"Like a King Stepping out of the Palace for Fight"
Indonesia Political Identity: a Case Study of Television Program-Indonesia Lawyer Club "Siapa Penantang Ahok" (Who Challenges Ahok)

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ABSTRACT
Politician and linguist see political issue as something interesting phenomena. Politics cannot be conducted without language but the problem is political language is always persuasive and manipulative (Chilton & Schaffner, 2002). Therefore, this study designed to facilitate half-aware public regarded political languages. Through examining the facts of high frequency word speech, derive the context of the situation and looking for the impact of speech using the dimensions of CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) proposed by Fairclough (2001) are expected to show the Indonesian political identity. The data used in this study are two utterances of two Jakarta governor candidates in a television program called ILC (Indonesia Lawyer Club) with the theme "Siapa Penantang Ahok" (Who Challenges Ahok). From the perspective of language can be seen that every politician or the governor candidates struggle for power and they disclose their identity as the dominant figure or as a proper figure in various ways. In gaining the power, the politician always reveals their identity by stressing personal pronoun “I” (saya). However, based on the textual analysis supported by the discursive practice, the governor candidate freely to criticize the opponent (Ahok) using various language variations. Interestingly, in the dimension of socio-cultural analysis, societies refuse inappropriate languages. Therefore the political identities in Indonesia are still traditional, as power struggles in various ways, but the societies think the opposite. Based on the socio-cultural analysis societies appreciate harmonically politic with a proper language usage.

KEYWORDS: Political Language, Critical Discourse Analysis, Identity, Half-aware people

“Manipulation of language occurs in political context in all countries, but the dictatorship tend to be particularly systematic in these machinations” (Vedung, 1982:131)
History noted that Indonesia has a good political foundation with Sriwijaya Kingdom, Majapahit Kingdom as the political evidences. Politics are not arguably related to language. The use of language by social group can lead something aboard sanse. Political propaganda, political campaigns, debates between political parties are some example the use of language in political term.

Wilson (2001) explains politic in four words, those are: power, conflict, control, and domination. And Chilton and Scaffner (2002) believes that in language use in politic always containing two point those are manipulative and persuasive. Thus, with this correlation, language and politics can be seen as dualism. First, language can be a motor to control people, to dominate some minority. However, language is also can be boomerang for a politician because language is a medium to reveal the reality, to subtract the lies and the power used in the politician utter.

Nowadays, the pictures of politic in Indonesia point out at Jakarta governor election, which will hold next year. Ahok, as the present governor, become the strongest candidate for the upcoming election. Some survey conducted by several institution recalls that there were more than 50% people in Jakarta choose Ahok as the next governor (Liputan 6 news 2016; CNN Indonesia 2016). Therefore, various television programs challenge the others governor candidate to give the response related this survey or this political condition. One television program noted in this study called Indonesia Lawyer Club, with the bringing theme “Siapa Penantang Ahok” (Who Challenges Ahok). Hosted by senior journalists, Karni Ilyas, there were 12 politicians attended this program, the 8 politician is contra with Ahok, and the 4 politicians are pro with Ahok. Among the 8 politicians, three of them are the governor candidate. Moreover, the utterances of the two governor candidates among the three are the data used in this study. This study tries to dig deep from the language
perspective, how the governor candidate shows up their superiority and their identity as the best candidate, or the best personal to lead Jakarta.

Political context is catchreses or image fracture (Wodak & Mayer, 2001). It is important to figure out how the use of language can produce the effects of authority, legitimacy, consensus, and so forth that are recognized as being intrinsic to politics (Chilton, 2004). To understand the textual component built into this political program, this study uses Critical Discourse Analysis as the scalpel to disclose the practical domination. Through three dimensions of CDA, the practical domination of political issue in Indonesia can be elaborated. Through textual analysis, understanding the grammatical structure of the utterances expected can show the actual political candidate thought. So this dimension expected to reveal the political mindset. What kind of languages do they use and how they show up their identity through language can be seen clearly. From the second dimension, discursive practice, it can show the background knowledge or the reason why those utterances spoken by the candidate and what kind of context support their utterances. And the last is a socio-cultural practice to understand how big the power and domination by the political figure affects the societies and how the societies react and why do they did those reactions can be explained in this dimension.

RESEARCH METHOD AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research is descriptive qualitative research. The data of this study taken from the television program, Indonesia Lawyer Club, with a sub theme “Siapa Penantang Ahok” (Who Challenges Ahok) that aired on March 8, 2016. As effectiveness the data transcribed from YouTube channel: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JXNBBH24VZ8. In this program, there were 12 politicians, and three of them are the candidate for the next governor election. Between
those three candidates, this study chooses two utterances as the data source to examine. Those two considered as enough data to reveal the identity of politician in seizure of power.

In analyzing the data, this study use and follow Critical Discourse Analysis framework by Fairclough (1995). Below are the framework of CDA by Fairclough (1995, 98):

![Figure 1. Discourse as text, interaction, and context](image)

*Adopted from Fairclough (1995, p. 98)*

Furthermore, Fairclough (2001, p. 26) identifies those three dimensions for CDA (shown in figure 1) to three aspects of discourse, as follows:

1. **Description** is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of the text. This stage is the same as with text analysis. The first step used in this study is also describing the features of text. To analyze the text, the data changed into corpus data and process using Antcont (Anthony, 2014). With this software can be seen the word with higher frequency, or the word that the candidate emphasized.

2. **Interpretation** emphasizes the relationship between text and interaction by seeing the text as the product of the process of production and as a resource in the process of interpretation. This stage is same with discursive practice or discourse practice.
At this stage, this study will be tried to see the situational context of the utterances. How the situation bring the candidate to talk, and how it is correlated each others

3 **Explanation** concerns with the relationship between interaction and social context, with the social determination of the process of production and interpretation, and their social effects. The final touch in this study will be revealing the impact of candidate utterances in ILC, that is taken from YouTube comment. So that the effect of power struggle by the candidate can be seen.

**FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

**Textual Analysis**

According Fairclough theory, textual analysis covering three major important points (1) vocabulary, (2) Grammar (3) Textual structure. Fairclough believe through those three point containing three values those are (1) experiential values as a cue the producer’s experience in representing the word,(2) relational value as the cue to the social relationships which are enacted via the text in the discourse and (3) expressive value a a cue to the producer’s evaluation of the bit of reality (Fairclough, 2001). To reveal those three values this recent study uses the help of corpus linguistic approach to find out the high frequency word then derived it and explain it with the context. Using Antcon (Anthony, 2014) the high frequency word used by the political can be seen. Hereafter the scheme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Freq</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>clafs</th>
<th>Freq</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>clafs</th>
<th>freq</th>
<th>word</th>
<th>clafs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Marah (angry)</td>
<td>Adj</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Jakarta</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>Saya (I)</td>
<td>pron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sama (same)</td>
<td>Adj</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Politik (politics)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Kita (we)</td>
<td>pron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Seni (art)</td>
<td>Adj</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kota (town)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mereka (they)</td>
<td>pron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mirip (similar)</td>
<td>Adj</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Orang (people)</td>
<td>N</td>
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</table>
This program is a space for governor candidate to show theirself, this program can be media promotion for the next Jakarta governor election. After classified the word class there are four word have high frequency, those are marah (angry), Jakarta, and saya (I). This high frequency word indicates that those words are the higher word repeated by the candidate. Those are the word stressed by the candidate. Moreover, those four words can be assumed as the word with ideological contested.

It is interesting that the word marah (angry) appear as adjective word with higher frequency. It is noted there were 8 repetitions of the word marah (angry). From the concordance line the context of the word marah (angry) can be seen. Example are as shown below:

1. *Saya tidak pernah marah, bahkan mengucapkan nada tinggipun saya tidak* (I never get angry, I never even use high pitch tone)

2. *Jadi kadang kadang marahmarah itu science of sickness, menurut saya.* (So sometimes angry is such science of sickness, this is just my opinion)

3. *Kalau premanyang semakin jagoan jarang jarang marah. Bener enggak Bung-*? (an experienced civilian are never get angry. Is it correct Sir?)

The use of word marah (angry) in this utterance based on the context refer to the present governor. This word stressed by the governor candidate to differentiate himself with the present governor that he is a wise person, he never angry, even using high pitch has never been. The use of metaphore “preman” (Civilian) means the
candidate are given the invisible cue that present governor are an unprofessional civilian.

And the second word stressed is noun word, Jakarta. Jakarta is the topic in this program. Most of the governor candidates stressed Jakarta to show their appropriateness in the next governor election. Hereafter the example:

1. Jadi gini, Jakarta itu butuh kreativitas (so what I mean is, Jakarta needs some creativity)

2. Jiwa dari Jakarta itu apa? Jadi Jakarta itu tidak hanya pencakar langit atau... (what is the soul of Jakarta? So there will be not only skyscrapers in Jakarta, or...)

3. Yang pasti saya tidak akan membuat Jakarta jadi broken homemaksudnya itu (the definitely I will not built akarta just like broken home family)

4. Jadi nanti Jakarta itu harus punya estetika tinggi, (later, Jakarta must have high aesthetic)

The word Jakarta, used as the code to evaluate and criticized the recent condition of Jakarta. Jakarta claimed by the candidate as a capital city with skyscrapers without any aesthetic value. And it also is devices to candidate in promoting himself. They argue that if they win the election, they will build the aesthetic value of Jakarta and they will not make the Jakarta parliament such a broken home.

And the most interesting finding is the appearance of the personal pronoun “I” (saya) (see picture 2). This is spectacular since there were 77 repetitions. In this case the candidate are not arguably as dominant participant. They stress themselves as someone need to be known by the society.

Based on the concordance line, most of utterances stressed “I” (saya) to show up the personal identity, whom the word “I” means to be. Various language variations stressed the identity “I” (saya). For the example “I” (saya) as an artist that are called
to lead Jakarta, “I” (saya) as the only option of PKB and NU (particular political parties in Indonesia, or “I” as someone who be able to build a network or fast learner persona.

While in the campaign usually used first person plural, “we” but in this case the candidated are stresses the “I” as first person singular.

Discursive Practice

This analysis level involves text production and text consumption. Analyzing the situational context are important to figure out the text production and consumption of this television program. The short information, ILC is the name of television program hosted by Karni Ilyas aired in in TV-ONE, one of television broadcaster in Indonesia. Historically ILC is a lawyers' organization that have a mission to bring law matters in society. Karni Ilyas is the vice president of ILC organization and he also the president of one television broadcaster, SCTV. Thus, SCTV is the first aired ILC as the tv program under the auspices of ILC organization. Around 2013 ILC move in the other broadcaster, TV-ONE, under the auspices Aburizal Bakrie served as general chairman of Golkar (one of the political parties in Indonesia). Under the leadership of
a political party, TV-ONE claimed have less neutrality by public opinion (Kiseki: 2014, Lumbanraja: 2014).

Hosted by senior journalists, Karni Ilyas, there were 12 politicians attended this program. The 8 politicians are contra with Ahok, and the 4 politicians are pro with Ahok, in contra sides, there are three people are the candidate of the next Jakarta governor election. The agent in this program is a politician, whether they were in different sides, they have their own self ideology. Although every politician has a way to dominating the speech, but the unbalance condition forces different space on both sides. In this condition the contra sides have more space to give their opinion, throw criticism to the current governor and they also have a wide space to promote themselves as candidates with high incredibility. The domination is slightly on Ahok contra sides. Therefore the condition of some candidate shows their freedom to promote themselves, stressing themselves as a great candidate, they also have a great timing and space to creative the others candidates.

**Socio-cultural Practice**

This level explained about the social condition affecting by this television program. To know the effect of this television program, several comments in YouTube is used to summarize the effect of this tv program.
Based on the comments above indicate that the power domination by the governor's candidate are failed. The power domination built by criticism will be not appreciated by societies. Based on the first comment, society need the real reflection of work hard, and real action not only the speech. “Candidate Gubernur DKI ampun dech” (the governor candidate, oh my God), this sentence show the desperation of societies. The comment “ampun dech” (Oh my God) stressed the expression of giving up by the societies. The desperation show because societies see the utterances of governor candidate, hereafter, explain by the next comment “Pekerjaan apa yang sdh anda berikan buat DKI” (What kind of jobs have made for DKI). The societies questioning the candidate but on the other hand they also show the respect for the candidate. The lexeme “Anda” (“you” but used in formal condition), means they show the respectful etiquette. “ngomong aja ga bisa benar Ahok sedang melanjutkan pekerjaannya yg sedang berjalan dengan baik” (even you cannot speak properly, Ahok are running his ongoing good work), means the real action is also the point plus by the societies in valuing the politician. In political domination, languages can be tools to identify personal identity, how do they usually behave, how good their personalities can be seen by the way people speak. This societies comments is the evidence that societies are clever enough in evaluating personalities by utterance.

The second comment is similar to the first comment. The utterances of candidate is the failure to gain domination. However, from this socio-cultural practice it can be seen that language still be a tool to dominate societies. Most of society criticizes the candidate just because they speak improper, because they blame the other candidate, if the candidate do the opposite or they compete fairly, speak politely might the result will be different.
And the last comment is the example of successful domination. She state, “Gw pilih (x) bodo amat lo pada negative thinking aja” (I will choose (x), I don’t care with your opinion, you just have negative thinking). This sentence shows that she voted one of the sample candidate. Interestingly, she confirmed that her candidate has done something improper, the phrase "bodo amat" shows that her choice will never change.

CONCLUSION

Based on the analyses it can be concluded that, domination in political phenomena are also depends with how the situation work out. Every political figure is the first actor in political stage. However, it is undeniable that every politician always has a way in dominating power to become number one. They use various language variations, metaphor, stressing some lexical word to persuade and manipulate unconsciousness people. However, political identity in Indonesia is still lack of harmony, and the society hopes the opposites. Beyond the border, every society has to be aware with this phenomena since not all of people are aware that political issue is something manipulative.

REFERENCES


