

THE IMAGE OF INDONESIA IN THE G20 PRESIDENCY ON THE RUSSIA-UKRAINE CONFLICT: A PRAGMATIC APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia has been elected for the first time in the G20 Presidency. Shortly after being elected to the presidency holder, a big challenge arose which was the re-emergence of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. This situation forced Indonesia to appear as the leader of the world's major economic countries. In this G20 Presidency, Indonesia has also built an image that is expected to help resolve the Russia-Ukraine conflict. This analytical descriptive research aimed to analyze the image of Indonesia in the G20 Presidency on the Russia-Ukraine conflict. The approach used was a pragmatic approach, with speech act theory from Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), and image building theory from Lozier (1976). The data collection method chosen was the note-taking method with the data analysis technique was the pragmatic identity method. The data source for this research was an official speech video of President Joko Widodo responding to the Russia-Ukraine conflict which was obtained on the YouTube channel "Sekretariat Presiden". The data collected were 13 utterances that contained the image of Indonesia on the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Based on the results of the analysis, the image of Indonesia through Joko Widodo's speech was built through illocutionary meaning. The illocutionary meaning produces 8 (eight) images of Indonesia, namely committed, proactive, neutral, humanist, peace-loving, solutive, progressive, and responsible. The image of Indonesia on the Russia-Ukraine conflict was built as a form of the existence of Indonesia which is now the G20 Presidency. This image is principle for Indonesia as the holder of the G20 Presidency to influence the world to build peace.

1. Introduction

The G20 or *Group of Twenty* is a multilateral organization involving 19 major countries in the world and one economic region, that is the European Union. Formed on 26 September 1999, the G20 generally focuses on the economic sector and issues related to it, such as factors and impacts related to the world economy. Indonesia has been a member of the G20 since the organization was first formed. From the initial year of joining, that was 1999, Indonesia was finally trusted to hold the G20 Presidency in 2021, starting from December 1, 2021, to November 1, 2022.

As holder of the new G20 Presidency, Indonesia faces some challenges that cannot be said easy matter. At the beginning of accepting the transfer of the presidency from Italy, Indonesia was faced with a post-COVID-19 situation where the world economy was in the process of recovering to normal. That matter also prompted Indonesia creating the theme of the G20 Presidency “*Recover Together, Recover Stronger*”. Beside the problem of coronavirus, Indonesia also faced a challenge when Russia decided to start an invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022. This moment was such time for Indonesia to show the strength and assertiveness as G20 Presidency. Moreover, Russia is a member of the G20 and is known to have quite close diplomatic relations with Indonesia.

Facing such situations and conditions, as well as demands from the public, especially the Indonesian people, regarding Indonesia’s attitude towards the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, the Indonesian government finally spoke up. The state speech was delivered by Joko Widodo as the head of state and government through a live broadcast on the YouTube channel “Sekretariat Presiden”. From the speech, Indonesia as the G20 Presidency gave statements aimed at the conflict between Russia and Ukraine.

From this background, the researchers conducted a research to analyze what the image of Indonesia in the G20 Presidency towards the Russia-Ukraine conflict which was formed through a speech delivered by President Joko Widodo. This research formulated a research question, how was the image of Indonesia in the G20 Presidency on the Russia-Ukraine conflict. The purpose of this research was to find and to describe the image of Indonesia in the G20 Presidency on the Russia-Ukraine conflict.

Based on the literature review that has been carried out, research on the image of Indonesia in the G20 Presidency on the Russia-Ukraine conflict has never existed before. Similar previous research found limited research only on the image of Indonesia, or only on Indonesia as the G20 Presidency, or only on the Russia-Ukraine conflict. The researches on the image of Indonesia were conducted by Felani (2017) with the title “Citra Indonesia dalam Film dan Serial Televisi Hollywood” and Widiastuti & Nurtanzila (2018) with the title “Membaca Citra Indonesia dalam Audio Visual Kementerian Pariwisata”. Through a postcolonial approach with the theory of orientalism from Edward Said, Felani (2017) found the image of Indonesia in Hollywood films and television series as a strange, chaotic, and backward country; den of criminals; exotic place; isolated; mystical and mysterious; a romantic place and vacation destination; as well as a terrorist center. The research by Widiastuti & Nurtanzila (2018) stated that the Ministry of Tourism imaged Indonesia as a charming country through the audio-visuals it made. The charming image was obtained from the natural beauty, cultural uniqueness, friendliness of the residents, delicious food, and environmental peace/safety shown in the audio-visual video.

One research on Indonesia as the G20 Presidency was conducted by Tobing et al. (2022) with the title “Dampak Presidensi G20 terhadap Perekonomian Indonesia Pascapandemi COVID-19”. The research concluded that the G20 Presidency was able to contribute to the economy of approximately IDR 7.6 trillion for Indonesia’s GDP. In addition, the G20 Presidency also increased the number of tourists, which increased income in the tourism sector and created job opportunities. Then, research on the Russia-Ukraine conflict was conducted by Atok (2017) with the title “Analisis Konflik Rusia dan Ukraina: Studi Kepustakaan Status Kepemilikan Krimea”. In his writings, Atok said that Russia’s invasion of Ukraine was caused by Russia feeling threatened by the intervention of the European Union and the United States, which are members of NATO. Russia refused and was ready to go to war if Ukraine joined NATO.

From the literatures that have been mentioned and other search results, research on the image of Indonesia in the G20 Presidency on the Russia-Ukraine conflict has never been done before. Therefore, this research becomes a treasure trove of knowledge that can provide an understanding of the image that the Government of Indonesia wants to form as the holder of the G20 mandate. Not only that, the approach used from a language perspective, through pragmatic studies, and a communication perspective, through theory of image building, to speech data sources can be a reference for the further similar research.

2. Research Methodology

2.1. Research Approaching

This research can be categorized as qualitative research. According to Helaludin & Wijaya (2019) qualitative research is a research study that tries to understand phenomena in natural settings and contexts. The point is that what is contained in the data source must consider the accompanying aspects so that research findings are found that are not taken raw. Furthermore, according to Helaluddin & Wijaya, this qualitative research is interpretive. This interpretation is because in qualitative data there are reality variables that are difficult to measure, complex, and certainly interconnected with one another. It is the same as in this research, interpretation is needed to find the meaning contained in an utterance so that it does not only have a lexical meaning. From the meanings carried out, it is then expected to be able to understand in depth to find patterns and themes that can represent the contents of the data Helaludin & Wijaya (2019). Meanwhile, in exploring the research data, the researchers used descriptive analytical method. The data that has been obtained is described, then it is analyzed to obtain research objectives.

2.2. Data Collecting

The source of the research data is a video of President Joko Widodo's state speech taken from the YouTube channel "Sekretariat Presiden" on 29 April 2022 with duration 6 minutes and 11 seconds. The data collection technique chosen by the researchers is the note-taking technique. This technique is done by listening to a video of Joko Widodo's speech from beginning to end, then taking notes about the utterances in the speech that contain the image of Indonesia. The data taken is in the form of utterances in the form of sentences containing intralinguistic context related to the image of Indonesia in the G20 Presidency on the Russia-Ukraine conflict. The analysis stage is carried out by the distributional method. The distributional method is a data analysis method whose determining tool is outside, independent of, and does not become part of the language in question Sudaryanto (2015). The technique in the distributional method used, namely the referential technique, which this technique the determining tool is everything that is outside the language designated by the language unit.

3. Theory

The approach taken by the researchers in this research was pragmatic with the theory used the speech act theory of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). In pragmatic research, the existence of context cannot be separated. According to Rahardi (2019), the context in linguistic research is divided into two, namely intralinguistic context and extralinguistic context. For this research, the context used was the intralinguistic context. The intralinguistic context is formed from the units in the internal language that make up the conceptual context. Regarding the speech act theory of Austin (1962) which divides speech into three forms, namely locutionary, illocutionary, perlocutionary. From those forms, the researchers focused on illocutionary speech. Illocutionary speech is speech whose contents are in the form of acting stating something. In understanding the meaning and purpose of this illocutionary utterance, an effort is needed that cannot be said to be easy. Searle (1969) divides illocutionary forms into five categories, namely *assertive*, *directive*, *commissive*, *expressive*, and *declarative*.

Assertive speech is a speech that contains the truth of the proposition as said by the speaker, *directive* speech is a speech that has the intention of making the speech partner perform the desired action by the speaker. *Commissive* is a speech that contains demands from the speaker to the hearer to commit to something in the future. *Expressive* speech is speech that contains expressions of the speaker's attitudes and feelings towards a situation made by other people. Finally, *declarative* speech is speech that causes a change after the speech is delivered by the speaker.

In addition to speech act theory, the researchers also used image building theory from DeLozier (1976) to support this research. Lozier stated that the image is formed from a physical acceptance process through the five senses that enter the attention filter and then produce a message that can be understood in the form of perception and ultimately becomes the image itself. In research, the five senses involved in the physical reception of speech are ears. The utterances of Joko Widodo's state speech as the President of Indonesia who stated the Russia-Ukraine conflict were captured by listeners's ears and entered into the attention filter and then formed the perception of the resulting messages until finally forming the image of Indonesia in the G20 Presidency on the Russia-Ukraine conflict.

4. Findings and Discussion

From the data collection carried out on the research data source, 13 utterances from President Joko Widodo were obtained which contained the image of Indonesia on the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Each speech data can be explained as follows.

Data 1	
Waktu	0:13–0:40
Tuturan	Sebagai pemegang mandat Presidensi G20 tahun 2022, dalam dua bulan terakhir, saya telah berkomunikasi dengan beberapa pemimpin negara-negara dan juga Sekjen PBB tentang persiapan KTT G20 yang akan digelar di Bali pada bulan November 2022.

The phrase *sebagai pemegang mandat Presidensi G20 tahun 2022* in the utterance above was the cause of the actions taken by Indonesia, that was communicating with several country leaders and also the Secretary General of the United Nations (UN). From the utterance in the form of the phrase, it can be said that Indonesia is a committed country. Committed means to carry out its role as the holder of the G20 Presidency, one of which is to prepare for the G20 Summit. The image of Indonesia as a committed country was conveyed in Joko Widodo's speech through illocutionary meaning with an *assertive* form because it refers to the fact that Indonesia is indeed the holder of the G20 Presidency. The form of *assertive* used in forming the image was *stating* that was shown the phrase *telah berkomunikasi*.

Data 2	
Waktu	0: 41–0:51
Tuturan	Juga, berdiskusi lewat telepon mengenai dinamika situasi global terkini. Termasuk di antaranya soal perang Rusia-Ukraina.

Utterance in Data 2 contained a clause *berdiskusi lewat telepon mengenai dinamika situasi global terkini*, which means that Indonesia is proactive in following developments of the world. Moreover, Indonesia's position as the holder of the G20 Presidency, certainly demands preparedness in dealing with this situation. The Russia-Ukraine conflict is no exception, as clause *termasuk di antaranya soal perang Rusia-Ukraina* which Indonesia will immediately follow up on. From that meaning, it can be said that the image that Joko Widodo wanted to convey was that Indonesia is proactive in following global issues, including the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. In conveying the meaning, the illocutionary form used was *assertive* by *stating*, which can be identified from the used of the word *berdiskusi*.

Data 3	
Waktu	1:51–2:35

Tuturan	Pada hari Rabu, 27 April yang lalu, pukul 15 sore, saya berkomunikasi dengan Presiden Ukraina, Volodymyr Zelenskyy. Dan tadi malam, Kamis 28 April saya melakukan pembicaraan per telepon dengan Presiden Portugal, Marcelo de Sousa. Dan tadi malam, jam 7, saya berbicara per telepon dengan Presiden Rusia, Vladimir Putin.
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The lingual units in Data 3 which indicate the image of Indonesia are the clause *saya berkomunikasi dengan Presiden Ukraina, Volodymyr Zelenskyy* and the clause *saya berbicara per telepon dengan Presiden Rusia, Vladimir Putin*. The two clauses had the meaning that President Joko Widodo, who represents the country, approached and also communicated with the two parties about the conflict. Although Indonesia is known to have very close relations with Russia, Indonesia also continued to approach Ukraine as shown in Data 3. This formed the image of Indonesia as a proactive and neutral country. Proactive was represented in the words *berkomunikasi* and *berbicara* which means that Indonesia precedes the approach. The illocutionary form used was *assertive* by *stating*.

Data 4	
Waktu	2:36–2:48
Tuturan	Dalam pembicaraan, dalam perbincangan, telepon dengan Presiden Ukraina, saya memperoleh update mengenai perkembangan situasi saat ini di Ukraina.

Data 4's utterance contained the image of Indonesia as a proactive country. This proactiveness is demonstrated by a clause *telepon dengan Presiden Ukraina* with aimed to *memperoleh update mengenai perkembangan situasi saat ini di Ukraina*. The action of Indonesia which represented by the government contacting the Ukraine's government was a tangible form of Indonesia's efforts to actively followed developments in the Russia-Ukraine conflict. In conveying the image, the illocutionary form used was *assertive* with *stating* which can be identified from the use of clause *telepon dengan Presiden Ukraina* and clause *memperoleh update*.

Data 5	
Waktu	3:00–3:16
Tuturan	Saya menegaskan bahwa sesuai dengan amanat konstitusi Indonesia dan prinsip politik luar negeri Indonesia, melarang pemberian bantuan persenjataan kepada negara lain.

The existence of word *menegaskan* in Data 5 indicated that Indonesia cannot be shaken or influenced to do something. In this case, was to provide weapons assistance to Ukraine. Indonesia's assertiveness is since Indonesia is a state of law and in the legal regulations, it is stated that Indonesia is prohibited from assisting the state in the form of weapons. Thus, it can be said that Indonesia has an image as a committed country that adheres to the constitution and ideology. In conveying the image, the illocutionary form used was *commissive* by *refusing* as embodied in the word *melarang*.

Data 6	
Waktu	3:17–3:23
Tuturan	Namun, saya menyampaikan kesiapan Indonesia untuk memberikan bantuan kemanusiaan.

The utterance in Data 6 described Indonesia which likes to help and assist, but in terms of humanity. In the previous statement, that was Data 5, Indonesia is imaged as a country that was committed not to providing weapons assistance. In this data, Indonesia will be very ready to help if what was requested was related to humanitarian assistance. Thus, through the utterance in Data 6, President Joko Widodo imaged Indonesia as a humanist country that was happy to help when it came to humanity affected by war. In conveying this image, the illocutionary form used was *commissive* by *guaranteeing* which was represented in the word *kesiapan*.

Data 7	
Waktu	3:24–3:35

Tuturan	Saya sampaikan mengenai harapan agar perang dapat segera dihentikan dan solusi damai melalui perundingan dapat dikedepankan.
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In the utterance of Data 7, the image of Indonesia was formed as that of a peace-loving country. The image was represented in a clause *harapan agar perang dapat segera dihentikan dan solusi damai melalui perundingan dapat dikedepankan*. Not only limited to statements, but Indonesia also supported the existence of negotiations that can be a means of achieving peace between Russia and Ukraine. The type of illocutionary used was *directive* with the form of *hoping* which was explicitly uttered through the word *harapan*.

Data 8	
Waktu	4:03–4:15
Tuturan	Dalam konteks inilah, maka dalam pembicaraan per telepon kemarin saya mengundang Presiden Zelenskyy untuk hadir dalam KTT G20.

The utterance in Data 8 indicated that Indonesia was a solutive country, which invited *Presiden Zelenskyy untuk hadir dalam KTT G20*. Indonesia as the holder of the G20 Presidency had the option and power to take action to end the Russia-Ukraine conflict, and one of the actions chosen was to invite the President of Ukraine to the G20 Summit. Ukraine is not a member of the G20 and Indonesia may choose another country as a guest country at the summit. However, because the G20 Summit is an important and prestigious event aimed at countries around the world, Indonesia considers this to be one of the right solutions to ending the Russia-Ukraine conflict. The image as a solutive country was conveyed in an illocutionary with the type of *directive* in the form of *inviting*.

Data 9	
Waktu	4:16–4:38
Tuturan	Dan terakhir, perbincangan per telepon dengan Presiden Rusia Vladimir Putin. Presiden Rusia memberikan update mengenai situasi di Ukraina. Termasuk proses negoisasi yang terus berlangsung antara Rusia dan Ukraina.

The utterance in Data 9 further supports the image of Indonesia as a proactive country. This proactiveness was demonstrated by a clause *perbincangan per telepon dengan Presiden Rusia Vladimir Putin dengan tujuan memberikan update mengenai situasi di Ukraina*. The action of Indonesia, represented by the government to contact the Russian government, was a tangible form of Indonesia's efforts to actively follow developments in the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Including how Indonesia was aware of the ongoing negotiations between Russia and Ukraine. In conveying the image, the illocutionary form used was assertive with *stating* which can be identified from the use of clause *telepon dengan Presiden Rusia Vladimir Putin*.

Data 10	
Waktu	4:39–4:44
Tuturan	Saya kembali menekankan pentingnya perang segera diakhiri.

Based on utterance in Data 10, President Joko Widodo reaffirmed that the war between Russia and Ukraine should be ended immediately in various possible ways. The use of the word *segera* in the clause *perang segera diakhiri* indicated that Indonesia was progressive and fast in achieving the ideals of peace. There is no need to wait for peace to be achieved because of the many impacts of losses resulting from the war. Therefore, this form of progressiveness was also represented in the phrase *kembali menekankan*. The illocutionary used in conveying the image of Indonesia as a *progressive* country was the *directive* illocutionary with form of *ordering*.

Data 11	
Waktu	4:45–4:50
Tuturan	Saya juga menekankan agar solusi damai dapat terus dikedepankan.

The image of Indonesia as a peace-loving country was mentioned in utterance in Data 7. This was represented in a clause *menekankan agar solusi damai dapat terus dikedepankan*. The use of the word *menekankan* was chosen because Indonesia was very supportive and will seek a peaceful solution to end the Russia-Ukraine conflict. The type of illocutionary used was a *directive* with form of *ordering*.

Data 12	
Waktu	4:51–4:56
Tuturan	Dan Indonesia siap berkontribusi untuk upaya damai tersebut.

According to utterance in Data 12, the image formed was Indonesia as a committed country. The commitment of Indonesia is to continue to strive for peace with the readiness to make the necessary contributions to realize that thing. The illocutionary form contained in the utterance was *assertive* illocutionary in the form of *stating*.

Data 13	
Waktu	5:09–5:26
Tuturan	Sebagai penutup, saya ingin menekankan bahwa Indonesia ingin menyatukan G20. Jangan sampai ada perpecahan.

The utterance in Data 13 contained lingual units that described the image of Indonesia as a responsible holder of the G20 Presidency, namely the phrase *ingin menyatukan G20* and clause *jangan sampai ada perpecahan*. The meaning of these phrases and clauses was that in the G20 there are countries that are ideologically different and have different government systems and some are stricken by conflict so that Indonesia as the holder of the G20 Presidency wants to unite these differences so that there are no divisions in it. The type of illocutionary that appeared was *assertive* with form of *stating*.

From the analysis of the data above, the following results are obtained regarding the image of Indonesia in the G20 Presidency on Russia-Ukraine conflict.

Table 1. The Image of Indonesia in the Data

The image of Indonesia	Data of Utterance	Type of Illocutionary
Committed	1, 5, 12	Assertive, Commissive
Proactive	2, 3, 4, 9, 11	Assertive, Directive
Neutral	3	Assertive
Humanist	6	Commissive
Peace-loving	7	Directive
Solutive	8	Directive
Progressive	10	Directive
Responsible	13	Assertive

5. Conclusion

The results and discussions that have been carried out regarding the image of Indonesia in the G20 Presidency on the Russia-Ukraine conflict have led researchers to the following conclusions. First, from the official state speech delivered by President Joko Widodo in response to the Russia-Ukraine conflict, 13 utterances were obtained which convey the meaning of the image of Indonesia as the holder of the G20 presidency. Second, the meaning of utterances is obtained from the analysis of the illocutionary speech. Third, the illocutionary speeches that appear in conveying the image were in the form of *assertive*, *commissive*, and *directives*. Fourth, the image of Indonesia as the holder of the G20 presidency was formed from President Joko Widodo's utterances that Indonesia is a *committed*, *proactive*, *neutral*, *humanist*, *peace-loving*, *solutive*, *progressive*, and *responsible* country.

Research on the image of Indonesia in the G20 Presidency on the Russia-Ukraine conflict is expected to be one of the initial references for further research on imagery that is linked between pragmatics and communication. In the future, research using pragmatic theory and image building theory can be applied to other data sources, not only limited to speech data.

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