

Metaphor Play between Jokowi and Prabowo in the Last Battle

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ABSTRACT

Metaphor is many times a spontaneous expression to pack a person's feeling on a phenomenon. This is obvious in a political contest between Jokowi and Prabowo in the last presidential election in Indonesia. Both always exchange statements to respond over a thing or one to another. Their statements flower with the use of metaphors to represent and to emphasize their subjective perception. This research is a content analysis making use the texts from Indonesian media recording the statements of the two contestants. From the data source, the metaphor is selected and analyzed using theory of conceptual metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson: 1980) of which meanings are seen from CDA's concept of Teun van Dijk (2001) and Lynne's (2008) affective effect of metaphor. After the analysis, it was found out that the metaphor functions to emphasize the topics in question, like the importance of Indonesian unity as in "menjalin dan merawat...persaudaraan", to distance the topics, "sedikit kesulitan", and to evaluate positively, "kue ekonomi digital". Both sides agree that unity is important, but they blame each other as being the culprit of the broken unity. In other issues, both sides make use of their opposing ideas to hyperbolize others' negativity and to conceal others' positivity.

Keywords: Metaphor, Politics, Topics, Election

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INTRODUCTION

Metaphore is commonly present in daily talks, especially in adult discourses. They include formal and informal discourses, involving either inter-personels or a personal to a mass of people. Metaphore is always there in the talks between the people having some emotional charge. It is also made use a lot in the talk of a speaker before a big of mass, like political campaign, in person or via social media in virtual world. It becomes effective tools to evoke "a deep feeling", "new ideas", and even more "a white bitterness of reality". With it, the abstract concepts can be sent and absorbed in ease and meaning density.

In political discourse, metaphore is also the piece of language to settle and to uphold a political identity. "Metaphor ...encourages the receivers to spell out a variety of implications, subtly persuades them to recognize the prominent values and preferences, and ultimately helps construct their political identity" (Mammadov, 2010: 72). It developes meaning implications, turns into persuasive devices, and finally makes up a certain identity in political construct. This fact is very obvious in the main discourses in the Indonesian media in the times of the last

presidential election in 2019. Abundant use of metaphores seem to be painstakingly crafted to make them a viral piece in public domain. It is like that metaphore is adopted to be “marketing tool” for their political ideas to be chosen by the public as the voters.

The studies in political metaphor have been done by many researchers (Pasaribu: 2016; Pilyarchuk and Onysko: 2018; Borcic, Kanizaj, and Krsul : 2016; Xu:2015; Ivanovic:2017). Ivanovic (2017) compared the metaphors in political speeches between US and British in leader inaugurations. A similar study was done by Pasaribu (2016) focusing in Jokowi’s victory speech after he won his first presidential election. The series of political speeches from Trump is also the object of the study by Pilyarchuk and Onysko (2018). All of the studies focus on the conceptual metaphors in the texts. The similar focus is also found in other studies (Borcic, Kanizaj, and Krsul : 2016; Xu:2015) though the two have different objects; Xu (2015) made use of more general political discourses including debates and Borcic et.al (2016) took the data from political interviews broadcasted in TV program. All the findings show that metaphors and the politics are really connected. The metaphors have important functions to build public trust through various mechanisms. Moving from the similar belief, the present study will use the conceptual metaphor theory to see the political metaphors from two competing candidates of Indonesian president. Presented this way, metaphors are then depicted like a battle field by which the victory is partly determined. The metaphors were then interpreted from critical discourse analysis.

RESEARCH METHOD

This is a discourse analysis, employing the data from Internet sources, especially news. The news were retracted from two internet sites: www.okezone.com, and www.dream.co.id. The news taken are those containing the statements from Jokowi and/or Prabowo, particularly those issued around the general election 2019. The news were then selected based on their metaphor contents, which are the focus of this study. Five (5) extracts of news from each candidate were chosen based on the metaphors contained there; it can be more than one in each. The data of metaphors were analyzed using Lakoff and Johnson’ (1980) conceptual metaphore which was also categorized in terms of their affective effect (Lynne: 2008). Then they were interpreted from CDA (van Dijk :2001).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this part the conceptual metaphor of the metaphorical expressions made by the subjects will be explained, and then they were categorized by their functions in the speeches. To ease the discussion flow, the division is based on the subjects, Jokowi and Prabowo.

Metaphors in Jokowi

There are several metaphors identified in Jokowi’s statements, one of which is about the importance of the unity and brotherhood among the members of the nation, as seen in two extracts below.

"Marilah kita selalu bersatu, setelah pileg dan pilpres kali ini, **menjalin dan merawat kembali persaudaraan kita rakyat Indonesia,**" jelas Jokowi saat menyampaikan tanggapan dari kemenangan sementara versi quick count, di Djakarta Theater.

(Rabu 17 April 2019 17:15 WIB)

Jokowi 2 (J2)

"Inilah sekali lagi perbedaan-perbedaan **keragaman** yang kita miliki **kebhinekaan** yang kita miliki yang harus kita **rawat** dan **jaga** sama-sama, sanggup? Perlu kita ingat dasar negara kita, ideologi kita Pancasila, NKRI, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, UUD 1945 sudah **final, harga mati** dan tidak bisa diganggu gugat, siapa yg setuju tunjuk jari, siapa setuju angkat jempol," lanjut dia. **(Sabtu 13 April 2019 20:13 WIB)**

The metaphor "...*menjalin dan merawat kembali persaudaraan kita rakyat Indonesia*" is drawn from a concept of A COUNTRY IS A UNIT OF DIFFERENT ITEMS. And the unit must be carefully maintained to keep it stacked. With the euphoria of general election, the unity has split up into various factions. With the end of the election, Jokowi reminds the people that they should be united again as a country, as a big family of brotherhood, in spite of the differences they naturally have, including the difference of political orientation as it is implied in metaphors in the extract 2.

Jokowi 3 (J3)

"Perlu saya tegaskan sore ini bahwa negara Indonesia **negara kita tidak akan bubar,**" ucap Jokowi di Konser Putih Bersatu,

"Kita sudah berada pada jalan dan track yang benar," sambungnya.

"Memang kadang-kadang ada kesulitan **ada sedikit kepahitan** menuju Indonesia maju. Jangan semua instan dan disediakan langsung sejahtera. Tak ada dalam negara sebesar Indonesia. Percaya saya. **Dengan jalan yang sudah benar** kita optimis negara kita akan lebih maju," urai Jokowi **(Sabtu 13 April 2019 16:22 WIB)**

In this extract, there are three conceptual metaphors identified. The expression of "negara kita tidak akan bubar" is derived from perceiving "A COUNTRY IS A UNIT OF THINGS" that Indonesia as country consists of many elements making it up. With that situation, the elements may be broken up and the country then ceases to exist. Jokowi, as the president and a running mate, asserted that this country will stay and survive, it will stack for good. To convince his idea, Jokowi elaborated his belief by giving evidences in other metaphors telling that he has led this nation "on the right track." In the next section, "Dengan jalan yang sudah benar..." (being in the right path), he is sure that Indonesia will develop well. The two metaphors are from the conceptual metaphor "LIFE IS A JOURNEY", to include a life of a country. The journey of a country is a long trip to reach its ideals. With these metaphors, Jokowi want the people to believe that the development programs he led so far are right to achieve the goals of the nation.

Besides, there is another metaphor derived from a different concept. A metaphor "...ada sedikit kepahitan" refers to the problem which exists in a life of country. This indicates a conceptual metaphor that "PROBLEM IS NOT GOOD". Here "bitterness" is commonly agreed to be something not nice, as the opposite of being sweet like chocolate or candy which most people like. Meanwhile medicine is bitter, of which people will

consume only for their illness—they do for some reasonable purpose, not because they like it. Thus, the problem is seen something not nice for many. The selection of bitterness here implies that the problem also functions as a medicine. This is emphasized more by the use of euphemistic adjective, a few, and adjunct, sometimes, meaning that the existence of the problems in the country is de-emphasized by the incumbent. It subtly persuades the mind of the public, while it does not neglect the actual problem there.

Jokowi 4 (J4)

Kita tahu pada tahun 2018 **kue ekonomi digital** telah mencapai USD27 miliar,” ujar Presiden saat acara Silaturahmi dengan Mitra Juara Gojek, di Ancol, dilansir dari laman Setkab, Jumat (12/4/2019). **(Jum'at 12 April 2019 16:13 WIB)**

TRADING IS A FOOD is a conceptual metaphor underlying the expression of “kue ekonomi digital” (cake of digital economy). “Cake” here refers to the profits from doing a business, particularly the one on Internet basis. Thus, in another case when the trading does not make a profit, the food can be replaced with something not delicious. The use of “cake” here is to ease the visualization of how lucrative is the digital business today with its fast growth. In another, “cake” represents an extra food, given as an additional course, meaning that the field is not the major player in general economy. Yet, it does not have any sense of undermining the potential. The money of USD 27 billion is not a little, about IDR 378 trillion.

Jokowi 5 (J5)

"Lima hari lagi jangan sampai masyarakat **goyah** karena hoax, kabar fitnah, kabar bohong. Kalau ada tetangga **goyah** tolong **luruskan**. Saya 4,5 tahun dijelekan, difitnah, dicaci saya diam. Tapi jelang Pilpres harus dijawab jangan didiamkan, sabar boleh tapi ada batasnya," katanya. **(Jum'at 12 April 2019 13:22)**

From this extract, two verbs “goyah” and “luruskan” are abstracted from the concept that MIND IS AN OBJECT OF CHANGE. “Goyah” (shakes) here means change not to choose Jokowi, “luruskan” (Uphold) refers to returning to its previous position to vote for him. Here, Jokowi asserted that the people can change because of the wrong information they receive, the hoax. He believes that bad news about him and his government must be wrong and deceiving. Meanwhile the people are regarded to have no access to judge the truth. That is why they can change their votes. Here, Jokowi tries to make a negative label to vote against him, as “goyah”, and a positive label for his voters, “luruskan or lurus”.

This kind of strategy is clearly seen in the use of literal expressions to describe the bad deeds he feels to be done by his opponents, “Saya 4,5 tahun dijelekan, difitnah, dicaci saya diam. Jokowi makes use of literal words to elaborate what he has experienced along 4.5 years. It means along his presidency these subjects always do bad deed to him. Though the subjects are hidden, it is clear he refers to all parties who do not support him in the election. That is to say that what the opponents campaign about has been done since the break of his throne—which is not true. A sort of playing victim is emphasized more in the last part, “saya diam” (I don’t do anything to respond). He continues that to be silent is not right for the moment. This is seen by the arrest of the people who openly challenges him.

Lots of politicians, clerics, and intellectuals have been dragged to trials in times prior to and after the election.

Metaphor does create a certain persuasive effect on the audience. In one hand, it may distance negative topics on speaker's part, meaning it functions as euphemism. Metaphor, thus, open a space for claiming something negative by minimizing one's face threat. In another, metaphor can do otherwise, exaggerating negative facts on others or positive values on the selves—as seen in the analysis above. In the next part, the analysis is focused on metaphors identified in Prabowo's statement as the political competitor to reach the presidency.

Prabowo's metaphor

Prabowo 1

"Pernyataan AM Hendropriono yang menyinggung masalah keturunan WNI dimana kami melihat bahwa pernyataan tersebut bersifat rasis, dan berpotensi untuk **mengadu domba dan pecah belah** antara anak bangsa," katanya.

"Kami mengimbau semua pihak untuk **tetap sejuk, tenang, tidak emosional, tidak mengambil tindakan-tindakan di luar hukum...**"

"Juga upaya untuk **membungkam pernyataan sikap dari tokoh-tokoh masyarakat** dan unsur dalam masyarakat," ucapnya. (**Kamis 09 Mei 2019 06:15 WIB**)

This conceptual metaphor, EMOTION IS TEMPERATURE, produces an expression like "sejuk" (cool), meaning not angry. Seeing it as a temperature, "not emotional" is seen as "low temperature", and other wise, "anger" is like fire, having high temperature. The same expression is also found in extract 2. In the extract 1, Prabowo used the metaphor to prevent any overreaction from the public to a statement saying that a negative point about Arabic-descendant citizens. This implies a suspicion on this group, meaning that the point has made factions in the nations, "mengadu domba dan pecah belah". These two expressions are extracted from the concept of ...

Prabowo 2

"Hal ini lebih memprihatinkan karena juga terdapat **nada ancaman**. Kami lihat bahwa ini dilakukan oleh seorang yang dekat dengan **lingkaran kekuasaan** saat ini. Untuk itu, kami menyatakan keprihatinan kami," ucap Prabowo.

"Kami menyampaikan pandangan kami karena kami yang **sering disudutkan** dengan dituduh bahwa kami membela suatu aliran Islam yang garis keras, bahwa kami membela HTI dan sebagainya. Dari tuduhan-tuduhan ini kami anggap sebagai upaya **yang tidak menguntungkan kita**. Kita ingin **suasana kondusif, sejuk**," tutur Prabowo.

(**Rabu 08 Mei 2019 19:54 WIB**)

In this extract, Prabowo made an euphemistic metaphor, functioning to distance a topic of threat by putting it as the property of the statement, "nada ancaman" (a tone of threat). This expression is drawn from the concept of "STATEMENT IS MUSIC". Literally the statement is a threat itself. However, saying it as it is means a frontal attack on others, which may have a certain backfire. Thus, metaphor here plays as a "mask" partly a form of 'kehati-hatian'.

Another metaphor is also identified in this part, “lingkaran kekuasaan”. Yang terlahir dari metafora konsep, “POWER IS GEOMETRICS”, dari konsep ini kita mengenal sebutan, “kekuasaan yang makin meluas”, atau pun sebaliknya. In another, we know the term like “ring satu”, meaning the people who are really close to the top authority. With this expression, Prabowo wants to say that the threat comes from people who are part of the ruler. Again it is identified the use of hedge, “dekat dengan”, making it not straight to the point. Such a strategy is surprising because Prabowo was a general who are very well known for his firm and strong attitude and stand. This implies his weak position or in another he is not so confident.

This weak position is also seen in the use of “disudutkan” meaning “put in a difficult situation”. This expression is grown from a concept of “SITUATION IS A SPACE”. When it is easy, then it is a wide space, like we have a saying of “diberikan kelonggaran”. Thus, difficult condition makes “a narrow space” as the passive “disudutkan”. Here, Prabowo states that he is *frequently* put in such a difficult situation. He emphasizes by using high modulation about the situation he has.

Prabowo 3

“ Kalau ada *unicorn* ini akan **mempercepat uang kita lari** ke luar negeri,” kata dia. (Senin, 18 Februari 2019 13:13)

The statement in this extract is a response to the Jokowi’s stance about digital economy in extract 4 of the previous section. Here Prabowo focuses on the unicorn, for whom it will make the money of Indonesian people run away to abroad, “uang kita lari ke luar negeri”. This metaphor puts money as something animate that it can run. Because it is alive, it can do activities like animal or human being. This shift is abstracted from a concept of “MONEY IS A LIVING THING”.

As an idea, Prabowo’s statement is surely contradictive to Jokowi’s belief. Prabowo suspects that the emergence of start ups which open a foreign capital inflow will in time absorb the profit of Indonesian big market. The foreign investors will get lots of benefit by making use of the big consumers in this country through the online shops of which the goods are also imported from the foreign countries. In such a situation, Prabowo does not see the digital business as something promising for the country. Meanwhile, Jokowi only sees the big share of the growing market in the business, which is potential to develop.

Prabowo 4

“ Tidak boleh **tebang pilih** pada suku apapun, **menyimpang** pecat,” tutur Prabowo saat debat capres dan cawapres di Hotel Bidakara, Jakarta, Kamis 17 Januari 2019.

(Kamis, 17 Januari 2019 21:15)

The expression of “tebang pilih” (...) is from a concept of FAIR IS EQUAL TREATMENT. This is like a response to the actions made by the ruler, which is implied in Jokowi’s extract 5 (*tidak boleh tinggal diam*). Some cases of firing from a job or post are identified in the election. The officers or officials who show a support for the opposing party, PNS or BUMN, are being fined or being fired by the government with a reason that they have violated the rule. However, if the staffs supports the ruling party, though they have done the similar things, the ruler just let them go. It has been a public secret that

unfair practices over all the government officials levels have been used as a means to win the last election. They even make use of all the resources. Some even do the campaign in their uniform, but the cases are untouched by the hands of the justice.

Prabowo 5

"Kalau kita mau main sepak bola di tingkat kampung pasti ada aturan. Hakim garis harus jujur, wasit harus jujur. Kalau aturan main tidak dipatuhi, biasanya nggak mau diakui hasil pertandingan itu. Itu di sepak bola tingkat kampung," kata Prabowo saat berorasi di hadapan massa buruh KSPI, Tennis Indoor Senayan, Jakarta, Rabu (1/5/2019).

Rawe-rawe rantas

Malang-malang putung

Mereka yang curang ablakanya seperti lutung (Rabu 01 Mei 2019 14:41 WIB)

In the last extract above, Prabowo highlights a sort of dirty play in the election. He compares the election to football game in rural areas. The game has a rule and the referee and line keeper must stick to it and they should be fair and honest. This long expression is derived from the concept of “GENERAL ELECTION IS A GAME”. Prabowo was worried much about the officials organizing the election. He is afraid that they cannot uphold the fairness and honesty, and then they neglect the dirty plays he believes to be rampant in the last election. He especially uses the word “kampung” (village or rural areas), emphasizing that fairness and honesty are very important even in the “kampong” of which the people are traditional and not intellectual, but they respect much to the values. At the end, he makes a mocking rhyme to the people doing a dirty play by comparing them with monkey’s behavior.

In this part, the meanings of metaphorical expression are discussed from its function and discourse effect. For the aim, quotation below is important to be considered in this regard.

Metaphors carry not only ideational content but also something of speakers’ attitudes and values in respect of that content. ...Three dimensions of affect help to analyse how speakers’ choices of metaphor vehicles contribute to the affective work of metaphor: alignment–distancing; positive–negative evaluation; emphasis–de-emphasis(Graumann, 1990). (Cameron, 2008:203).

The theory above will be a guide for seeing the metaphors used by the competing candidates in the Indonesian presidential election. Besides, the evaluation, either positive or negative, on the issue in the question is used to elaborate the metaphors in terms of critical discourse analysis (CDA).

Table 1. Affective function of the metaphors in the statements

No	Metaphors	Alignment-Distancing	Evaluation	Emphasis
Jokowi				
1	Menjalin dan merawat persaudaraan	+		
2	Keragaman...kebinekaan kita rawat dan jaga	+		
3	Negara kita tidak akan bubar			+
4	Pada jalan dan track yang benar			+
5	Ada sedikit kepahitan	-		

6	Kue ekonomi digital	+	
7	Masyarakat goyah...luruskan	-	+
Prabowo			
1	Mengadu domba dan pecah belah		+
2	Tetap sejuk, tenang	-	
3	Membungkam pernyataan sikap	-	
4	Nada ancaman...lingkaran kekuasaan	-	-
5	Sering disudutkan		+
6	Mempercepat uang kita lari ke luar negeri	-	
7	Tembang pilih,		-
8	Menyimpang pecat		+
9	Kalau...main sepakbola...ada aturan...wasit harus jujur		+

At glance, it is seen that Jokowi's metaphors have more positive affective function. In other words, they tend to align, evaluate positively on the topic, and to emphasize on the issues delivered to the public. There are three topics implied in the metaphors above. The first is the unity of the nation, to which the metaphors made to align, to get closed to the topics, making the audience convinced about the importance of being one as a big nation. Seen from the perspective of social practice level, the unity is like an ideology as always echoed in the saying "NKRI Harga Mati" (see Fairclough, 123-124:2001, van Dijk, 114-115:2001). This has become a tagline for the campaign along the periods before the presidential election campaign. It was stronger after the nationalist was lost in the Jakarta governor' election. They claim that their faction is the group who will keep this nation intact, implying their opponents will break the country into pieces.

Actually Prabowo also share the same concern. He is worried that the Indonesian people will break, especially by the statement of a former head of National Intelligence Bureau that many Arab descendants become a provocateur. Mentioning a certain community is a racist, and Prabowo respond that such a statement potentially break the unity of this country. Thus, both sides actually agree that the Indonesian unity is very important. However, the ways to realize the goal are very different from one to another.

The idea is optimistically declared by Jokowi as saying that the country has been on the right track. In other words, it has been managed well and it runs unto its goal to lead its people to prosperity. Though, in explaining the situation, Jokowi also mentions the problems coming up. He uses the metaphor of "kepahitan" to represent the problem, which functions to deemphasize the topic.

The second topic is digital economy, represented by a metaphor of "kue" (cake), meaning the speaker positively evaluates the topic. Jokowi believes that economic activities are good for the people. The fast growth of the starts up in Indonesia has

drawn lots of investment to the country. With that trend, he supports the Indonesian youths to participate actively to be players and make use of the vast market in the country. Meanwhile, Prabowo is not very optimistic about the issue; he is worried that the foreign investment in the field will make the money from this country fly away. He also worried that the product sold in the digital market are imported ones, which will threaten the small and medium businesses belong to the Indonesian people.

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis, it can be concluded that both parties try to persuade the people by making use of metaphor as one of the strategies. Metaphors there represent the emotion of the speakers regarding the situation they have especially in the competition to win people vote. The main topics are identified, i.e. Indonesian unity, digital economy, the hoax, and the fairness. Jokowi tends to use metaphor positive way in terms of three affective functions, meanwhile Prabowo takes its negative affect. However, both sides agree that the unity of the country is very important.

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