

Hegemony on Candidates President's Republic of Indonesian Debates

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Abstract—This study aims to describe forms of hegemony and its values offered in the first round of the debate for candidates for the president of the Republic of Indonesia. Data sources are audio-visual of debate transcripts of the first round of Indonesian presidential candidates in 2019. Data collection was conducted by reading and recording. Data analysis uses a matching method that is juxtaposed with referential sorting techniques to identify references to hegemony. The results of this study are as follows. First, two incumbent presidential candidates use expansive hegemony in the debate. Second, opposition presidential candidates use hegemony of transformism in the debate. Third, the value offered by the two candidates is dominated by vital value and social value.

Keyword—*hegemony, candidate president's debate, the value of hegemony*

I. INTRODUCTION

Hegemony is an indicator of the existence of a dominant class that governs society through morals and intellectuals for a combination of discourse and society. In this connection, the emphasis is on describing mental and psychological control between the hegemonic subject and the subordinate. That is because they have more access than subordinate people (Renkema, 2004: 282).

The concept of hegemony when juxtaposed with the practice of political debate can ultimately become a conception that the roots of all practices of the domination of the powers of presidential candidates are arguments based on a language that legitimizes the axioms of government (Rubic-Remorosa, 2018: 722). The practice of power domination that occurs is intended to guarantee community consent. However, in terms of its position, everything said by each presidential candidate, both written and submitted to the public, has a substance which in itself is power. Therefore, all forms of speech must be read as a statement of power and domination as well as an attempt to assert presidential power in a certain way either through a policy proposal (Chimbarange, Takavarasha, & Kombe, 2014: 50). This is an effort to move public opinion through an appeal to the public or a specific audience.

The representation was seen in the debates of the first period of the Republic of Indonesia presidential candidates whose position each candidate as a moral and intellectual figure who dominantly determines the direction of conflict,

politics, and discourse that develops in society (Darma, 2010: 104). The targeted hegemony is inserted so that it becomes the dominance of organic intellectuals through language engineering as a power (Asmara, 2016: 104). The power and regulation of the hegemony are demonstrated through various media languages. Various state policies, for example, are conveyed in language for the benefit of the nation in the future or the independence of the nation. The impact of this is those hegemony languages that construct the minds of weak class people make them always dependent and accept without criticism. Thus each candidate seeks to perpetuate power over the weak group through existing hegemony.

The concept of hegemony is one of the keys that connect discourse with society. In this connection, the emphasis are on describing mental and psychological control between the hegemonic subject and the subordinate. That is because they have more access than subordinate people. Hegemony control can take various forms. Can be in the form of control over the context that is presented immediately to see who can and should speak and see who is not allowed to talk. Besides controlling the context it can also be in the control of the structure of discourse. As in context control, this control also intended to see whose power is greater. Therefore, hegemony in this position can not only be positioned as a means of control, but also as a means of make a decision (Krishna, 2009: 5).

Hegemony in a particular discourse of politics works through two channels, namely ideology and culture. The performance of both channels is reviewed based on performance against values (William, 1977: 112). Further hegemony, when viewed in its use in political discourse, has the role of revealing the existence of discourse elements in the form of power and ideology. The disclosure is carried out by encoding words, phrases, clauses, or sentences that are considered to dominate and then describe.

Furthermore, in understanding how the form of hegemony that occurs first must have an understanding of the two forms in real in all aspects. Two forms of hegemony, namely transformism and expansive hegemony (Gramsci, 1986: 59). Both of these forms involve a simultaneous process of revolution-restoration. Restoration tends to dominate the form of transformism, while

revolutions tend to dominate the form of expansive hegemony.

The form of hegemonic transformism can be expressed as a defensive type of politics followed by hegemonic forces in a situation of economic and political crisis (Mouffe, 1979: 182). In such position, transformism involves gradual absorption, but it is continually achieved through ever-changing methods according to the effectiveness of active elements produced by allied groups - and even from groups or individuals who are antagonistic and seem to be irreconcilable opponents. The aim of this form is a passive consensus which can neutralize antagonistic political forces and divide the masses. In other words, transformism is a revolution without mass - a passive revolution.

Expansive hegemony includes the formation of shared desires with national-popular characters, which can advance the full development of particular demands, and ultimately lead the revolution from the contradictions that have been raised. This makes hegemony work from two directions, namely top-down, when the oppressive regime is doing harmonization, also bottom-up, when there is community resistance to regime oppression. But Gramsci still emphasized that the hegemonic struggle still placed workers as the main actors in the formation of the new historical bloc as the most political stage of the hegemony process.

On the other hand, hegemony with an expansive classification can be characterized as being passive anti-revolution (Gramsci (1986), Mouffe (1979)). The strategy of expansive hegemony is a strategy that seeks to counter the efforts of the bourgeoisie to maintain its leadership by rearranging and recomposing the power of the hegemonic bloc. It is also a form of an offensive strategy to build active consensus to mobilize the masses in a revolution that includes changes in political and ideological superstructures, as well as economic infrastructure.

Both forms of hegemony in political language are followed by offering certain values. Value is the nature or quality inherent in an object, not the object itself. The value mean that there is a quality inherent in it for example, the act is moral, the view is beautiful (Rukiyati, 2008: 30). Susila and beautiful are traits that are inherent in action and scenery. Values contain ideals, hopes, and necessities. Values for humans are used and needed to be the basis of reason, motivation in attitude, behavior, and actions. Everything contains a value, only the degree of value is positive or negative. What values are contained in something that still has to be determined later. The value classification is as follows (Rukiyati, 2008: 31).

1. Economic value, which is indicated by market prices and includes all items that can be purchased. For example, gold or precious metals have economic value compared to zinc.
2. Physical values, which refers to health, efficiency, and body beauty. For example, fitness, health, body smoothness, and cleanliness.
3. Entertainment values, i.e. values of games in leisure time which can contribute to the enrichment of life.

For example, enjoyment of recreation, harmony of music, harmony of tone.

4. Social values that are derived from various forms of human association. For example, harmony, friendship, brotherhood, welfare, justice, democracy, and unity.
5. Character values are all of the desired personality and social integrity. For example, honesty, simplicity, and loyalty.
6. Aesthetic values, namely the values of beauty in nature and works of art. For example, beauty, harmony, balance and harmony.
7. Intellectual values are the values of knowledge and the pursuit of truth. For example, intelligence, perseverance, truth, and certainty.
8. Religious values, namely the values that exist in religion. For example, holiness, the majesty of God, oneness of God, and worship.

Meanwhile on the other hand, in refining the concept of value classification, the value classification plus three classifications as follows (Kaelan, 2000: 90).

- a. Material value is everything useful for the human body.
- b. Vital value is everything useful for humans to be able to hold activities or activities. For example, enthusiasm, willpower, perseverance, and hard work.
- c. Spiritual value is everything useful for human spirituality. Spiritual values can be divided into four, namely truth values that are based on reason (copyright), beauty values (aesthetic values) that are sourced from elements of taste, good values (moral values) that are sourced from the element of intention, religious values are the highest and absolute spiritual values.

Discussion on the content of hegemony along with the values contained in political discourse has been presented in two research languages. First, a study entitled *A Critical Discourse Analysis of Concession Speeches Goodluck Jonathan, Kayode Fayemi and Mitt Romney* owned by Stephen M. Anurudu and Tawakalitu Amoo Oduola in 2017. This study examines the meaning behind President Goodluck Jonathan's speech recognition, Governor Kayode Fayemi, and Tawakalitu Amoo Oduola. Governor Mitt Romney. The data obtained were examined using the critical discourse of Fairclough and Wodak's models. This study uses descriptive qualitative methods in analyzing pragmatic elements, grammatical elements, and language cohesiveness tools.

The results of this study are that politicians submit to all the rules to save the image (Anurudu & Oduola, 2017: 15). That is, the speech of confession is different from what they represent the conditions when giving a speech over their victory. In addition, the results of this study also showed that the language used in the acknowledgement speech had something in common between one politician and another politician. That is, the speech used by every politician has the same format.

Second, a study entitled *A Critical Discourse Analysis of Barack Obama's Speeches* owned by Junling Wang in 2010. In this research, Wang applies critical stage discourse (AWK) in analyzing political discourse including general speeches that can make the speaker get a positive response from the audience. The application of the AWK is used in analyzing Obama's speech on the focus of modality and transitivity are concerning aspects of power and ideology (Wang, 2010: 254). It is also intended for the reader to understand the political objectives of the speech.

II. METHODOLOGY

This study used a secondary data source in the form of an audio-visual transcript of the first round of the Presidential Candidate of the Republic of Indonesia in 2019, namely between Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto. The debate was held on January 17th, 2019. Then, the data in this study were statements that refer to the hegemony in the debates of the 2019 Presidential Candidate of the Republic of Indonesia whose theme were law, human right, corruption, and terrorism.

The data collection technique used reading notes. The process, namely transcripts of audio-visual data debating the Presidential Candidates for the Republic of Indonesia in 2019, conducted a careful reading of the debating transcripts. Then, the data in the transcript containing hegemony elements and value reference elements are recorded on the data card. On the other hand in this study using human instruments by measuring the hegemony and value theory.

The data obtained were analyzed using the matching method using referential discs (Sudaryanto, 2015: 9). The identification stage, namely the transcript of the presidential debate in 2019, was read carefully to identify the elements of hegemony, the value that was raised, and the acceptance and rejection of values. Next described and analyzed by the character of the structure that exists in the type of hegemony. Thus, hegemony variants and values of hegemony are offered.

III. RESULT

A. Form of Hegemony

1. Expansive Hegemony in Debate

Expansive hegemony in the debates of the Republic of Indonesia presidential candidates is dominated by the words of the incumbent presidential candidate, Joko Widodo. Expansive hegemony can be proven in the following conversation excerpts.

- i. "Karena kita ini adalah Negara hukum. Ada prosedur hukum, ada mekanisme hukum yang harus kita lakukan. **Kalau ada bukti sampaikan saja ke aparat hukum! Jangan kita ini sering grusa-grusu menyampaikan sesuatu!**"
- ii. "Kalau memang ada persekusi **laporkan! Saya akan tindak tegas pelaku tersebut.**"
- iii. "Hukum **harus** ditegakkan tanpa pandang bulu ..."

- iv. "Kalau memang ada dan Bapak memiliki bukti-bukti yang kuat ya **jalankan aja mekanisme hukum. Laporkan saja ke polisi. Laporkan saja ke KPK, laporkan saja ke kejaksaan**, tetapi bahwa pemerintah kami ingin semuanya ingin semuanya gampang. Seperti yang telah kami bangun online single submission sebagai contoh
- v. "Kita tetap **harus** waspada terhadap ancaman terorisme. Pemerintah terus bekerja keras, pendekatan penegakan hukum yang tegas dan pendekatan yang persuasif lewat pembinaan agama, ekonomi, dan sosial."

Based on several conversations above the incumbent presidential candidate hegemony with the following intentions. First, to counter the efforts of opposition presidential candidates to maintain their leadership by rearranging and recomposing their political power. Second, to form an offensive strategy to build active consensus to mobilize the masses in a revolution that includes changes in political and ideological superstructures, as well as economic infrastructure. Third, it emphasizes that the hegemonic struggle still places the lower class community as the main actor in the formation of the new historical block as the most political stage of the hegemony process.

2. Transformism Hegemony on Debate

Transformism hegemony on the debates of the Republic of Indonesia presidential candidates is dominated by the remarks of opposition presidential candidates, Prabowo Subianto. Transformism is demonstrated in the following conversation excerpts.

- i. "**Kita ingin percepatan**. Selalu urusan di Indonesia masalah terlalu banyak. Masalah terbesar. **Kita ingin trobosan. Harus ada trobosan. Harus ada trobosan.**"
- ii. "Muara masalah, menurut kami adalah **kita harus menjamin** kualitas hidup semua petugas yang punya wewenang mengambil keputusan, sehingga dia tidak bisa dikorupsi ..."
- iii. "**Kita harus gaji** hakim kita begitu hebat, sehingga dia tidak akan terpengaruh. Demikian jaksa, demikian polisi ..."
- iv. "**Kita harus jamin** kalo ada pejabat yang menyimpang saya akan pecat ..."
- v. "**Kita harus segera berani melakukan trobosan-trobosan** supaya penghasilan pejabat publik semakin besar."
- vi. "Untuk itu **kita harus menguasai sumber-sumber ekonomi bangsa Indonesia**. Itu saya kira strategi utama kita. **Kita yakin dengan lembaga-lembaga yang bersih, yang kuat, kita bisa menegakkan kepastian hukum ...**"

Based on several conversations above the opposition presidential candidates hegemony with the following intentions. The first is to build a belief system through hegemonic power in a situation of economic and political crisis. In such position, transformism involves gradual

absorption. Second, neutralize political forces that are antagonistic and divide the masses.

B. Value Of Hegemony on Debat

The values offered both from incumbent presidential candidates are vital and social values. Efforts to offer value are intended for the following two things. First, it forms an offensive strategy to build active consensus to mobilize the masses in a revolution that includes changes in political and ideological superstructures, as well as economic infrastructure. Second, it emphasizes that the hegemonic struggle still places the lower class community as the main actor in the formation of the new historical block. This is as in the transcript of the following incumbent presidential nominees.

- i. “Karena kita ini adalah Negara hukum. **Ada prosedur hukum, ada mekanisme hukum yang harus kita lakukan. Kalau ada bukti sampaikan saja ke aparat hukum! Jangan kita ini sering grusa-grusu menyampaikan sesuatu!**”
- ii. “**Kalau memang ada persekusi laporkan! Saya akan tindak tegas pelaku tersebut.**”
- iii. “**Hukum harus ditegakkan tanpa pandang bulu ...**”
- iv. “**Kita tetap harus waspada terhadap ancaman terorisme. Pemerintah terus bekerja keras, pendekatan penegakan hukum yang tegas dan pendekatan yang persuasif lewat pembinaan agama, ekonomi, dan sosial.**”
- v. “**Kita sederhanakan semuanya** apabila ada tumpang tindih langsung kelihatan dan bisa dilakukan revisi dengan baik.”

The values offered by the opposition presidential candidates are the same as what the incumbent presidential candidate offers, namely vital and social values. In this case, it is intended to build a belief system through hegemonic power in a situation of economic and political crisis. The following excerpts from the speech of opposition presidential candidates.

- i. “Indonesia menang karena sekarang kita rasakan indikator-indikator menunjukkan bahwa kita berada dalam **kondisi yang tidak begitu menguntungkan.**”
- ii. “Muara masalah, menurut kami, adalah **kita harus menjamin kualitas hidup semua petugas yang punya wewenang mengambil keputusan, sehingga dia tidak bisa dikorupsi.** Dia tidak bisa tergoda oleh godaan-godaan koruptor atau yang akan menyokong dan akan mempengaruhi dia. Ini strategi kami ...”
- iii. Polisi dan angkatan perang harus kita perkuat **supaya kita bisa tahan dan kita bisa mandiri.**
- iv. “**Kita yakin dengan lembaga-lembaga yang bersih, yang kuat, kita bisa menegakkan kepastian hukum.**
- v. **Hukum untuk semua,** bukan bukan hukum untuk orang-orang kuat atau orang-orang kaya saja.

- vi. Saya kira itu tekad kami. **Keadilan untuk semua, keamanan untuk semua, kemakmuran untuk semua.**”

Based on the results of research conducted the content of hegemony contained in each politician's discussion indicates that they are subject to all rules to save the image. It also forms its consensus so that people make them elected leaders of the country. However, in conducting the hegemony of each presidential candidate, especially in Indonesia, it is necessary to insert aspects of values in each of his talks. This was done because Indonesian society was a normative society at the position or stage of critical society 4.0, but the crisis believed in the government system.

Departing from this, it can be said that some of the intakes of values chosen by each president can determine the form of hegemony that is being targeted. There are two reasons related to this. First, presidential candidates can determine the strategic direction that will be offered to the public. Second, the value offered can form an absolute consensus on the community because of the value offered the community feels a view of the stretcher of values. The impact of this disaster ultimately the community feels represented in a government system.

Also the results of research in the debate, each candidate still holds to the same ideology, namely Pancasila. These ideologies are strongly held by both to represent good Indonesians. Besides, the ideology was raised as a way of uniting a vision and mission in one nation's integrity by bringing the pawn of tolerance in the plurality of society and the active role of the community. That is because for each candidate both points can dispel all things that interfere with the interests of the nation. Thus all forms of legal and human rights violations, acts of corruption and terrorism can be overcome.

IV. CONCLUSION

The incumbent presidential candidates dominant used expansive hegemony with the following intentions. First, to counter the efforts of opposition presidential candidates to maintain their leadership by rearranging and recomposing their political power. Second, to form an offensive strategy to build active consensus to mobilize the masses in a revolution that includes changes in political and ideological superstructures, as well as economic infrastructure. Third, it emphasizes that the hegemonic struggle still places the lower class community as the main actor in the formation of the new historical block as the most political stage of the hegemony process.

On the other hand, opposition presidential candidates dominant used transformism hegemony with the following intentions. First, to build a belief system through hegemonic power in a situation of political and human right crisis. In such position, transformism involves gradual absorption. Second, neutralize political forces that are antagonistic and divide the masses. Even though the two presidential candidates have different types of hegemonic, but both have

the same two value-bidding systems. The value system is a vital value and social value.

Based on the results the forms and values hegemony contained in the debate one conclusion can be drawn that both carry an ideology. The ideology is Pancasila, the ideology of Indonesian's citizen. Indicators that reinforce the use of ideology are explicitly repeated both of them always invite leaders to develop everything together with Indonesian's citizen. The purpose of the emergence of this ideology as a way to unite a vision and mission in a national unity by carrying the pawn of tolerance in the diversity of society and the active role of society. That is because for each candidate the two points can dispel all things that interfere with the interests of the nation, such as violations of law and human rights, acts of corruption, and terrorism.

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