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Balai Bahasa Provinsi Jawa Tengah



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“The Role of Indigenous Languages in Constructing Identity”

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NOTE

This international seminar on Language Maintenance and Shift V (LAMAS V for short) is a continuation of the previous LAMAS seminars conducted annually by the Master Program in Linguistics, Diponegoro University in cooperation with *Balai Bahasa Provinsi Jawa Tengah*.

We would like to extend our deepest gratitude to the seminar committee for putting together the seminar that gave rise to this compilation of papers. Thanks also go to the Head and the Secretary of the Master Program in Linguistics Diponegoro University, without whom the seminar would not have been possible.

The table of contents lists 92 papers presented at the seminar. Of these papers, 5 papers are presented by invited keynote speakers. They are Prof. Aron Reppmann, Ph.D. (Trinity Christian College, USA), Prof. Yudha Thianto, Ph.D. (Trinity Christian College, USA), Dr. Priyankoo Sarmah, Ph.D. (Indian Institute of Technology Guwahati, India), Helena I.R. Agustien, Ph.D. (Semarang State University, Indonesia), and Dr. M. Suryadi, M.Hum. (Diponegoro University, Indonesia).

In terms of the topic areas, the papers are in sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, theoretical linguistics, antropolinguistics, pragmatics, applied linguistics, and discourse analysis.

NOTE FOR REVISED EDITION

There is a little change in this revised edition, which as the shifting of some parts of the article by Tatan Tawami and Retno Purwani Sari entitled “Sundanese Identity Represented by the Talents of *Ini Talkshow* A Study of Pragmatics” on page 166 to 167. This has an impact on the change of table of contents.

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"The Role of Indigenous Languages in Constructing Identity"**

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 2015					
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POLITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF MEGAWATI'S SPEECH IN THE OPENING OF THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE PDIP

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Abstract

The study is about a critical analysis of a political discourse. Using Megawati's opening speech in the Fourth Congress of the PDIP, I want to find out the ideological model context used by the text producer and the social structure influencing the speech. Using the critical discourse analysis approach of van Dijk, the finding shows that Megawati uses ideological values of Soekarno's leadership concept to indoctrinate the audience. The concept is also used to tease the current President Joko Widodo.

Keywords: *Political discourse, political square, ideological values, model context*

INTRODUCTION

The development of politics in Indonesia impacts on the increasing of the political activities and political awareness among the all levels of society in Indonesia. Most of the activities are exposed through media. We can see that televisions and online newspaper update political news several times a day. The conventional newspaper places the political news on headline and editorial.

The such political activities are inseparable from discourse activities. Therefore, the political activities interest not only professional politicians, political experts, and political observers, but also linguists who pay attention on critical study of language. Political discourse shows specific forms of language that represent political value, tendency, ideology, and goal of the producers. The practitioners of critical language study concern with relation between the linguistic evidents in the political texts and the practice of articulating power and ideology of the producers. Some research projects on the Indonesian political discourse conducted by the linguists can be read in the various national and international proceedings (see Nurhayati, 2015a; 2015b).

Regarding the such role of critical discourse analysis in the practice of political discourse, I am interested in analysing the political speech of the chairwoman of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), when opening the national congress in Bali, April, 4, 2015. Referring the idea that political discourse is reflexive, that is a discourse about the politics itself, I assume that the political speech is a representation of the political action of the Party. The speech may contain the way the party represents US (the party and its proponent) and THEM (the opponent). The study, thus, answers the questions of what discourse structures are used for representing US and THEM and how do the context model of the institution and social structure control the discourse practice of the chairwoman of the party in delivering the speech. Answering the research questions, I want to achieve the purpose of the study, that is to uncover the social condition selected as the context that is stored in the long term memory of the text producer. To conduct the study, I use both video of the political speech and the transcribe of the video as the sources of data. Both of the data sources are downloaded from the internet. I use the concepts of political discourse of van Dijk (1997) as the theoretical framework to analyse the data. There are three stages to analyse the data. First, I analyse the linguistic properties that build the structure of the discourse. Due to the limitation of the space in this proceeding, I only focus on the lexical aspect of the discourse. The second stage is relating the linguistic properties to the context models and social cognition of the organization. It is a matter of interpretation. The stage is followed by the third stage, that is relating the discourse and the social structure.

POLITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Defining political discourse analysis (PDA), someone faces two ambiguous meanings, whether it is a kind of discourse analysis using political approach or it is an analysis of political discourse. van Dijk (1997: 1) gives an account that the term consists of two elements, those are about political discourse and critical analysis. First, it is political discourse, not any discourse, that is analysed. Second, it uses the critical approach, instead of conventional non-critical discourse analysis. According to van Dijk (1997:

1), PDA "... deals especially with the reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse, including the various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance."

It is important to understand what political discourse is. van Dijk (1997:4) gives criteria to decide whether a discourse is 'political' or not. The criteria cover participants, activities or practices, and context. There are two kinds of participants in political discourse, actors or authors and recipients. The actors or authors of political discourse must be politicians, those are "... the group of people who are being paid for their (political) activities, and who are being elected or appointed (or self-designed) as the central players in the polity." (van Dijk 1997: 3). The recipients can be citizens, voters, people as members of pressure or issue groups, demonstrators, or dissidents (Verba 1993 in van Dijk 1997: 13). Even, not all text and talk produced by the politicians are categorized as political discourses. The discourses are political discourses only if they are produced when the politicians are acting as political actors and participating in the political activities in the political contexts such as the political setting, occasions, intentions, or goals.

Conducting PDA can not be separated from analysing ideology, value, and cognition of the politician. Political cognition of the members of a group or institution is built based on the ideology and value of the group or institution, to practice political activities, especially political discourse activities. The relation between ideology and political discourse is explained by van Dijk (2006: 730) as "... the axiomatic basis of the social representations of a group and – through specific social attitudes and then through personal mental models – control the individual discourse and other social practices of group members". Based on the limitation, van Dijk elaborates criteria of ideology. It is social and cognitive because ideology is stored in the long term memory as a mental model. It is fundamental system of belief because ideology controls other beliefs and attitude, practice, and discourse of members of a group.

In political domain, ideology plays an important role. van Dijk (2006: 732) states that a political group or institution needs ideology to compete power, struggle, and interest from its opposing group. Members or partisans of the group should be organized in such a way that they will be ideologically conscious. In this domain, ideology functions politically, meaning to control political practice. That is political ideology (van Dijk 2006: 731). Any political practice must articulate the ideological values of the political group or institution. However, compared to other practice, political discourse is an effective site to articulate the political ideology of the group or institution. It is through the discourse that members of a group may explicitly express and formulate the political ideology.

Ideology stored in a long term memory of the members of the group constructs their mental model and it controls the discourse production and understanding. The mental model together with other context of situation such as setting, events, and occasions, then, functions as pragmatic context. In discourse production, politicians use the pragmatic context to control their speech acts, the selection of information, the levels of style, and the format of the political discourse. They also use the relevant pragmatic context to comprehend the political text and talk. Both in producing and comprehending discourse, politicians usually use their ideological values to construct political polarization that may be called the ideological square (van Dijk 2007: 734). It consists of strategies to: (i) emphasize OUR good things; (ii) emphasize THEIR bad things; (iii) de-emphasize OUR bad things; and (iv) de-emphasize THEIR bad things. Thus, they will manipulate the discourse structure consisting of macro structure and micro structure to articulate the strategies.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

The speech of Megawati as the chairwoman of PDI-P when opening the fourth congress is categorized as a political discourse. Megawati, in this context, plays role as a chairwoman when addressing the party's members and represents the institution's voice when referring the opponents (For further explanation of the participant roles in a communication act, see Goffman 1981). Either as an animator or an author, Megawati has capacity as a politician in the political event. She is the chairwoman of PDI-P. The recipients or audiences are members of the party, cadres of the party, servant of the party (*petugas partai*), and the invited guests who come from other proponent parties. There are also indirect audiences who watched the television because the event was lively broadcasted from the place of the congress. The speech was delivered in the political event, that is the event of national party congress, and it has

political function to consolidate the party. Due to the purpose of the study, analysis of the data focuses on answering the way the text producer representing OUR good and bad, and also THEIR good and bad.

Representing OUR GOOD

In representing OUR GOOD, the text producer chose certain entities such as 'party', 'people', 'ideology', 'leader', and 'Indonesia'. Most predicates of the proposition represent (i) mental process such as *to result, to come down to earth, to make sure, to experience, and to intend*; (ii) relational process such as *to become, to exist, and to be*; and (iii) verbal process such as *to propose, to convey, to proclaim, to whip up, and to explain*. Some, but not many, material processes are used to represent activities that are not purely physical. Selecting such semantic participants and processes means that the text producer preferred representing non-physical activities to representing the physical ones. Party as an actor is represented through an institution together with its history, strong will, struggle, strength, and victory. The propositions concerning party as an actor represent the struggle to survive from the beginning of the founding until now. However, the activities conducted by the party to successfully exist are mostly mental activities. That is the good side of the party (OUR GOOD). Emphasizing OUR PARTY IS GOOD is also articulated using certain adjunct such as *justru* and *semakin* in "*Aksara kesejarahan ... justru terlihat semakin terang*", and *sekalipun* in "*... sehingga suara-suara yang tersembunyi sekalipun dapat disuarakan partai*". Other semantic participant selected in the speech is 'people'. Megawati positions people as actors who give the mandate to PDI-P to convey their expectation, to deliver their political will, and to rule the country. The meaning is found in "*Rakyat memberi tempat atas politik PDI Perjuangan tersebut.*" and "*Demikian halnya, ketika atas kehendak rakyat PDI Perjuangan berada di dalam pemerintahan.*" Ideologi is also selected as semantic participant to explicitly emphasize OUR GOOD. Ideology is placed as force of life such as in "*Di sinilah ideologi sebagai daya hidup and keyakinan partai*", "*... satu hal yang membuat kita bertahan adalah ideologi Pancasila 1 Juni 1945*", "*... jalan ideologi adalah pilihan benar.*", and "*Jalan ideologi ... adalah jalan demokrasi...*". Megawati also selected leader as participant. Putting leader as participant, Megawati intended to inform the criteria of the desired leadership. She also chose Bung Karno as an actor of propositions and emphasized his success in popularizing Indonesia in International arena. Indonesia in Bung Karno Era is described better than in the following eras. Megawati selected specific events happened in old orde to represent the good side of Bung Karno.

Besides semantic participants, predicates, and setting, OUR GOOD is also represented through presupposition. The excerpt "*Apa yang kita sampaikan di atas, tidak hanya bertujuan menggelorakan kembali kepemimpinan Indonesia di dunia Internasional.*" shows that Megawati wanted her audience to have some presupposed information and ability to find the implied meaning. The phrase *menggelorakan kembali* functions as a trigger to presuppose that Indonesia has ever had a leader who was internationally popular. Using the presupposition, Megawati intended to proclaim the good side of Bung Karno as the referred leader and as a part of PDI-P.

The way Megawati selected certain events, participants, predicates, setting, and also directness and explicitness of the information is of course influenced by the relevant context that consists of mental model of the party and setting. Focusing on information about "the long winding journey" of the party, Megawati may think that it was a forum of consolidation. Reminding the members of the party about the historical aspect of the party aims to reinforce their long term memory that to make the party survive, all elements must take part in the struggle. The interesting thing in the speech is the strategy to emphasize the leadership of Bung Karno. Explicitly, the excerpt of the speech is selected to emphasize the good side of the party. However, being related to the political situation at this time, the speech may be intended to tease the current President, Joko Widodo. This indirect teasing, is ambiguous. On the one hand, the discourse practice articulates the power relation between Megawati as the chairwoman of the party and Joko Widodo who was positioned as a party servant, being mandated as a president. In this case, the chairwoman of the party is more powerful than that of Joko Widodo. On the other hand, president as the head of a country should be positioned above party institution. It means that Megawati in this situation seems to preserve her power.

Representing THEIR BAD

In her speech, Megawati did not explicitly mention who are her opponent. However, her discourse, related to the context and cotext, gives clues that she may position the previous government, her

political opponent, and non-political opponents. She emphasized their bad side using some linguistic apparatus.

To show the bad performance of the previous government, she used presupposition, generalization, and other indirect discourse. In describing people of Indonesia (*rakyat*), she said "*Rakyat yang termanifestasikan dalam wajah petani, guru, nelayan, kaum miskin kota, buruh, atau pendeknya rakyat yang masih terjerat dalam "lingkaran setan kemiskinan", yakni rakyat wong cilik.*". The word *masih* in the excerpt functions as a presuppositional trigger that results presupposition '*sebelumnya dan sampai sekarang rakyat terjerat dalam "lingkaran setan kemiskinan"*'. It means that she accused the previous government fail to make people of Indonesia prosperous. Other negative representation is articulated using negative terms, that the previous government let people *bermalas-malas, penggerogotan mental terus terjadi, and tidak mengelola kekayaan secara berdikari*. When Megawati said "*...perkenankanlah saya mengajak saudara untuk memaknai Indonesia, Indonesia Raya, yakni Indonesia yang saat itu berjaya dan begitu mewarnai dunia.*" and "*Semua peristiwa tersebut terjadi pada Abad 20.*", she may implicitly express that Indonesia after Soekarno era was worse. This is the way she criticized the government from Soeharto to Soesilo Bambang Yudoyono era. The such strategy of representing the bad side implies that Megawati intended to show 'the past was the best', 'the middle has been negative', and 'the future should immitate the past'. The future oriented is achieved through indoctrinating ideological values of Soekarno's era.

Megawati described her political opponent using nominalization and passivization. Using the word *pengkhianatan* (betrayal) as existent in existential process, Megawati let her audience interpret who betrayed her during she has led the party. The interpretation that the opponents may her political rivals is inferred from the next utterance, that is "*Semua pengkhianatan itu, terjadi hanya karena ambisi politik yang berwatakkan kekuasaan semata.*". The similar strategy was used when she chose passive construction to continue her description of the betrayal, such as "*saya ditusuk dari belakang*".

The other opponents are referred generally as *sementara pihak*. It is neutral subject. It is interpreted as opponents based on the way Megawati selected lexical items to describe its predicate, or what he/she/they did: (i) *dengan mengatasnamakan independensi, selalu mengatakan bahwa Partai adalah beban demokrasi*; (ii) *mengatakan bahwa Partai hanya sebagai ornament demokrasi; dan hanya sekedar alat tunggangan kekuasaan politik*; and (iii) *mengerdikan makna dan arti kolektivitas Partai yang berasal dari rakyat*. Based on the predicates, we may interpret that *sementara pihak* refers to group of people who are not partisans. They are not her political rivals. The non-political opponents are also explicitly described using negative labels as *penumpang gelap, kaum oportunist, kekuatan anti-partai, kekuatan modal*. Their activities are also described negatively, such as: (i) *menguasai sumber daya alam bangsa*; (ii) *(hadir dalam) hasrat kekuasaan*; (iii) *(melakukan) gerakan deparpolisasi*; (iv) *(melakukan gerakan) sentimen anti partai*; (v) *(melakukan gerakan) liberalisasi politik*.

Generally, representing the bad side of the opponents using certain clues, without clearly referring who the real opponents are, Megawati positioned the audience and certain Indonesian people have shared knowledge of the intended opponents. Of course not all Indonesian people have such knowledge. Only those who are politically illiterate have the such knowledge. The such strategy was chosen to avoid being accused as slandering.

Representing OUR BAD and THEIR GOOD

As generally assumed that a political discourse tries to hide or de-emphasize OUR BAD as well as THEIR GOOD, there is few part of Megawati's speech that represents OUR BAD and no utterance representing THEIR GOOD. The bad side of the party was represented as general and normal events. The utterance "(i) *Pemilu secara langsung membawa konsekuensi pengerahan tim kampanye, relawan, dan berbagai kelompok kepentingan, dengan mobilisasi sumber daya.*(ii) *Kesemuanya wajar ketika diabdikan untuk pemimpin terbaik bangsa.*" implies that what the party did when trying to win its candidate of president and vice president is also done by other parties, so it should be normally accepted. That is the way to naturalize certain political activities. The similar strategy is also manifested through the such utterance: "*Segala pukulan yang kita berikan dan segala pukulan yang kita terima adalah iramanya perjuangan.*"

The influence of social context upon the political discourse

The previous explanation relates the structure of discourse, especially the semantic aspects of the discourse, that was chosen by Megawati and the local context covering setting, participants and ideological values that influence the choice of the discourse. In this part, I am going to relate the discourse to the global context, that is the social context. The political discourse that was uttered by Megawati as the chairwoman of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle was delivered to the members of the party in the national congress. However, the audience of the speech is not merely the partisans, but also the invited guests from other parties as members of *Indonesia Hebat* coalition and people outside the events because the speech was lively broadcasted. The content of the speech is also influenced by the ideological values of the party, those are 'perjuangan', 'trisakti', 'revolusi mental', and 'kerakyatan' coming from Soekarno's era. Using the such ideological values as the frame of context, Megawati chose to use indoctrination, instead of hegemony. This strategy is influenced by the relationship between Megawati as the chairwoman of the party and the members of the party. In the political events, Megawati has the highest position. Therefore, indoctrination may be chosen as the most effective way to do the consolidation. Based on the power relation, Joko Widodo is positioned not as 'purely the Indonesian President', but the party extension, that is the Indonesian President who is mandated and nominated by the party. That is the struggle of power implied in the discourse. The selected micro topics of the discourse and the macro topic are about the leadership. Those are used to warn President Joko Widodo to lead the country based on the party line. The political discourse is produced because there is a tendency that there are deepening cracks in the relationship between the President Joko Widodo and the PDI-P that mandated and nominated him.

CONCLUSION

Analysing the text of Megawati's speech when opening the national congress of the PDI-P, I come to the conclusion that Megawati, either as an animator or as an author, constructed a mental model of the party's members through indoctrination. She used the mental model to select the political discourse structure. She also assumed that her audience uses the same mental model, so her strategy to articulate the political square (emphasizing OUR GOOD and THEIR BAD; de-emphasizing OUR BAD and THEIR GOOD) will be comprehended well by her intended audience. In delivering OUR GOOD, Megawati emphasized the successful leadership of Bung Karno and the struggle of the party as topics. They are used to warn the current President Joko Widodo. Emphasizing THEIR BAD is articulated without explicitly mentioning who the opponents are, but using the negative terms to describe their existence and their activities. OUR BAD is de-emphasized through naturalization and passivization. THEIR GOOD is not mentioned in the speech. The such political discourse is shaped by the social context of the power struggle between Megawati as the chairwoman of the ruling party and Joko Widodo as the president nominated and mandated by the party.

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