can balance economic aspects, environmental aspects, and inclusiveness....",

"... now all countries are encouraging environmentally friendly and sustainable investments. Therefore, the so-called green economy must be captured, the so-called blue economy investment must be pursued immediately.",

"We also have a credible innovative financing platform, carbon exchange, energy transition mechanism, green sukuk and bonds, environmental fund management from result-based payment.",

"... state revenue in 2024 will be driven more optimally while maintaining the investment climate, business sustainability, and environmental sustainability."

Sentences that appear related to the development of the IKN include

“... to support the green transportation initiative in the IKN to create a future...”,

“... Nusantara is a green area, a green environment. So the concept is different from ...”,

“...welcome the launch of environmentally friendly transportation at IKN by Bluebird...”.

In the concordance analysis of the word "climate", the context of IKN development does not appear prominent, but the economic context is very strong. This can be seen from sentences that appear, such as

“... the effects of the pandemic, climate change, and war. First, the economy of a number of ...”,

“... inflationary pressures, both due to climate change and external shocks. Coordination that...”,

“... is hard to calculate. Second, climate change is also hard to calculate and...”.

Concordance analysis with the word climate also shows that President Joko Widodo's speeches related to climate and environmental issues are often conducted in the context of international forums. Some of the forums mentioned include the G20, COP26, AIS Forum, and various bilateral meetings with other countries.

The next analysis is collocation analysis, which aims to see words that often appear together with the word being analyzed. The word environment collocates with 525 contexts, including life, environment, green, city, transportation, maintaining, energy, social, and water. The following is a table of collocations with the word environment.

Table 2
Collocation of the word “environment”

No.	Word	Quantity
1.	Life	28
2.	Environment	26
3.	Green	24
4.	City	16
5.	Transportation	12
6.	Maintain	12
7.	Energy	12
8.	Social	10
9.	Water	10

Source: Result of data analysis

The collocation analysis of the word climate produced 1,122 contexts. Some of them are state, Indonesia, climate, world,

change, global, investment, real, economy, forest, good, development, and impact.

Table 3*Collocation of the word "climate"*

No.	Word	Quantity
1	State	88
2	Indonesia	78
3	Climate	54
4	World	46
5	Change	45
6	Global	34
7	Investation	28
8	Real	24
9	Economy	24
10	Forest	22
11	Good	21
12	Development	20
13	Impact	20

Source: Result of data analysis

Based on the data above, the economic aspect is more clearly seen in the collocation of the word climate than in the word environment. Related collocations include change, global, investment, and economy. The collocation of the word environment is closer to the discourse of IKN development. This is indicated by words such as city, transportation, social, and water.

IKN Development, Economy, and International Agenda as Rhetorical Situation

The results of the corpus analysis of President Joko Widodo's speeches show that three main contexts become rhetorical situations for the President's speeches containing the words environment, climate change, climate crisis, and global warming. The three aspects are the development of the IKN, economic growth, and the existence of an international agenda.

Therefore, the government continuously strives to convince the public that the development of the IKN does not damage the environment and has even

become a new prototype for the development of eco-friendly cities. Various environmentally friendly policies are implemented and voiced through presidential speeches to emphasize the importance of paying attention to environmental aspects in the development of the IKN. These speeches were made in many forums, both in front of the public, investors, and other countries. According to Mustaqim (2022), President Joko Widodo relies on persuasive strategies to convince the public that the IKN development plan can be realized properly. The emphasis on environmental issues is a persuasive tool to gain public legitimacy for the development of the IKN, which is considered to be destroying the forests of Kalimantan.

President Joko Widodo's economic speeches also often mention the words environment and climate change. Climate change and environmental damage are considered constraints or obstacles to economic growth. The President often mentions climate change as a threat along with global economic uncertainty, world

geopolitical tensions, and the outbreak of the pandemic. In front of local leaders, the President always reminds of the threat of climate change, which will affect food and energy supplies and ultimately also affect the economy. Unfortunately, the President does not emphasize to local leaders to address climate change, so that efforts to improve the environment have never been a priority in Indonesia. In practice, environmental protection is more often defeated by the interests of economic growth and investment, such as in the case of mining in Wadas, which was rejected by the public, the construction of a coal-fired steam power plant, and the food estate project.

In the collocation analysis, the word economy collocates the most with the word green. This shows that one of Indonesia's economic development policy directions is aimed at a sustainable economy. The direction of this policy is certainly also influenced by international discourse, namely the Sustainable Development Goals. Economic and infrastructure development are also key strategies for President Joko Widodo to resolve the problems of poverty, unemployment, and inequality (Nugroho, 2020). This choice of economy is also evident in Joko Widodo's on-and-off policy during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Indonesia's active involvement in various international forums also became an exigency for President Joko Widodo's speech. International environmental agendas such as reducing carbon emissions, saving biodiversity, saving forests from deforestation, and the energy transition from fossil fuels to new renewable energy became the basic reasons for the president's speech. Indonesia's leadership as the holder of the G20 Presidency in 2022, the holder of the

ASEAN Chairmanship in 2023, and the host of the 2023 AIS Forum Summit also became the impetus that made President Joko Widodo give many speeches related to the environment. In his speeches at various international forums, President Joko Widodo continued to ask for the responsibility of developed countries to participate in providing funding and technology transfer in efforts to save the Earth. This message is the result of constraints in the form of pressure from the international world for developing countries to agree to emission reduction agreements that are often burdensome (Thaker & Leiserowitz, 2014).

In these international forums, the President also speaks to his audience. Therefore, the issues raised in his speeches are global issues such as environmental financing, green economy, sustainable investment, and energy transition. The speech to raise international conservation financing made by President Joko Widodo was also made by presidents in Brazil when discussing the Amazon in international forums (Silva-Muller & Sposito, 2024). In addition, the President also makes many speeches to audiences of regional leaders and economic actors (OJK, BI, Hipmi, etc.), so environmental issues are often associated with economic affairs. Thus, the audience greatly determines what environmental issues the President raises.

Lack of Everyday Environmental Issues in Presidential Speeches

Borrowing the typology of environmental discourses proposed by Partelow et al. (2020), President Joko Widodo's speeches predominantly address *climate politics*, as indicated by terms such as international, cooperation, good, national, government, climate change, and global. This suggests that the discourse

aims to introduce the issue of global climate change and promote the idea of building a better future. In this context, ideas are emphasized more than concrete actions.

In addition, the President frequently discusses the issue of *ecological modernization*, as reflected in the use of terms such as energy, policy, renewable energy, gas emissions, national, and innovation. *Environmental management* discourse is also often employed, using terminology such as conservation, sustainable environment, and sustainable energy.

Among the discourse typologies, *environmental justice* appears to be the least utilized. Terms such as human rights, local communities, indigenous peoples, empowerment, culture, and community are rarely found in this collection of speeches. When such terms do appear, they tend to be associated with other issues, such as legal or agrarian matters, rather than environmental concerns. These findings further reinforce the study by Partelow et al. (2020), which highlights that environmental justice often ranks lowest in priority, both among environmental advocates and politicians.

Every day, environmental issues are also limited in the President's speeches. The word *pollution* only appears eight times, and not all instances are directly related to environmental concerns. In fact, pollution is a major environmental issue faced by the public on a daily basis. Jakarta, as Indonesia's capital city, often ranks as the most polluted city in the world (Ananda, 2024). Similarly, the word *waste* is mentioned only 51 times, despite the fact that waste management is a tangible issue encountered daily by citizens, ranging from smoke from burning trash, waste management systems, law enforcement, to budget allocation for waste processing (Primantoro, 2023). Several cities in

Indonesia have faced serious waste problems due to the closure of final disposal sites, such as in Bandung and Yogyakarta, with no optimal solutions found to date. This indicates the government's limited attention to the issue of waste.

Every day, environmental issues also rarely get the spotlight from world leaders. The analysis by Silva-Muller & Sposito (2024) also illustrates how the president of Brazil frames the Amazon as a conservation issue when addressing the international community, aiming to secure funding, while linking it to economic integration and social development when speaking to the Brazilian public. Meanwhile, Bailey (2019) notes that President Obama focused more on topics such as new fuel standards, carbon emission reduction targets, the use of renewable energy, electricity consumption reduction, energy efficiency, and the production of hybrid vehicles when addressing climate change. This suggests a broader tendency among world leaders to avoid discussing everyday environmental issues, such as pollution and waste, in their environmental speeches.

The word *disaster*, which is a direct consequence of environmental problems, appears only 120 times. Disasters are often linked to environmental issues as outcomes of human negligence in preserving nature. While disasters are frequently portrayed as a form of punishment, they are rarely framed as warnings against environmental destruction. The word *ocean* is mentioned just 66 times, which stands in contrast to the maritime vision expressed by President Joko Widodo during his 2014 inauguration speech (Humas Setkab, 2014).

The limited presence of everyday environmental issues in the President's speeches can also be attributed to the nature of the events where the speeches are

delivered, which typically involve specific audiences. Most speeches are given in the context of inaugurating infrastructure projects or attending ceremonial functions. The phrase *environmentally friendly transportation* appears infrequently and is mainly associated with the inauguration of projects in the new capital city, Nusantara. President Joko Widodo's environmental discourse tends to be delivered in international forums or to specific audiences such as economic actors and policymakers. This results in a dominance of green economy discourse in his speeches, while everyday environmental issues that directly affect the public receive relatively less attention in his rhetoric.

CONCLUSION

The second term of President Joko Widodo's administration has provided more space for environmental issues to be voiced. Based on a rhetorical situation analysis of 160 speeches delivered between 2019 and 2024, there are at least three main contexts underpinning the presence of these speeches: the development of the new capital city (IKN), economic growth, and participation in international forums. This study also finds that the audience plays a significant role in shaping the environmental themes conveyed by the President. Speeches delivered at international forums—such as the G20, ASEAN Summits, AIS Summits, COP meetings, and bilateral talks—tend to focus on environmental politics and environmental management.

On the other hand, these contexts indicate that environmental improvement

in response to the climate crisis has never truly been the central motive of the President's speeches. The President faces difficulty in articulating everyday climate-related issues and the tangible impacts of climate change on society. This is largely due to the limited space available for addressing environmental messages to a broader, general audience. Presidential speeches are typically structured around four major themes: politics, economy, social affairs, and defense-security. As a result, environmental issues are often framed through these dominant lenses. This tendency also suggests that the priority of sustainable environmental development does not lie in addressing everyday public concerns. Consequently, President Joko Widodo's environmental policies have rarely touched upon the daily environmental problems faced by the public.

This study has limitations, as it only provides a broad overview of the corpus of President Joko Widodo's speeches and does not examine each speech in detail. A more in-depth qualitative analysis is needed to complement this research. Studying presidential environmental speeches is crucial for mapping the direction of the country's environmental policies. Future research could expand this topic by linking the rhetoric to actual policy implementation. Furthermore, analyzing the shift in environmental themes between the President's first and second terms would offer insights into the evolution of Indonesia's environmental discourse and policy.

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