



A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF INDONESIA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN 2014 GIVING SPEECHES IN CAMPAIGN DEBATE

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Abstract

This Paper is intended to show how one a single reality, that is International Politics and National Resilience, is presented and viewed by the two major of presidential candidates in 2014. In this paper, van Dijk's (2004) framework adopted form Politics, ideology and discourse is used identify the discursive structures within the transcription of political campaign debate and to find out the ideology underlying them. The macro strategies of 'positive self-representation' and 'negative other-representation' (which are intimately tied up with 'Polarization' of in group vs. out group ideologies or US-THEM) and more strategies become very accurate criteria for the evaluation of attitudes, and opinions. The findings of this study can conducive to expanding readers' critical thinking abilities in comprehension and production of language.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Political Discourse, Discursive Strategies.

A. INTRODUCTION

Critical discourse analysis is to reveal how power, dominance and inequality are practiced, reproduced or opposed by written texts as well as conversations in social and political context. Critical discourse analysis is a social constructivist approach that believes the representation of the world is discursive linguistic, historical meanings and knowledge created through social interaction. Critical discourse analysis provides theory and methodology that can be used for conducting

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empirical study about the relations between discourse with social and cultural development in different social domains. Critical discourse analysis is an attempt or process to give explanation from verbal or non-verbal that is being studied by somebody or group who has certain purpose to obtain what is desired. In addition, it should be realized that in a discourse contain meaning, image or ideology which is being fought.

The object of critical discourse study is public speech, such as advertisement, newspaper, political campaign debates, official documents, laws and regulations and so on. Its aim is to explore the relationships among language, ideology and power. But a political campaign debate is interesting to be discussed. Discussing about political discourse, it should be first describe what political discourse is. According to Fairclough (2012: 1) views political discourse as primarily a form of argumentation, and as involving more specifically practical argumentation, argumentation for or against particular ways of acting, argumentation that can be ground decision.

Based upon the paragraph above, what Fairclough views about political discourse, it indirectly has correlation what Van Dijks define in his paper. He define that political discourse is identified by its actors or authors, viz., politicians. And he also mention the most part of studies of political discourse is about the text and talk of professional politicians or political institution, such as president and prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or political parties, both of at the local, national and international levels. The different thing about what two experts statements about political discourse are firstly about form of argumentation which mean how lexical usage, sentence order in giving argumentation, and the last is about the producers or actors of political discourse, the strategy they use.

Most individuals in political campaign debates seem to use unique strategy to show their self positive-representation and other negative-representation to persuade and influence voters' mind that they will choose. In the debate, the candidates show each other that they are the most appropriate to get the position they want to and they are ones who can do something good for their audience. And there will be how each candidate implies their power, ideology and dominance through good lexical choice and sentence structure in delivering their speeches to receivers or audiences. In that sense, the central aim of political interaction can be stated as persuasion agenda. Utterances or statement which is produced by actors or authors does not only function to explain their mind toward the receivers but also to change receivers' perspectives.

Persuasion is defined as an effort to increase public support for an opinion or course of action. It is the way to persuade not only convinces the listeners but also change receivers' mind. According to Simon (1976: 19), the notion of persuasion is to make a manipulative act but it still leave the supporters doing a choice. This might involve persuading someone to change their opinions that have not really been considered before but they still have their own choice.

To study about critical discourse which involves political discourse as an object to see how the candidates in political campaign debate use language to show their ideology, power and how they persuade their voters is interesting object to discuss. For example, campaign debate of Indonesian Presidential Election in 2014 had two main candidates which supported by different political parties. And the most important factor that determines the professional politicians' success in reaching their goals and winning the public consensus is their ability to persuade and impress their audience. Generally, the professional politicians in campaign often promise about their future actions and what policy should be done telling to their listeners, they also offer better condition to convince the voters. And this is where the need for critical listening and thinking is felt more than any other time to realize what the reality is and how it is distorted through delicate and skillful use of language. Therefore, further study need to be conducted to ascertain all matters in campaign debate of presidential election in 2014.

This paper is a critical discourse analysis of Indonesia Presidential Election in 2014 giving speeches in campaign debate on the issue of International Politics and National Politics. By using Van Dijk's (2004) framework, this study investigates how the candidates of each political party try to justify their ideas and persuade their audiences by utilizing subtle ideological discourse structure in their speech. This topic is identified as being importance to other English department students in providing them the study about critical discourse analysis to get new idea what they will analyze later on.

B. RESEARCH METHOD

This research will be in the form of descriptive research. According to Calderon (2008), as cited by Alberto et al (2011), descriptive method is also known as statistical research, it describes data and characteristics about the population or phenomenon being studied. Nazir (2007:54) states that descriptive research has several kinds, he divides descriptive method into survey method, continuity, case study, activity, analysis, action research and library research. It means that descriptive research produced the pure data which is relevant and trusted because there is no manipulation.

This research used qualitative approaches because qualitative approach does not only investigate about what, where, and when, but also why and how the problem appeared but also the method produces information are only in the particular cases studies, and the general conclusions are only informed assertion. It also can be used to seek empirical support for such research hypotheses (Lincoln, 2005).

C. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

1. Findings

The study will analyze the debate transcriptions of political debate campaign. There is procedure should be followed, that is, the presidential candidate's debate in the third round carries the theme of international politics

and national resilience is divided into six parts. The first part, the moderator will allow the presidential candidates to convey their respective vision and mission within four minutes. The moderator will sharpen the vision and mission of each candidate for three minutes in the second part. While in the third part, the moderator will ask all candidates the same questions to be answered within a maximum of three minutes. Each presidential candidate is given the opportunity twice to ask each other in the fourth part. Then in the fifth part, both presidential candidates are given the opportunity to ask questions, as well as respond to answers. And at the end, each presidential candidate is again given the opportunity to ask questions while responding to answers. Then, each presidential candidate will submit a closing statement within two minutes.

Each debate transcriptions consist of twelve paragraph or passage in six parts of campaign debate. The whole paragraphs consist of 180 sentences. In each paragraph will be analyzed the two main discursive strategies and more subtle ideology that used by each candidates.

1) Data Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis of text in political debate campaign, June 22, 2014

- In the first part, the moderator ask a question about the condition of Indonesia, and the candidates give a response to the question with their vision and mission.

Indonesia: Negara adalah entitas yang abstrak, keberadaan Negara dalam berinteraksi dengan Negara lain dalam perannya di forum- forum internasional akan bergantung pada presidennya, nah dalam kaitan inilah pentingnya seorang presiden menyampaikan apa yang akan menjadi kebijakan ketika memimpin Negara sebesar republik Indonesia dalam kancah global, regional maupun bilateral. Itu inti dari politik internasional. Hal yang kedua adalah tentu Negara harus siap didalam menghadapi berbagai ancaman, khususnya ancaman-ancaman yang dapat mengganggu Negara kesatuan republic Indonesia, Negara juga kadang akan diminta untuk berkontribusi pada lembaga, seperti perserikatan bangsa-bangsa, terkait dengan operasi-operasi militer. Kira-kira itu salah satu unsur dari ketahanan nasional. Baik, bapak ibu dan hadirin sekalian, dalam konteks itulah saat ini dalam debat calon presiden, pentingnya bapak-bapak sekalian menyampaikan visi dan misi dalam kaitan dengan politik internasional dan ketahanan nasional. Akan dibawa kemana Negara kesatuan republik Indonesia?

English: The state is an abstract entity, the existence of the State in interacting with other countries in its role in international forums will depend on its president, so in this regard the importance of a president conveying what will become a policy when leading the country as large as the Republic of Indonesia in the global, regional and bilateral. That is the essence of international politics. The second thing is of course that the State must be prepared to face various threats; especially threats that

can interfere with the Republic of Indonesia's unitary state, the State will also sometimes be asked to contribute to institutions, such as the unions of nations, related to military operations. It is roughly one element of national security. Well, ladies and gentlemen, in that context at this time in the presidential candidate's debate, the importance of all men conveyed their vision and mission in relation to international politics and national resilience. Where will the Unitary Republic of Indonesia be brought?

- Text 1, it is the transcription of Prabowo Subianto when he presented his vision and mission in the first part of the political campaign debate, in June 22, 2014.

Indonesia: Terima kasih saudara moderator, kalau kita bicara politik luar negeri dan kita bicara tentang ketahanan nasional, mau tidak mau, kita bicara tentang tujuan kita bernegara, tujuan kita bernegara adalah tentunya mencari keamanan bersama, tetapi kemudian yang lebih penting adalah kita mencari kemakmuran bersama, nah karena itu politik luar negeri mau tidak mau adalah cermin dari kondisi dalam negeri, politik luar negeri tidak akan berarti kalau kekuatan dalam negeri kita lemah, karena itu saya terus menerus selalu bicara tentang bagaimana Indonesia mengamankan kekuatan nasionalnya dan mengamankan kekayaan nasionalnya, ini yang menjadi fundamental, kita tentunya berada dalam letak geografis yang sangat unik dan strategis, kita berada diantara dua benua dan dua samudera besar, lintasan perdagangan yang sangat besar melewati jalur-jalur laut kita, banyak Negara tergantung terhadap kondisi yang aman di nusantara ini, tetapi kita juga tidak boleh, tidak memperhatikan kondisi kita yang sebenarnya. Saudara-saudara sekalian, terlalu banyak kekayaan nasional kita yang diambil mengalir ke luar negeri, terlalu banyak. mungkin ini tidak menyenangkan bagi banyak orang kalau saya bicara terus mengenai hal ini, tetapi menurut saya ini adalah kunci dari pada suatu politik luar negeri yang kuat, kalau kita mengamankan kekayaan kita, kalau ekonomi kita kuat, kalau rakyat kita cukup makan, cukup mapan dan cukup sandang, kalau rakyat kita sejahtera, ketahanan kita akan kuat. Jadi, saudara-saudara sekalian, ketahanan nasional, keamanan nasional, keselamatan nasional kita terletak kepada kesejahteraan dan kemakmuran rakyat, tidak mungkin kita jadi Negara yang merdeka, tidak mungkin kita jadi Negara yang terhormat kalau rakyat kita miskin, jadi ini menjadi dasar dari pada politik luar negeri saya, saya harus membenahi kondisi dalam negeri republik Indonesia, saya bersama hatta rajasa harus membereskan masalah-masalah di dalam negeri, ekonomi kita harus kuat, kekayaan nasional kita harus kita amankan, baru kita memperkuat semua sendi-sendi kekuatan nasional dan dengan demikian kita akan disegani oleh semua Negara. Intinya adalah kita tidak ingin punya musuh, seribu kawan terlalu sedikit, satu musuh terlalu banyak, kita ingin damai dengan semua orang, tapi kita cinta

kemerdekaan kita, tidak sejengkal tanah pun akan kita lepas, kita akan pertahankan republic Indonesia sampai titik darah penghabisan, terima kasih.

English: Thank you, moderator, if we talk about foreign policy and we talk about national resilience, like it or not, we talk about the purpose of our state, our goal of being a state is of course to seek mutual security, but then more importantly we seek mutual prosperity, now therefore foreign policy is inevitably a reflection of domestic conditions, foreign politics will not be meaningful if our domestic strength is weak, so I constantly talk about how Indonesia secures its national power and secures its national wealth, which is fundamental, we are certainly in a very unique and strategic geographical location, we are between two continents and two large oceans, a very large trade trajectory passing through our sea lanes, many countries depend on safe conditions in the archipelago, but we also do not may, do not pay attention to our true condition a. Ladies and gentlemen, too much of our national wealth is taken to flow abroad, too much. Maybe this is not fun for many people if I keep talking about this, but in my opinion this is the key to a strong foreign policy, if we secure our wealth, if our economy is strong, if our people eat enough, it is well established and quite clothing, if our people are prosperous, our resilience will be strong. So, brethren, national security, national security, our national safety lies in the welfare and prosperity of the people, it is impossible for us to become an independent State, it is impossible for us to be an honorable country if our people are poor, so this becomes the basis of politics abroad, I have to fix the domestic conditions of the Indonesian republic, I and Hatta Rajasa have to settle the problems at home, our economy must be strong, we must secure our national wealth, then we strengthen all the joints of national power and thus we will be respected by all countries. The point is that we don't want to have an enemy, a thousand friends are too few, one enemy is too much, we want peace with everyone, but we love our independence, even we will not lose an inch of our land, we will defend the Indonesian republic to the end, thank you.

CDA of Text 1

In the session on the delivery of vision and mission, Prabowo Subianto employs positive self-presentation to glorify his own measures which will be done in the future, it can be seen in the early paragraph, in the second and third line, he emphasize his good things by inviting the public to seek mutual security and prosperity. He is making use of evidentiality by reminding people in Indonesia that the conditions of the country are not as expected. "Security and Prosperity" this lexicalization describe that government has not been able to realize what its people want to see and feel in real life. And he also wants to show his empathy to the public and making consensus to persuade the people. As a retired Indonesian national army with experience that has completed many humanitarian duties while serving as

soldier that ended as lieutenant general, he was able to realize the wishes of the people who want to be safe and prosperous. In addition, by saying “our goal of being a state is of course to seek mutual security..... how Indonesia secures its national power and secures its national wealth, which is fundamental” he implies that his rival in election is unable to guarantee national security, and he presents his rival negatively that does not have a military strategy how to secure a country as large as Indonesia, and he tries to influence the receiver’s mind to doubt Jokowi’s strength to lead Indonesia in the next five years later.

- Text 2, it is the transcription of Joko Widodo when he presented his vision and mission in the first part of the third round political campaign debate, in June 22, 2014.

Indonesia: Assalamu’alaikum warahmatullah wabarakatuh, selamat malam, Salam sejahtera bagi kita semuanya, Om swastiastu. Yang saya hormati bapak Prabowo Subianto, ibu dan bapak sekalian, saudara- suadaraku sebangsa dan setanah air. Prinsip dasar politik luar negeri kita adalah bebas aktif untuk ketahanan nasional kita, untuk mencapai itu ada empat prioritas yang harus kita kedepankan. Yang pertama adalah perlindungan warga Negara Indonesia, ini menyangkut TKI, dan malam hari ini saya ingin mengucapkan dukacita yang sedalam-dalamnya atas kecelakaan kapal TKI kita di perairan Malaysia, semoga semuanya selamat. Yang kedua masalah perlindungan sumber daya alam maritime kita dan perdagangan. Yang ketiga produktifitas dan daya saing. Dan yang keempat adalah keamanan regional kawasan dan menjaga ketertiban dunia, disini saya dan Jokowi-JK punya komitmen mendukung penuh Palestina untuk menjadi Negara yang merdeka, menjadi Negara yang berdaulat dan mendukung penuh palestina untuk masuk sebagai anggota penuh PBB. Ibu dan bapak sekalian yang hormati, untuk kepentingan diatas tadi yang sudah saya sampaikan, ada 3`strategi diplomasi yang akan kita kerjakan, yaitu, pertama antar pemerintah dengan pemerintah, yang kedua antar pelaku bisnis dengan pelaku bisnis, yang keempat antar masyarakat dengan masyarakat, Negara kita dengan Negara yang lainnya. Politik luar negeri di atas perlu didukung oleh sebuah ketahanan nasional yang kuat dan pejuang-pejuang kita telah mendharma baktikan darah dan nyawa kepada republik ini, dua minggu yang lalu saya ketemu pak soliki gp dari jawa barat, beliau bercerita mengenai waktu beliau membawa prajurit dari jogja menuju ke bandung jawa barat, banyak sekali puluhan yang gugur dan itulah tekad kami, ingin membangun ketahanan nasional kita yang kuat, lewat apa? Yang pertama, kesejahteraan prajurit dan keluarganya harus diurus. Yang kedua lewat modernisasi alat-alat pertahanan, termasuk didalamnya pertahanan cyber dan pertahanan hybrid. Yang ketiga yaitu mengenai modernisasi dan industry pertahanan yang kita punya harus kita perkuat lagi. Kami jokowi-jk yakin bahwa pergeseran geopolitik dan geoekonomi dari barat menuju ke asia harus kita hadapi karena inilah sebenarnya kesempatan kita menjadi sebuah Negara

besar, oleh sebab itu, kedepan kita harus memenangkan pertarungan ini, pertarungan di samudera, pertarungan di maritime. Kedepan kita ingin Indonesia menjadi sebuah poros maritim dunia, kita ingin menang di laut, kita ingin Negara ini beribawa, kita ingin Negara ini dihormati. Terima kasih, wassalamualaikum warahmatullah wabarakatu.

English: Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullah wabarakatuh, good night, good luck to all of us, om swastiastu. I respect Mr. Prabowo Subianto, Ladies and gentlemen, to my brothers. The basic principle of our foreign policy is 'free active' for our national security, to achieve that there are four priorities that we must prioritize. The first is the protection of Indonesian citizens, this concerns the Indonesian migrant workers, and tonight I would like to express my deepest condolences for the accident of our Indonesian migrant workers ship in Malaysian sea, hopefully everyone will be safe. The second is the issue of protecting our maritime natural resources and trade. The third is productivity and competitiveness. And the fourth is regional security and maintaining world orderliness, here I and Jokowi-JK have a commitment to fully support Palestine become an independent State, become a sovereign State and fully support Palestine to enter as a full member of the United Nations. Ladies and gentlemen, as I have said before, there are 3 diplomatic strategies that we will work on, namely, first between the government and the government, the second between business people and business people, the fourth between the community and society, Our country with other countries. The above foreign policy needs to be supported by a strong national resilience and our fighters have dedicated their blood and lives to this republic, two weeks ago I met Mr. Soliki GP from West Java, he told me about the time he brought soldiers from Jogja heading to Bandung, West Java, there are many soldiers that fall and that's our determination, want to build our strong national resilience, what would we do? First, the welfare of soldiers and their families must be taken care of. The second is through the modernization of defense equipments, including cyber defense and hybrid defense. The third is about modernization and the defense industry we have to strengthen again. We are confident that we must face geo-politic and geo-economic shifts from the west to Asia, because this is actually our chance to become a large country, therefore, in the future we have to win this battle, defend our ocean, defend our maritime zone. In the future we want Indonesia to become a global maritime axis, we want to win at sea, we want this country to be proud of, and we want this country to be respected. Thank you, wassalamualaikum warahmatullah wabarakatu.

CDA of text 2

In the third line of the passage above, “The basic principle of our foreign policy is ‘free active’ for our national security” Jokowi tries to make a consensus to the public that government and society have to cooperate to maintain national resilience. In the first of his four priorities, in the sentence of “The first is the protection of Indonesian citizens hopefully everyone will be safe” he tries to show his empathy to the public by discussing Indonesian Migrant Workers who had a ship accident Malaysian waters, by talking about migrant worker, Jokowi and his group employs positive self-presentation to glorify his election which will be done in the future. And indirectly, he also offends his political rival, as government we do not always think about our national wealth, but we have to pay attention to our people who are financially in the lower middle class who work as Indonesian laborers, because Jokowi knows that Prabowo never talk about it when Prabowo presents his visions and missions.

In his last priority, in the sentence of “Here I and Jokowi-JK have a commitment to fully support Palestine become an independent State fully support Palestine to enter as a full member of the United Nations” based on this sentence, Jokowi creates positive self-representation by glorifying Palestine as an Independent State, he tries to win the election by showing his national self glorification. In lately of his visions and missions, he tries to invite the Indonesian to make a consensus, and he presupposes that all Indonesian soldiers must be in prosperity, to modernize main weaponry system, to modernize Indonesia defense industry.

- In the second part is the segment of sharpening the vision and mission, the moderator will ask two questions related to what has been conveyed in the delivery of the vision and mission.

Moderator: What would you do related to the protection of natural resources?

How would you the modernization of the main weaponry system without resulting worries from other countries, especially our neighboring country?

- Text 3, it is the transcription of Joko Widodo when he performs in detail about his vision and mission in the second session of the political campaign debate, in June 22, 2014.

Indonesia: Terima kasih, jadi kekayaan laut kita ini sangat besar sekali, kalau boleh kami sampaikan dari data yang saya baca ada 300 triliun karena illegal fishing itu menjadi hilang, oleh sebab itu, kedepan kita harus mempunyai sebuah drone, sebuah pesawat tanpa awak yang kita pasang di tiga kawasan, dan dengan drone ini kita bisa melihat dimana ada kekayaan maritime kita yang diambil oleh kapal-kapal yang masuk ke wilayah perairan kita, drone ini ada tiga kegunaan. Yang pertama untuk pertahanan kita, yang kedua bisa untuk mengejar kalau ada illegal fishing, kemudian yang ketiga juga bisa kita pakai untuk mengejar kalau ada illegal logging. Artinya bahwa drone ini selain kita memperbaiki alutsista kita juga kita pakai untuk bukan hanya untuk pertahanan, tetapi juga hal-hal yang berkaitan dengan ketahanan

ekonomi kita. Tentu saja ini harus diperjelas terlebih dahulu batas-batas laut kita seperti apa, oleh sebab itu, kedepan perbaikan IT perbaikan dalam rangka nantinya kalau ada perang cyber, perang hybrid, saya kira drone ini sangat diperlukan sekali, bisa saja untuk pusat komandonya bisa di Sulawesi, bisa di Kalimantan, bisa di Sumatera atau di Jakarta. Tetapi tiga lingkup wilayah itu di barat, di tengah dan di timur, itu harus dibangun, karena tanpa ini kita akan sulit mendeteksi adanya pencurian-pencurian kekayaan laut kita, kalau ini dilakukan kita bisa melihat di titik mana, di koordinat mana mereka mencuri dan langsung bisa kita kerahkan apakah angkatan laut kita, apakah kalau ini menyangkut masalah pertahanan bisa saja kita juga serang dengan angkatan udara kita atau kita drop dengan angkatan darat kita. Saya kira cara cara inilah yang lebih efisien dan alat itu juga tidak mahal mahal amat, oleh sebab itu inilah pertahanan kedepan, pertahanan cyber dan juga pertahanan hybrid. Terima kasih.

English: Thank you, so our marine wealth is very large, if you do not mind, we can convey it from the data I read there are 300 trillion fish, therefore, in the future we have to have a drone, an unmanned aircraft that we installed in three regions, and with this drone we can see where our maritime wealth is taken by ships that enter our waters, there are three uses for this drone. The first is for our defense, the second is to pursue if there is illegal fishing, and then we can use the third to pursue illegal logging. This means that this drone, besides repairing our defense equipment, we also use it not only for defense, but also for matters related to our economic resilience. Of course this must be clarified in advance what our maritime boundaries are, therefore, the presence of IT repair repairs in the future if there is cyber war, hybrid war, I think this drone is very necessary, it could be for the command center in Sulawesi, can be in Kalimantan, can be in Sumatra or in Jakarta. But the three spheres of the region in the west, in the middle and in the east, must be built, because without this we will have a hard time detecting the theft of our marine wealth, if this is done we can see at any point of view, in the coordinates they steal and directly can we muster what our navy is, if it concerns defense issues, we might attack with our air force or we drop it with our army. I think this method is more efficient and that tool is also very expensive, therefore this is the future defense, cyber defense and hybrid defense. Thank you.

CDA of Text 3

In the second line of paragraph above, Jokowi speaks rhetorically utilizing the number game when he says “There are 300 trillion of fish lost by illegal fishing” as the cause of all Indonesia fisherman feel burdened, in this way, he tries to help all the fisherman. Then he continues criticizing Indonesia must have a drone, by using drone, it can help to monitor Indonesian territorial waters. In this way, he negatively presents and polarizes so far the government has not paid attention to the condition of Indonesian waters, and categorizes himself and his group as figure who

concern about Indonesia fisherman livelihood. Overall, in the passage above, Jokowi creates some agreements and solidarity by emphasizing himself and his group and de-emphasize his and group bad things.

Moderator: Is this national wealth related to what was delivered by Pak Joko Widodo, or more than that, if you can be more specific?

Related to foreign policy is a reflection of domestic conditions or interests, what is our national interest today when we are dealing with countries that have bilateral relations and large countries in the region?

- Text 4, it is the transcription of Prabowo Subianto when he performs in detail about his vision and mission in the second session of the political campaign debate, in June 22, 2014.

Indonesia: Baik terima kasih saudara moderator. Jadi yang saya maksud dengan kekayaan nasional adalah seluruh kekayaan yang menjadi milik bangsa Indonesia, kekayaan tambang, kekayaan dilaut dan di darat,kekayaan di atas permukaan bumi dan di dalam permukaan bumi dan di dalam perairan. Jadi bumi air dan semua kekayaan alam yang terkandung di dalamnya, itu yang saya maksud dengan kekayaan nasional kita. Kekayaan nasional kita ini yang harus kita amankan dan ini yang terlalu banyak bocor, bagaimana bocor, ya bocor, bocor artinya mengalir dari Indonesia ke luar negeri. Jadi kalau sebagai contoh, boksit, bahan untuk aluminium, kita jual gelondongan sebagai bahan baku, kemudian kita impor aluminiumnya, itu namanya bocor, mengalir kekayaan nasional, mengalir ke luar, tidak tinggal di Indonesia, itu yang saya maksud. Kemudian, cermin dari politik luar negeri, cermin dari kondisi dalam negeri, kalau rakyat kita miskin, kalau banyak huru hara di Indonesia, kalau banyak ketidak puasan, kalau kita tidak punya kekuatan, pesawat terbang kita kurang, peluru kita kurang, helicopter kita kurang, polisi kita gajinya kurang, hakim kita gajinya kurang, kalau demikian kita tidak punya wibawa ke luar negeri, kita tidak akan didengar, kita tidak akan dihormati, bahkan sebaliknya kita akan dilecehkan, diujungnya kita boleh berdiplomasi dengan kata kata, tapi ujungnya bangsa bangsa yang lain hanya akan liat kekuatan nasional Indonesia, kekuatan real Indonesia bagaimana, kalau ada orang yang mengklaim laut kita, bisa gak kita pertahankan? Kalau ada orang yang mengklaim pulau pulau kita, menduduki bahkan, bisa gak kita menangkal mereka dan mencegah mereka. Itu yang saya maksud pak, dengan politik luar negeri, cermin dari kondisi dalam negeri kita, kalau kita lemah didalam negeri, kita tidak punya nilai tawar ke bangsa bangsa lain, kalau kita kuat ekonomi kita, kalau rakyat kita makmur, kita punya kemampuan, baru kita akan didengar dan dihormati, mungkin kalau kita lemah, kita akan diganggu terus, kalau kita kuat kita bisa bertahan, terima kasih.

English: Ok, Thank you, moderator. So what I mean by national wealth is all the wealth that belongs to the Indonesian nation, the wealth of mining, wealth at sea and on land, wealth on the surface of the earth and in the surface of the earth and in the waters. So the earth, water and all the

natural wealth which contained in it, that is what I mean by our national wealth. We have to secure our national wealth and this is too much leakage, how leaky, leaking, leaking means flowing from Indonesia abroad. For example, bauxite, materials for aluminum, we sell logs as raw material, then we import aluminum, it's leaked, national wealth flows, flows out, doesn't live in Indonesia, that's what I mean. Then, a reflection of foreign policy, a reflection of domestic conditions, if our people are poor, if there are many riots in Indonesia, if there is a lot of dissatisfaction, if we do not have the strength, we have lack of aircraft, bullets, helicopters, our police pay less, our judges pay less, if it is so, we do not have authority abroad, we will not be heard, we will not be respected, even we will be harassed, in the end we can diplomat with words, but the other nation ends only to see Indonesia's national strength, what is the real power of Indonesia, if there are people who claim our sea, can we not defend it? If there are people who claim our island, occupy even, we cannot prevent them and prevent them. That's what I mean, sir, with foreign policy, a reflection of our internal conditions, if we are weak, we don't have bargaining value to other nations, if we are strong in economy, if our people prosper, we have the ability, then we will be heard and respected. Perhaps, if we are weak, we will always be disturbed, if we are strong, we can survive, thank you.

CDA of Text 4

In the first until fourth line, Prabowo is making use of evidentiality by reminding all Indonesian, every national wealth in Indonesia such as gold, bauxite, aluminum must belong to the people of Indonesia. “We have to secure our national wealth and this is too much leakage ... leaking means flowing from Indonesia abroad” through this sentence Prabowo presents negatively that government is lack of well-organized about Indonesia wealthy. And he also uses lexicalization “secure” to emphasize that it is so importance to secure national wealth.

- In the third part, the moderator will ask the same question to the presidential candidates

Moderator: Indonesia is a country whose interests often conflict with other countries, from the perspective of international politics and national resilience, how do you handle the various dynamics that exist, such as the problem of boundary determination, the problem of overlapping claims with neighboring countries and even the handling of asylum seekers, without damaging good relations between countries. In this connection, will there be room for the use of military diplomacy? Text 5, it is the transcription of Prabowo Subianto when he answered the question of moderator in the third session of the political campaign debate, in June 22, 2014. Indonesia: Terima kasih saudara moderator. Memang tugas utama sebuah pemerintahan adalah untuk melindungi segenap tumpah darah, dan karena itu, tugas pemerintah haruslah menjaga kepentingan nasional bangsa kita, apabila kepentingan nasional bangsa kita terusik atau

berbenturan dengan Negara lain, tentunya kita harus mempertahankan kepentingan nasional kita, disinilah kita selalu kembali kepada kekuatan nasional. Jadi, kita selalu harus berdialog, saya selalu berprinsip tadi yang saya sampaikan seribu kawan terlalu sedikit, satu lawan terlalu banyak. Kita butuh persahabatan dengan semua lingkungan kita, kita tidak punya masalah prinsip, kita menghormati semua Negara, tetapi ada kepentingan inti yang tidak bisa kita tawar menawar, yaitu, keutuhan wilayah NKRI Indonesia, tidak satu jengkal pun akan kita lepas atau kita biarkan lepas, tidak satu jengkal pun, tidak satu meter pun atau senti pun laut kita akan kita serahkan kemana pun, tapi ini semua merupakan kepentingan inti kita, core national interest, hak kita untuk membelanya, hak kita untuk mempertahankannya, tetapi ujung ujungnya adalah kekuatan nasional kita, kita boleh teriak teriak, tapi diujungnya bisa enggak, kita pertahankan core international interest kita, inti dari pada kepentingan nasional kita. Jadi, saya akan mengutamakan diplomasi persahabatan, saya ingin mengedepankan the good neighbor policy, politik tetangga yang baik, kita akan selalu santun sesuai dengan kepribadian bangsa Indonesia, kita selalu tenggang rasa dengan bangsa lain, kita akan mengerti dan berusaha mengerti kepentingan bangsa lain, tapi kita juga akan meyakinkan bangsa lain, tolonglah mengerti kesulitan Indonesia, tolonglah mengerti kepentingan Indonesia, dan saya kira dengan saling pengertian, insyaAllah kita akan mencapai persahabatan yang baik di antara semua lingkungan kita. Terima kasih.

English: Thank you, moderator. Indeed, the main task of a government is to protect all the bloodshed, and therefore, the duty of the government must be to safeguard the national interests of our nation, if our national interests are disturbed or clash with other countries, of course we must defend our national interests, this is where we always return to national power. So, we always have to dialogue, I always principled that I gave a thousand friends too little, one opponent too much. We need friendship with all of our environment, we have no principle problems, we respect all countries, but there are core interests that we cannot bargain for, that is, the integrity of the Indonesian Republic of Indonesia, not even one inch will we loose or let it go, not even one inch, not even one meter or even a cent of our sea will we submit wherever, but this is our core interest, core national interest, our right to defend it, our right to defend it, but the end is our national power, we may yell shout, but at the end it can be no, we maintain our core international interest, the core of our national interests. So, I will prioritize friendship diplomacy, I want to put forward the good neighbor policy, good neighbor politics, we will always be polite in accordance with the personality of the Indonesian people, we always take care of other nations, we will understand and try to understand the interests of other nations, but we will also convince other nations, please

understand the difficulties of Indonesia, please understand the interests of Indonesia, and I think with mutual understanding, God willing, we will achieve good friendship among all our environments. Thank you.

CDA of Text 5

In the transcription above, Prabowo only focus on making of consensus by creating some agreements by using sentences as follow “To protect our national interests”. In addition, in the paragraph above, he generally focuses on to show his positive self-representation that he is able to maintain Indonesia from threats that can be exists in the next time.

- Text 6, it is the transcription of Joko Widodo when he answered the question of moderator in the third session of the political campaign debate, in June 22, 2014.

Indonesia: Tadi sudah saya sampaikan bahwa ada tiga strategi diplomasi yang akan kita gunakan, yaitu, G to G, B to B dan P to P. oleh sebab itu, kalau ada sebuah benturan, ada dinamika dengan Negara yang lain masalah tapak batas, tentu saja yang kita utamakan yang kita kedepankan terlebih dahulu adalah diplomasi pemerintah dengan pemerintah, dengan cara cara seperti itulah saya kira nanti tapak batas kita baik yang di darat maupun yang di laut akan bisa kita selesaikan, tetapi kalau yang dimasalahkan ini tidak selesai tentu saja masih bisa kita cari kan jalan keluarnya tanpa melalui perang, selalu saya sampaikan bahwa diplomasi dialog diplomasi pemerintah dengan pemerintah inilah yang akan terus kita lakukan, kalau mentok mentoknya ya dibawa ke mahkamah international untuk diputuskan, tetapi tetapi bahwa diplomasi ini harus dikerjakan terlebih dahulu seintensif mungkin sebisa bisanya sehingga apa yang menjadi kepentingan nasional apa yang menjadi kepentingan rakyat apa yang menjadi kepentingan untuk ketahanan nasional kita tidak terganggu karena benturan karena masalah dinamika kita dengan Negara yang lain, kami meyakini bahwa apabila kita bisa mengirimkan diplomat diplomat kita yang untuk menyelesaikan masalah masalah yang ada, setiap problem pasti ada solusinya, setipa masalah pasti ada jalan keluarnya. Itulah saya kira, diplomasi yang ingin kita kedepankan, baik mengenai tapal batas baik mengenai pencari suaka, semuanya kita lakukan lewat diplomasi dan tanpa berfikiran bahwa kita ingin mengedepankan lewat senjata atau lewat perang, saya kira itu yang bisa saya sampaikan. Terima kasih.

English: I have said earlier that there are three diplomatic strategies that we will use, namely, intergovernmental, business to business and society to society. therefore, if there is a conflict, there are dynamics with other countries boundary issues, of course what we prioritize is that we prioritize government diplomacy with the government, in this way I think that our boundaries will be good on land or what we at sea will be able to solve, but if the problem is not finished, of course we can still find the solution without going through war, I always say that this diplomatic diplomacy between the government and the government is

what we will continue to do. Taken to the international court to be decided, but that this diplomacy must be done as intensely as possible as much as possible so that what is of national interest in the interests of the people is of interest to our national security. Another, us believes that if we can send our diplomat diplomats to solve existing problems, each problem must have a solution, every problem must have a solution. That's what I think, the diplomacy we want to put forward, both about the good boundaries of asylum seekers, we all do it through diplomacy and without thinking that we want to put forward through weapons or through war, I think that's what I can say. Thank you.

CDA of Text 6

Based on in giving solution to the problem that faced by Indonesia nation the paragraph, Jokowi tries to present himself positively in giving solution when Indonesia nation face some problems such as Indonesian territorial borders, he tries to solve the problem diplomatically to the country who tried to shift Indonesia territorial borders. Based on the solution he gives, he presents himself positively to the public that he has a well-organized plans and strategies to solve the problems.

- In the same part, that is part three, there are two sub question the moderator will ask the candidates, the question are as follow:
 - How is your effort to provide protection for citizens abroad, especially women workers?
 - Secondly, how do you make policies to take an important role that makes Indonesia respected by many countries including outside the region more specifically Indonesia to be a leader in ASEAN?
- Text 7, it is the transcription of Joko Widodo when he answered the two sub questions of moderator in the third session of the political campaign debate, in June 22, 2014.

Indonesia: Terima kasih, untuk masalah TKI, persoalan yang harus kita selesaikan adalah yang pertama masalah sebelum penempatan, ini harus rampung dulu, harus dirampungkan dulu, baik mengenai seleksi baik mengenai pelatihan bagi TKI, itu harus betul betul detil dilihat dan diawasi, jangan sampai yang kita kirim kesana adalah yang belum melalui seleksi dan belum melalui sebuah pelatihan pelatihan, kemudian kalau sudah dikirim, data di kedutaan besar kita harus komplit, artinya apa? Kedutaan besar kita, KBRI kita bisa memberikan perlindungan kepada warga yang ada di Negara itu, dan tentu saja itu harus dikontrol, harus ada manajemen pengawasan, harus ada cek setiap bulannya, apakah kondisi mereka dalam kondisi yang baik, apakah kondisi mereka tidak pada kondisi yang disiksa atau dianiaya, ini tugas KBRI, terutama di Negara Negara yang TKI nya banyak. Kemudian yang ketiga juga, kita tidak usah mengirim kepada Negara yang tidak mempunyai undang undang perlindungan yang jelas terhadap TKI, lebih baik kita moratorium saja, kita harus tegas hal hal seperti ini, karena ini

menyangkut nyawa menyangkut warga Negara kita yang ada di Negara yang lain dan menyangkut harkat martabat kita. Kemudian yang kedua mengenai peran penting kita, saya kira kita pernah jaya saat kita mengadakan konferensi asia afrika, ini bisa kita ulang, tadi di depan sudah kami sampaikan, apabila kita bisa membangun sebuah poros maritime dunia yang baik sehingga peran kita disitu jelas, Negara yang lain akan mau tidak mau berkepentingan terhadap kita, mau tidak mau akan mendekati kita karena mereka mempunyai kepentingan untuk masuk ke dalam perairan perairan kita, peran peran seperti itulah yang menjadi kunci, Negara kita beribawa, Negara kita dihormati dan peran peran seperti itulah yang akan dilihat oleh Negara yang lain bahwa kita memang Negara yang wajib dihormati mereka bahwa kita adalah Negara yang wajib disegani oleh mereka, kuncinya ada disitu. Terima kasih.

English: Thank you, for the problem of Indonesian labor migrants, the problem that we must solve is the first problem before placement, this must be completed first, it must be completed first, both regarding the good selection of training for Indonesian labor migrants, it must really be seen and monitored in detail, not what we send there are those who have not gone through a selection and have not been trained yet, then if it has been sent, the data at our embassy must be complete, what does it mean? Our embassy, our Embassy can provide protection to citizens in the country, and of course it must be controlled, there must be supervision management, there must be checks every month, are their conditions in good condition, are their conditions not tortured or persecuted, this is the duty of the Indonesian Embassy, especially in State Countries where there are many Indonesian Migrant Workers. Then the third also, we do not need to send to a country that does not have a clear protection law against Indonesian labor migrants, it is better we just moratorium, we must be firm about things like this, because this involves the lives of our citizens in other countries and concerning our dignity. Then the second is about our important role, I think we were once victorious when we held the Asia Africa Conference, we can repeat it, we said it earlier in the future, if we can build a good maritime axis so that our role is clear, the country others will inevitably have an interest in us, inevitably will approach us because they have the interest to enter our waters, such role roles are key, our country is proud, our country is respected and that role is what will be seen by another country that we are indeed a country that they must respect that we are a country that must be respected by them, that is the key. Thanks.

CDA of Text 7

Based on in giving solution to the problem that faced by Indonesian migrant workers, Jokowi tries to present himself positively in giving solution when migrant workers face some problems such as, he tries to solve the problem diplomatically to the country who tried to shift Indonesia territorial borders. Based on the solution

he gives, he presents himself positively to the public that he has a well-organized plans and strategies to solve the problems.

Text 8, it is the transcription of Prabowo Subianto when he answered the two sub questions of moderator in the third session of the political campaign debate, in June 22, 2014.

Indonesia: Terima kasih saudara moderator. Tenaga kerja kita yang kerja ke luar negeri, mereka berangkat karena terpaksa, mereka berangkat karena di Indonesia tidak ada lapangan kerja, mereka bekerja karena mereka harus mencari sesuap nasi untuk menghidupi anak anak mereka atau orang tua mereka, mereka dating dari tempat tempat yang sangat miskin, saya punya pengalaman langsung karena saya pernah tinggal di luar negeri, selalu saya liat mereka di timur tengah di Malaysia dimana mana, dan saya pernah punya pengalaman untuk membantu satu tenaga kerja wanita dari nusa tenggara timur daerah tambua, dia datang dari keluarga sepuluh anak yang sangat miskin, dia pergi pada usia dia baru lima belas tahun dan akhir dia teraniaya dan tersiksa dan akhirnya dia snap psikologis dia membunuh majikannya dan akhirnya kita harus membantu dan menyelamatkan nyawa nya, jadi intinya adalah karena kemiskinan yang mendalam di daerah daerah yang tertinggal, karena itu saya dalam hal ini sependapat dengan pak Jokowi, iya kalau beliau punya pendapat yang bagus saya hormati dan saya katakan itu memang bagus, kita harus menseleksi dan kita harus mendidik dan kita harus menyiapkan dan kita harus mensertifikasi karena masalahnya adalah banyak tenaga kerja yang diselendupkan, jadi ini adalah illegal human traffic, ini bukan tenaga kerja yang disiapkan, kewajiban pemerintah kita, kita harus siapkan tenaga tenaga kerja dengan pendidikan yang baik supaya pekerjaan mereka di luar pun penghasilannya baik, tidak hanya jadi tukang sapu, tidak hanya jadi pembantu rumah tangga, ini membutuhkan uang, uang hanya ada kalau ekonomi baik, ini menyangkut jawaban pertanyaan kedua peran penting Indonesia, Indonesia hanya akan disegani bukan karena konferensi konferensi yang banyak, Indonesia akan disegani kalau rakyatnya sejahtera, rakyatnya makmur, rakyatnya bisa makan bisa bekerja bisa ke sekolah bisa dapat rumah sakit dan pelayanan kesehatan yang baik. Terima kasih.

English: Thank you, moderator. Our workers who work abroad, they leave because they are forced, they leave because there are no jobs in Indonesia, they work because they have to find a bite of rice to support their children or their parents, they come from very poor places I have direct experience because I have lived abroad, I always see them in the Middle East in Malaysia everywhere, and I have had the experience to help one female workforce from East Nusa Tenggara, Tambua, she came from a family of ten children very poor, he went at the age of fifteen and he was persecuted and tortured and finally he snap psychologically he killed his employer and finally we have to help and save his life, so the point is because of the deep poverty in the area that

is left behind, because in this case I agree with Pak Jokowi, yes if he has an opinion g good I respect and I say it's good, we have to select and we have to educate and we have to prepare and we have to certify because the problem is that a lot of labor is smuggled, so this is illegal human traffic, this is not a prepared workforce, obligation our government, we have to prepare workers with good education so that their work outside the income is good, not only as a sweeper, not only as a housemaid, this requires money, money is only available if the economy is good, this involves answering questions second important role of Indonesia, Indonesia will only be respected not because of the many conference conferences, Indonesia will be respected if its people are prosperous, its people prosper, its people can eat can work can go to school can be a hospital and good health services.

CDA of Text 8

In the transcription above, Prabowo show his empathy to Indonesian migrant workers by illustrating the conditions and the problems that faced by migrants workers. He is making of consensus to improve migrants worker education and financial live. By recounting a short story of conditions and problems of migrant workers, he indirectly presents himself positively to influence the public that he still has humanity and show the public that he thinks about human right of migrant workers.

2. Discussion

Based on the analysis of the data, there are five types of discursive strategies that used by each candidate in political campaign debate, in 2014. Those types are positive self-presentation, other negative-presentation, lexicalization, evidentiality, consensus, number game.

D. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

After analyzing the types of the two main discursive strategy and more subtle ideologies found political debate campaign that used each candidate in Indonesian presidential election, in 2014, it can be concluded that some of strategies found in each of candidates transcription, they are as follow; Positive self-representation, other negative-representation, Evidentiality, Lexicalization, Consensus.

After analyzing the types of discursive strategies that dominantly used by Joko Widodo's political debate campaign in 2014, it can be concluded that; positive self-presentation, other negative-presentation, consensus, lexicalization, evidentiality, and number game.

And types of discursive strategies that dominantly used by Prabowo Subianto's political debate campaign in 2014, it can be conclude that; positive self-presentation, consensus, lexicalization, evidentiality, other negative-presentation.

From the types of discursive strategies that have been discussed, some of strategies used by the candidates to get paid attention and change the way of public thinking and point view about the candidates do in the five years of his administration.

The types of discursive strategies can be discussed in political campaign as an object of the study to observe political campaign activity to show a specific language with a clear and focused goal, it is namely persuasion. Utterances which are produced by speakers does not only function as explanation of speaker mind or ideology toward the listener, but it is also change people perspective and do what the speaker want to. There are several things to be suggested which related to this research.

Based on the result since positive self-presentation, other negative-presentation, lexicalization, consensus, evidentiality, number game is become the dominantly used by each candidates, and the purpose is to inform something to the hearer. By performing those strategies, the candidates makes the words fit to the world.

Furthermore, it can give a beneficial contribution for further researcher who is interested in studying same topic or else. So, the next researchers can develop and explore this topic more in different object or different theory. Then the result of this research may be useful as a reference for them in studying types of discursive strategies.

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