

JOKOWI VS PRABOWO: THE POLITENESS AND ITS VIOLATION IN POLITICAL COMMUNICATION OF INDONESIAN PRESIDENT CANDIDATES

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Abstract

Purpose of the study: The study aims are to investigate levels of language politeness and its violations in the political communication of Jokowi and Prabowo and to describe the types of politeness and its violations in political communication of Jokowi and Prabowo as Indonesian president candidates in 2019.

Methodology: This research was used a qualitative approach with the descriptive method by paying attention to the Interactive Model theory to describe the object in analysis data through a pragmatic approach to identify the politeness principles and its violation following [Leech's \(1983\)](#) theory. The subject of data on this research has conducted the utterances of Indonesian president candidates 2019 in the second debate session.

Main Findings: The result of the study can be concluded that five principles of politeness seen in the utterances of the presidential candidate. They are tact, approbation, modesty, agreement, and sympathy maxim. Furthermore, in this research, Prabowo was more polite than Jokowi where he has produced utterances of approbation, agreement, and less violation of modesty, while Jokowi more violated the modesty maxim.

Applications of this study: The study has an impact on political behavior. Other areas of study include social and political science and communication

Novelty/Originality of this study: This research is the new way in the context of language politeness study where combined the language politeness principles with socio-political science especially political communication.

Keywords: *Pragmatics, Speech Act, Language Politeness, Political Communication, Indonesian President.*

INTRODUCTION

Language is an aspect that cannot be separated from everyday human life. A human can interpret the reality which fundamentally of values and express a differentiated ethical sensibility throughout the language use ([Rizka & Zainuddin, 2016](#); [Rizka, 2017](#)). Various kinds of studies that are in the realm of language, one of them are about politeness in language use. [Haugh \(2007, p. 297\)](#) suggests "politeness involves speakers' showing what they think about themselves and others, and addressees' perceptions of those evaluations". This study can also be linked to other sciences, such as psychology and social-political science. If it is connected between linguistics with other sciences such as socio-political science, it will be an interesting study to investigate.

One aspect of socio-political science is political communication, Political communication is a tool used as a primary alternative in the delivery of effective, efficient, and conducive ideas in a political campaign. [Norris \(2004\)](#) stated that political communication is an associated step regarding the transference of news between politicians, the information of media, and society. Discussing political communication, various strategies are carried out in political communication by political figures from various levels, one of which aims to increase the electability. In political communication, politicians are the main group in delivering ideas or ideas in a campaign, including presidential candidates. These presidential candidates are people who are expected to communicate politely concerning basic communication cannot be separated from the social culture of the language user. Furthermore, politicians are identical to someone who can use words that aim to criticize advice, suggest, deny, blame, justify, attack, persuade, and seduce someone. Politicians use language intending to achieve their desires varies widely. However, politicians often also use impolite language, which leads to rude, and tends to distort the facts. This is also evident from the results of several studies, such as [Yasmeen, et al. \(2014\)](#).

A considerable amount of literature has been published on language politeness. These studies investigated several issues such as [Sharif, et al. \(2019\)](#) who investigate language politeness of retailer-client interaction in online communication which seen cultural values. On the other hand, [Santoso \(2019\)](#) investigated language politeness of the Yogyakarta

parliament on the case of Javanese values. The previous study above investigated the language politeness related to cultural value. However, this study investigates the language politeness with pay attention to political communication. This research is in line with [Yasmeen, et al. \(2014\)](#) which investigated the type of politeness strategies in Punjab Provisional Assembly of Pakistan. However, [Yasmeen, et al.'s \(2014\)](#) research investigated differently with this research where the difference can be seen in the subject, object, and place of research. In this study, the researchers related political communication with the language politeness which produced by Indonesian president candidate.

The Indonesia election in 2019 is a most complicated in the Indonesia democracy history because the presidential candidates and parliament were elected in single-day and identity polarization where the aspiration was announced by a group of people who want to change the President in 2019 and who want to continue the presidential of the incumbent. This polarization is an unprecedented phenomenon in the history of modern Indonesia ([Santoso, & Djauhari, 2019](#)). This polarization can be indicated as an opportunity for impoliteness to occur in the use of language and strengthened by the argument that in debates staged speakers exploit the language used to present themselves positively ([Nuolijarvi & Tittula, 2011](#); [Peterson, 2015](#)). Therefore, the authors interested to examine the level and types of language politeness of the Indonesian president candidates in 2019.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A branch of language is pragmatics where the use of language is determined by the context of the speech situation in the community which accommodates the backgrounds of the cultural vehicle ([Mey, 2001](#)). Pragmatics deals with fundamentally philosophical issues that have consequences of theoretical linguistics and language users. Furthermore, [Crystal \(1997\)](#) in [Bardovi-Harlig \(2012\)](#) says that pragmatics is the study of language from the user's perspective, especially the choices they make, the obstacles they are facing in using language in social interactions and the effect of using language on other participants in communication. Besides, the pragmatic study investigates the correlation of language and language users such as speech acts.

A speech act is a pragmatic analysis which is a branch of linguistics that examines language from its aspect of use. It has been explained that speech act is a talker purpose generating an utterance and it is what the aim of the speaker uses the language to communicate with someone and expected to admit her/his speech ([Yule, 1996](#)). Traditionally, it has been argued that a speech is not always related to textual things, but sometimes related to interpersonal things. [Sameer \(2017\)](#) stated that a language user must have non-linguistic knowledge in the surrounding environment apart from linguistic knowledge to successfully communicate with others. Non-linguistic knowledge plays a major role in the production and understanding of certain utterances. Speech act has an important role in pragmatics and the basis for the analysis of other topics in this field such as pre-presumption, participation, conversation implicature, cooperative principles and the principle of politeness ([Leech, 1983](#)). In brief, [Brown, and Levinson \(1987\)](#) say that politeness is a language as a speaker a system used in interactions to preserve a positive face or negative face. Preserving here is self-image to be unthreatened, losing face, or being insulted. Correspondingly, [Leech \(2014\)](#) also said that politeness in language refers to increase the faces in communication (sometimes described as maintaining a face in action) or non-threatening actions. The facial enhancement meant by the speaker does not embarrass the interlocutors with his speech. This can be done by complimenting, increasing the sympathy of the speaker towards the interlocutor when communicating so that a good relationship exists.

The politeness of language can be seen from the way someone communicates well through signs of verbal and speech procedures. The procedure for language is very important to be considered by communication participants for the sake of smooth communication. This communication procedure concerns the politeness of the speaker is speaking. The more polite someone in the language means that someone is getting better at the way communicate with other people. However, even though the politeness of language exists in various languages, but the way to express politeness is typical for every language. The method of expressing politeness in a community is used as a guideline for polite speech and also used by speakers of the language to measure the politeness of the speech of the interlocutor. [Grundy \(2000\)](#) stated the phenomenon of politeness as one manifestation of a broader concept of etiquette or appropriate behavior in several aspects. The categories of directive politeness act are included in asking, inviting, questioning, investigating, governing, directing, prohibiting, allowing, suggesting, and encouraging ([Behnam & Niroomand, 2011](#); [Gusthini, et al., 2018](#); [Zasko-Zielinska, 2014](#)). For this reason, politeness in language must be controlled by all people who want to use language in communication, especially for politicians. The importance of politeness in language for politicians is caused that they communicate more with various groups of people from different language backgrounds and often criticizes incumbents for personal gain. However, Classified as expressive action, criticism intrinsically conveys a negative evaluation of the complainant's behavior ([Edwards, 2005](#); [Traverso, 2009](#)).

In this case, politeness of the language referred to a speech act that is by following the maxim of language politeness which is universally followed. [Leech \(1983\)](#) described that there are six principles of politeness in language, they are (1) *Tact Maxim* where tact maxim contains the concept of efforts to reduce disadvantage to others and increase profits to others. When speech is not following the concept, in this case, it is contrary to the concept, then the speech is considered as a speech that violates the aspect of tact in the principle of politeness; (2) *Generosity Maxim* where generosity maxim contains the concept of the existence of efforts to reduce profit for ourselves and more sacrifice. When the speech is not following the concept, in this case, it is contrary to the concept, then the speech is considered as an impolite speech in

the aspect of generosity; (3) *Approbation Maxim*, *Approbation Maxim* contains efforts to reduce criticism to others but instead there is an effort to appreciate others. When the speech is inconsistent with the concept, the speech is considered as an impolite speech in the aspect of approbation; (4) *Modesty Maxim*, *Modesty Maxim* contains the concept of an effort to reduce praise to ourselves. When the speech is not following the concept, in this case, it is contrary to the concept, then the utterance is considered as an impolite speech especially in the aspect of simplicity; (5) *Agreement Maxim*, *Agreement Maxim* contains the concept of an effort to reduce discrepancies with others and increase the compatibility with others. When the speech is not appropriate with the concept, in this case, it is contrary to the concept, then the speech is considered as an impolite speech especially in the aspect of the agreement; and (6) *Sympathy Maxim*, *Sympathy Maxim* contains the concept of an effort to increase sympathy to others. When the speech is not appropriate with the concept, in this case, it is contrary to the concept, then the utterance is considered an impolite speech especially in the aspect of sympathy. The principles of politeness and impoliteness are crucial to be explained to understand its function and role in social interaction as arguing scholars, e.g., [Bousfield \(2008\)](#) and [Culpeper, et al. \(2003\)](#).

On the other hand, [Wardhaugh and Fuller \(2015\)](#) stated that the politeness of conversation related to solidarity, power, familiarity, the relationship status between language users, and appreciation. Politeness is also determined by the consciousness of the social habits of speakers. Also, besides, [Leech \(2014\)](#) argued that politeness has characteristics that can be pointed as polite or impolite. These characteristics of politeness are *first*, politeness is not obligatory; *second*, politeness is varying gradations of polite and impolite behavior; *third*, there is often depends on a sense of what is normal; *fourth*, how far the politeness will occur, or whether it will occur at all, depends on the situation; *fifth*, there is a reciprocal asymmetry in polite behavior between speakers and interlocutors; *sixth*, the aspect can put itself into repetitive behavior in terms of politeness at a lower or greater level; *seventh*, it involves some kinds of transaction value between the speaker and interlocutor; and *eighth*, tendency to preserve a balance of value between the speakers and interlocutors.

METHODOLOGY

The research is used the qualitative approach that provides the latest information so that it is useful for the development of science and can be applied to various problems. Qualitative research intends to understand the phenomena about what is experienced by research subjects such as behavior, perception, motivation, action, etc. ([Moleong, 2007](#)). The qualitative-descriptive research was applied to this research to describe the object and to explain the data accurately, systematically, and comprehensively through a pragmatic approach to identify the politeness principles and its violation following [Leech's \(1983\)](#) theory.

The data on this research is the utterance of Indonesian president candidates 2019, Jokowi, and Prabowo, in the second debate session at online video specifically in Kompas TV Official page on YouTube where Kompas TV was one of the official broadcasters for Indonesian election in 2019. The technique of collecting data was used documentary technique which is applied to written or visual materials for the purpose to identify specified characteristics of the material such as textbooks, speeches, advertisements, or any of a host of other types of documents ([Ary, et al., 2010](#)).

In this research, the speeches of Indonesian president candidates in the second debate session conducted and transcribed to the text for analysis. The analyzing data in this research was used Interactive Models theory with three stages: data condensation, data display, and drawing and verifying conclusions ([Miles, et al, 2014](#)). Furthermore, the researchers analyze the data by following these steps, they are: (1) the researchers conducted the speech of Indonesian president candidates in the second debate session, transform the utterances of video to the transcription, which assumed that includes to politeness and violates its. (2) The researchers displayed the types of politeness principles of Indonesian president candidate speeches transcription to table or graphic and separate it based on types of politeness. (3) Finally, the researchers drew and verified conclusions of the politeness speech of Indonesian president candidates based on levels and types of language politeness.

RESULTS

Based on the identification of data by the following the proposed research aims, the utterances of Indonesian presidential candidates in 2019 at the second debating session were obtained by several findings of speech politeness and violations. The types of politeness principles which are produced by the Indonesian president candidates can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1: Data of speech of Politeness and violations in the second session of presidential candidate debate in 2019

Types of Principle of Politeness	Principle of Politeness (PP)	Violations of Principle Politeness (VPP)
Tact Maxim	0	4
Generosity Maxim	0	0
Approbation Maxim	8	3
Modesty Maxim	2	18
Agreement Maxim	1	0
Sympathy Maxim	2	0
TOTAL	13 (34%)	25 (66%)

Based on research conducted on the speech utterances of presidential candidates in 2019, the five principles of politeness were found in the speech of presidential candidates both the principles of politeness and violations. Furthermore, the types of politeness principles and its violation of Indonesian president candidates described as follows samples.

Tact Maxim

The violation of tact maxim is when speech is not appropriate with the concept of tact in the principle of politeness. It is found in utterances as below:

Jokowi: *Saya tau Pak Prabowo memiliki lahan yang Sangat Luas di Kalimantan Timur sebesar 220 ribu hektar, juga di Aceh Tengah 120 ribu hektar.* [I know that Mr. Prabowo has a very wide land as wide as 220 thousand hectares in East Kalimantan and also 120 thousand hectares in Central Aceh.]

Jokowi, as the incumbent president, alluded Prabowo's forest land in the agrarian debate session by explaining that such matters were not shared and carried out during his reign. This utterance is not appropriate with the tact maxim because the utterance increases the disadvantage to others. Therefore, the speech has violated the principle of politeness in the context of tact.

On the other hand, Prabowo also practiced the violation of tact maxim, such as seen in:

Prabowo: *Kita juga prihatin bahwa pelabuhan-pelabuhan dibawah pemerintah bapak, operasionalnya diserahkan ke perusahaan-perusahaan asing.* [We are also concerned that ports which of your management will be handed over to foreign companies]

Prabowo attacked Jokowi by criticizing the policies of the current government which gave management rights to the ports in Indonesia to foreign companies. It indicates violates the tact maxim because the Prabowo's utterance increases the disadvantage to others. Therefore, the speech has violated the principle of politeness in the context of tact.

Approbation Maxim

The principle of this politeness concept is an effort to reduce criticism to others but instead, there is an effort to appreciate others. In the second debate session of the Indonesian presidential candidates in 2019 are seen in several utterances, such as:

Jokowi: *Kami Sangat berterimakasih sekali atas dukungan seluruh Masyarakat Jawa Barat terhadap program ini.* [We are very grateful for the support of the entire West Java community for this program]

In his statement, Jokowi appreciates and thanks to the people of West Java who have participated in the program to clean up the polluted rivers, one of which has been done is the Citarung River. This speech is indicated as a speech that fulfills the principle of politeness in the field of approbation. It was also seen in Prabowo's speech, where he gave an appreciation to his political opponents in leading Indonesia in the first period. One of the utterances is like the utterance below:

Prabowo: *Saya menghargai niat Pak Jokowi Dalam memimpin Pembangunan infrastruktur.* [I appreciate Mr. Jokowi's intention to lead infrastructure development]

On the other hand, there are some violations of politeness in this case, such as the following Prabowo's utterance:

Prabowo: *Tim Pak Jokowi bekerjanya kurang efisien, banyak infrastruktur yang dikerjakan grusah-grusuh Tanpa visibility study yang benar.* [Mr. Jokowi's team works inefficiently, a lot of the infrastructure that is carried out *grusah-grusuh* (carelessly) without proper visibility study]

Modesty Maxim

The concept of an effort to reduce praise to ourselves is the principle of politeness in the simplicity aspect. This concept is practiced by Jokowi in his speech as:

Jokowi: *Memang ada hal-hal yang kurang, hal-hal yang Masih Belum Kita lakukan, ya itulah sebuah proses koreksi yang harus dilakukan seluruh masyarakat. Kita ini manusia biasa, ada yang sudah kita kerjakan, dan ada juga yang belum kita kerjakan.* [Indeed, some things are lacking, things that we still don't do, that is a correction process that must be carried out by the whole community. We are ordinary people, there are things we have done and also those that we have not done yet]

The statement above shows simplicity because he feels there are still many shortcomings that need to be corrected. However, several other utterances violate this principle of politeness, including the following utterances:

Jokowi: *Saya Kira dalam 4 tahun ini telah kita bangun banyak sekali baik itu namanya jalan, jalan tol, pelabuhan baru maupun pengembangan, airport baru maupun pengembangan.... Kita telah bangun yang namanya Palapa Ring...di Indonesia bagian barat telah 100% kita selesaikan, di Indonesia bagian tengah telah 100% yang kita selesaikan, dan Indonesia bagian timur telah selesai 90% dan akan kita selesaikan pada tahun ini.* [I think in the 4 years we have built a lot of things, such as roads, highways, new ports and development, new airports and

development... We have already built the name *Palapa Ring*...we have finished 100% in western Indonesia, we have finished 100% in central Indonesia, and we have been finished 90% of eastern Indonesia and we will complete this year.]

It is also seen in Prabowo's utterance:

Prabowo: *Daripada ini (lahan hutan) jatuh ke orang asing, lebih baik jika saya yang kelola, karena saya nasionalis dan patriot.* [Instead of this (forest land) falling into foreigners. It's better if I manage it, because I am nationalist and patriot]

When the speech is not following the concept, in this case, it is contrary to the concept, then the utterance is considered as an impolite speech especially in the aspect of simplicity. From the results of the speech context above, it can be interpreted that the speech violates the maxim of modesty in language politeness because Jokowi and Prabowo uttered the speech which contained the concept of an effort to increase the praise to themselves.

Agreement Maxim

This concept contains the concept of an effort to increase the compatibility of interlocutors. When the speech is not following the concept, then the speech is considered an impolite speech in the aspect of the agreement. In the second session presidential debate 2019, this concept can be interpreted this concept such as through Prabowo's speech as follow:

Prabowo: *Saya rasa cukup ya masalah ini...untuk apa bertele-tele lagi. Saya kira dalam hal ini kita sama, kita ingin membeberantas pencemaran lingkungan.* [I think it's enough for this problem ... what's the point of rambling. I think in this case we are the same, we want to eradicate environmental pollution.]

In Prabowo's statement, he agreed to Jokowi's ideas and wishes in improving environmental pollution. This is one of the speeches of politeness in the context of the agreement that was in the second session of the 2019 presidential candidate debate.

Sympathy Maxim

Sympathy maxim contains the concept of an effort to increase sympathy for others. When speech is not following this concept, then the utterance is considered an impolite speech on the aspect of sympathy. In this case, the utterances produced in the presidential candidate debate in 2019 have some language politeness of sympathy concept. It can be seen in the speech of Jokowi and Prabowo as follow:

Jokowi: *Untuk apa ini sebenarnya? Agar mereka memiliki hak hukum atas tanah yang mereka miliki.* [For what is all of this? So that they have legal rights to the land what they own]

Prabowo: *Para nelayan miskin itu tidak punya akses kepada teknologi, tidak punya akses kepada kapal, tidak punya akses kepada modal, dan dibatasi oleh peraturan-peraturan yang sangat membatasi kemampuan nelayan kecil untuk melaut dan untuk melaksanakan pekerjaannya.* [The poor fishermen have not access to technology, no access to ships, no access to capital, and are limited by regulations that severely limit the ability of small fishermen to go to sea and carry out their work]

Based on the sample above, they feel sympathy for the condition of Indonesian people who have many problems. In the theory of language politeness, this has met the criteria of politeness in language.

DISCUSSION

Based on research conducted on the speech utterances of presidential candidates in 2019, the five principles of politeness proposed by Leech (1983) were found in the speech of presidential candidates both the principles of politeness and violations with varying percentages on research subjects. These principles of politeness and violations are (1) Violation of Tact Maxim, (2) Approbation Maxim, (3) Violation of Approbation Maxim, (4) Modesty Maxim, (5) Violation of Modesty Maxim, (6) Agreement Maxim (7) Sympathy Maxim. It can be seen in the chart below.

In the figures below, the study can be concluded that five principles of politeness seen in the utterances of Indonesia president candidates in the second session debate. Furthermore, in the Tact Maxim case, Jokowi and Prabowo have not uttered politeness speech, but instead, they uttered each of the two sentences that violate the tact maxim principle, this is because they want to bring down their political opponents through their arguments. In Approbation Maxim, Prabowo was more polite than Jokowi where he produced six sentences of approbation maxim and three sentences of its violations, whereas Jokowi produced three sentences of approbation maxim only. In this case, the difference in quantity is caused by Prabowo's statement which gave approbation to two objects, namely the Indonesian community and the Jokowi's government as the incumbent. However, Jokowi gave approbation to the community only.

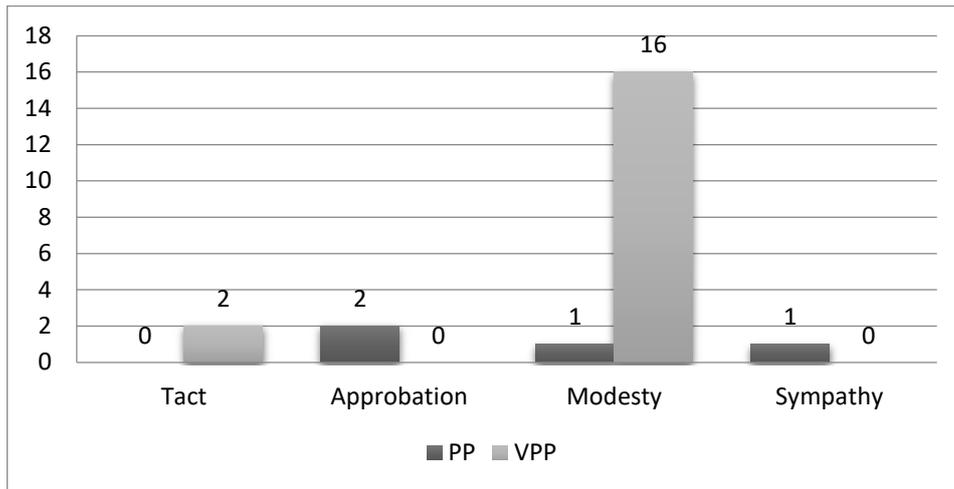


Figure 1: The Jokowi's speech of Politeness and violations in the second session of the presidential candidate debate in 2019

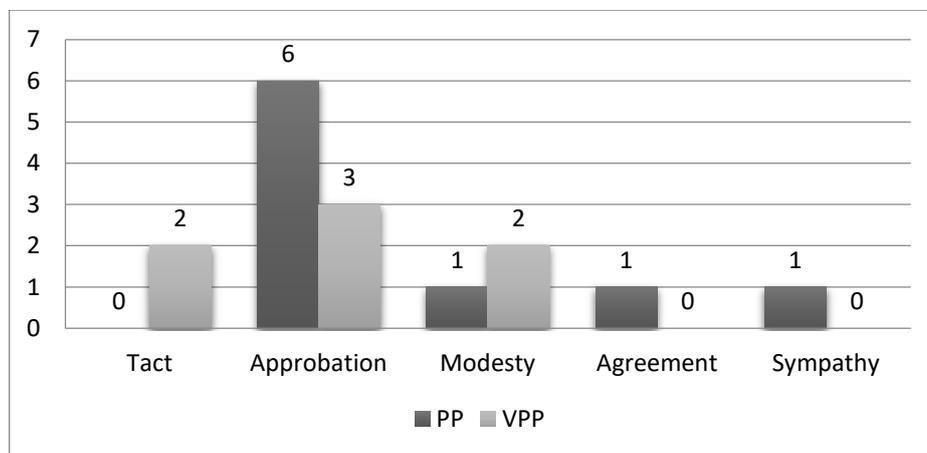


Figure 2: The Prabowo's speech of Politeness and violations in the second session of the presidential candidate debate in 2019

In the third type of politeness principle, that's modesty maxim, Jokowi produced a sentence of Modesty Maxim and sixteen sentences that violate with modesty maxim principle. In this case, Prabowo produced a sentence of modesty and two sentences of its violation. In another word, Prabowo was more polite than Jokowi in Modesty Maxim Principle. However, this is considered normal as an incumbent where he has done more things to be shown in the hope of maintaining a face as incumbent and beneficial to increase electability. While Prabowo as a challenger could not display his achievements so he prefers the position of simplicity. As well as that showed Prabowo in the context of Agreement Maxim, where he said a sentence of agreement and Jokowi didn't do it. This showed that Prabowo can be indicated directly agree with incumbent programs that have been carried out. In the last type of politeness principles, Jokowi and Prabowo both uttered a Sympathy Maxim sentence without violating it because they want to maintain a face to the view of the community with the aim that people can reciprocate their sympathies with electability vote.

Furthermore, the level of politeness in the political language of presidential candidates is low, where the speech accordance with principles of politeness only 34% and the violation of principles of politeness 66% (see Table.1). In this case, we can illustrate that the impoliteness language of a presidential candidate is caused by their efforts to improve their image in the public perspective. This phenomenon is not appropriate with the statements which state that politeness is an effort to maintaining the face so that the face does not get threatened, lose face or be embarrassed (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Leech, 2014). The Indonesia presidential candidates in 2019 practiced to maintain their faces, but there was almost no effort to maintain the faces of their interlocutors. This can be seen in a few sentences that they say to bring down and harm the other person. Furthermore, the less of polite of Indonesian president candidate caused that the politeness characteristics (Leech, 2014) influenced by the situation where they tried to protect their electability, lack of reciprocal asymmetry in polite behavior between the speaker and the interlocutor, and does not preserve a balance of value between the speakers and interlocutors. Based on the results of this study it can be seen that the presidential candidate is trying to increase his electability in excess either by describing his achievements or exposing the shortcomings of his political opponents. It is certainly not appropriate or violates the maxim of politeness in language.

CONCLUSION

After a scientific review of the data obtained, it can be concluded that most violations of language courtesy committed by Indonesian presidential candidates in 2019 violate the maxim of simplicity because in this case most of the speech tends to be self-praise or trying to bring down political opponents. It is often used by incumbent candidates. Based on the data obtained, challenger presidential candidates will violate the principle of politeness of approbation maxim, it can be seen that violations of language politeness in the context of approbation can arise when other speakers, in this case, are political opponents violating the maxim of politeness in the language in the context of modesty. The utterances that are not following the maxim of politeness in language will trigger speech from other political opponents that of course also do not correspond to the maxim of politeness in language because they tend to try to improve their image from the social perspective.

LIMITATION AND STUDY FORWARD

This study is an exploratory study of a small scope. Thus, the findings cannot be generalized. However, this allows a broader study to be carried out further with a far more extensive and comprehensive study as well as the relevance of politicians' language politeness to the electability of voting in elections.

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AUTHORS CONTRIBUTION

The first author is the head of this research and compiled the research paper. The second author helped in the enrichment of the literature for this research. The third author formulated the research method and data collection. The fourth and fifth authors analyzed the data.

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