



**LOW AND HIGH CONTEXT TO UNDERSTAND THE  
LANGUAGE, MEDIA, AND CULTURE OF JOKO WIDODO'S  
CAMPAIGN: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

**THESIS**

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**MASTER OF LINGUISTICS PROGRAM  
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES  
JEMBER UNIVERSITY  
2016**



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**THESIS**

A thesis presented to the Master of Linguistics Program,  
Faculty of Humanities, Jember University,  
as one of the requirements to obtain  
the award of Master of Linguistics degree  
in Linguistics Studies

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## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to:

1. My beloved parents, Abas and Nuaimah, for your prayer, endless support, strong struggle and whole hearted love;
2. my dear brother and sister, for coloring my life with your smile and joy. I promise you to be the best older brother;
3. my big family, for supporting me along this way;
4. my friends in Master of Linguistics, academic year of 2013, I thank them for their hospitality and best friendship during the years in Faculty of Letters;
5. my friends in Faculty of Humanities, Fafan, Taufik, Galuh and Mbak Erna. Thank you for your help and great support along this unforgettable moment;
6. my Alma Mater.

## **MOTTO**

*"Ketahuilah! Setiap dari kamu adalah pemimpin, dan setiap kamu akan diminta pertanggung-jawaban atas kepemimpinan mu.*

(Each of you is a leader, and each of you will be held accountable for your leadership)."

~ Rosululloh Muhammad SAW. ~

## **DECLARATION**

I hereby state the thesis entitled “Low and High Context To Understand The Language, Media and Culture of Joko Widodo’s Campaign: A Discourse Analysis” is an original piece of writing. I certify to the best of my knowledge that the analysis and the research described in the thesis have never been submitted for any other degree or any publications.

I certainly certify to the best of my knowledge that the sources used and any help received in the preparation of this thesis have been acknowledged.

Jember, 22<sup>nd</sup> June, 2016

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All praises are to Alloh SWT the Almighty, the lord of the universe. I can finish this thesis well as one of the final requirements to obtain Master of Linguistics degree because of His great blessing and care on me.

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## SUMMARY

**Low and High Context To Understand The Language, Media, and Culture of Joko Widodo's Campaign: A Discourse Analysis;** Anas Ma'ruf, S.S., 130120201004; 2016: 88 pages; the Master of Linguistics Program, the Faculty of Humanities, Jember University.

This research deals with discourse analysis study, particularly in the role of context in interpretation. It examines how the linguistic aspects in communication strategy have big impact in increasing the level of electability of a presidential candidate during the campaign period. The purposes of the study are to elaborate high- and low-context of language, media, and culture of Jokowi in the presidential election campaign in 2014. The research describes the communication strategies of Jokowi in the presidential election campaign which consist of two theories. The first theory proposed by Brown and Yule (1988) about pragmatic and discourse context analysis that contains reference, implicature, presupposition and inference. The second theory proposed by Hall (1976) about high- and low-context in communication.

The type of the data in this research is qualitative. The data were collected from the written texts including the visions, missions, programs and statements of Jokowi in the presidential debate articles in the Jakarta Post Newspaper. The selected editions are Jakarta Post Newspaper published on June 9<sup>th</sup>, 23<sup>th</sup> and July 4<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> 2014. However, not all of the phrases and sentences are analyzed. The analyzed data are selected based on the representation of data which contain pragmatic and discourse context. In addition, there are some images and pictures that demonstrate high- and low-context of communication media and culture.

The finding shows that the linguistic aspect was found in Jokowi's communication strategy used in the presidential election campaign in 2014. Based on the data of language analysis, it indicates that the communication strategy of Jokowi contains reference, presupposition, inference and there is no implicature.



In other words, the communication language of Jokowi is low-context communication language because the information is delivered with explicit and direct meaning. Meanwhile, based on the data of media analysis indicates that the fourth media in promoting and broadcasting Jokowi uses high-context communication media which is proved with their visual communication that shows the photograph of Jokowi becoming the predominance of image and the prominent use of indirect language. In addition, the communication culture is produced by Jokowi that is high-context communication culture because there are meanings and messages that are involved in his cultural products/strategies. In conclusion, to be able the messages is delivered to the voters, Jokowi uses low-context communication language, high-context communication media and high-context communication culture.

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## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the background of study, the research topic, the research problem, the research questions, the research objectives, the scope of the study, the research significances, and the organization of the thesis. Furthermore, this thesis is constructed and appropriately served for academic writing.

### 1.1 The Background of Study

Every state in the world absolutely has general election agenda, that is presidential election for democratic countries and prime minister election for monarchic countries. In relation to democracy, Indonesia, as one of the democratic countries had already held democratic event called the presidential election or general election in 2014. The event is held once every five years. The first event is legislative election of DPR (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*) or House of Representatives, and DPD (*Dewan Perwakilan Daerah*) Regional Representatives Council. The second event is presidential election. The newly elected Indonesian president will be inaugurated to become the seventh Indonesian president and replace the sixth former Indonesia president that is Mr. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono who had led Indonesia for two official period as president.

This seventh presidential election is a new history for Indonesia. It was simply because there were only two candidates that took part in the election process. They were Mr. Prabowo Subianto and his colleague Mr. Hatta Rajasa. The second presidential candidate was Mr. Joko Widodo and his colleague Mr. Jusuf Kalla. The recapitulation of KPU (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum*) General Elections Commission obtained that there were 62.576.444 voters or (46,85 percent) for the first candidate, and 70.997.833 voters or (53,15 percent) for the second candidate ([www.kpu.go.id](http://www.kpu.go.id)). As a result, Mr. Joko Widodo - Mr. Jusuf Kalla won about 7 percent of the voters. Finally, they were elected to be the seventh president and vice president of Indonesia in the period of 2014 - 2019.

The success of Jokowi, as familiar nickname of Mr. Joko Widodo, to become the seventh president of Indonesia is historically phenomenal and a seemingly improbable story because Indonesians have selected an ordinary man to become a nobleman. What is meant by an ordinary man is that Jokowi does not have any military or political background takes part in the general election process in 2014. Although Jokowi has already had the experience to be the mayor of Surakarta and governor of Jakarta, his success to be the Indonesian president is an interesting phenomenon to observe and discuss. The phenomenon can be the source of inspiration, reference, and education for other people who have obsession to take part in the election process and to understand the strategy in the election process.

Its talks about strategies in the election process. Definitely there are many kinds of the strategy, for example coalition of the party, organizing the volunteers as the team who bring up to the successful election, a lot of endorsement, and also the strategy in communication. Meanwhile, this thesis focuses to discuss the communication strategy of Jokowi in the presidential election campaign in 2014. Communication strategies take a very important role in the campaign process because good communication will be accepted by audience. To be accepted by the audience to be understood in terms of the visions, missions, and programs that will be achieved by the candidate of presidents, which are shared during the campaign period process.

During the campaign period, Jokowi had strategies for getting the electability, especially using communication strategies. According to Berge (in Mey and Asher, 1998:140) communication is an information process going on between at least two human communicators embedded in a context and a situation. Therefore, it is named the communication process. If there are two people who communicate each other, which are addressee and addressor, it is called communication. The addressee and addressor are adhered by context and situation. In addition, communication is an activity of expressing ideas and feeling or of giving people information. It can be inferred that the meaning of



communication is the way of people in giving information which are bounded in a context and a situation.

As demonstrated by paragraph above, Jokowi has communication strategies to increase his popularity. There are three kinds of communication strategies of Jokowi in the presidential campaign. They include using simply easy a language that makes the communication understandable, creating cultures or symbols that are familiar for Indonesian citizens, and using mass media to support his campaign that have been famous in society. In other words, it can be inferred that language, culture, and mass media are the dominant elements in the process of communication of Jokowi in his presidential campaign process. Consequently, communication is one of the factors which made Jokowi won the presidential election in 2014. One of the communication elements is language, Barker and Galasinski (2001:4) explained;

“Language constitutes material objects and social practices as meaningful and intelligible, it structures which meaning can or cannot be deployed under determinate circumstances by speaking subject. To understand culture is to explore how meaning is produced symbolically through the signifying practices of language within material and institutional contexts.”

Language is one of the most important things in human life. Language can be used to describe the meaning of culture in society. In other words, language is a tool for expressing or illustrating the meaning of culture in society. Along the campaign period, Jokowi was using simple language and producing cultures or symbols that were accepted by people. Those are the communication strategies of Jokowi to get a lot of supports from his voters.

In addition, besides the communication strategies which were using simple language and familiar culture, there was another factor that supported Jokowi at the campaign, which was mass media. Mass media had dominant role for the successful campaign because they produce and show something real. They also made the audience interested. As Fairclough (1995:2) states that the power of media to shape governments and parties, the power to influence knowledge, beliefs, values, social relation and social identities. Therefore, media has power to

make social changes, such as social perception, knowledge, and ideology. Because of the media contribution, people can change their knowledge.

According to Kellner and Durham (2006:ix) forms of media culture are namely television, film, popular music, magazines, and advertisement that provide roles and gender models, fashion hints, life style images, and icons of personality. In other words, there are many types of media that can be used in presidential campaign; the most popular mass media are television and newspaper. Television and newspaper are the mass media that have huge audience and easy to access by people. Indeed, it is known that almost all Indonesian families have television at home. There are also many television channels and programs that can be watched. Furthermore, television is one of the most effective ways of having a campaign. Fairclough (1995:1) gives an example as follows;

“It was generally recognized that Forza Italia was a media creation and that Berlusconi’s victory was largely the result of his control of the Italia media – he owns three television channels with a 40 percent share of the audience, a national newspaper, and Italy’s biggest publishing company.”

The statement above illustrates that Berlusconi has three television channels, a national newspaper and another big publishing company. Definitely, Jokowi is like Berlusconi, who has strategies in increasing electability. Jokowi also uses media that support his campaign that are *Metro TV* and *Jakarta Post*. They aim at delivering the programs of Jokowi into the audience to get respond. It is prominently that mass media gives the big contribution in campaign. In addition, the purpose of this research is to analyze about the context of language, media, and culture as the communication elements that are used by Jokowi in the presidential election campaign. The analysis uses two main theories; the first theory is pragmatics and discourse context analysis by Brown and Yule (1988). The theory is used to interpret the communication strategies of Jokowi in the presidential election campaign. The second theory is high- and low-context by Hall (1976). The theory is used to identify about the context of language, media, and culture that are used, supported, and produced by Jokowi in the presidential election campaign. From the background explained before, this research tries to

describe the communication strategies that are used by Jokowi in the presidential election campaign in 2014.

## **1.2 The Research Topic**

This research identifies high- and low-context of language, media, and culture which are used by Jokowi in the presidential election campaign in 2014, by using discourse analysis. In this case, discourse analysis is the study of language in communication. According to Barker and Galasinski (2001:63), to conduct discourse analysis means that the investigation of language is required to go beyond the boundaries of the syntactic or semantic form of utterance. In brief, the main purpose of discourse analysis is to investigate the intention beyond the communication.

## **1.3 The Research Problem**

The linguistic aspects in communication strategy have big impact on increasing the level of electability of a presidential candidate during the campaign period. This situation is depicted in Jokowi's successful presidential election campaign in 2014. To be able to deliver the message to the voters, there should be strategies in using language, media, and culture. Therefore, this research elaborates high- and low-context of language, media, and culture of Jokowi in the presidential election campaign in 2014.

## **1.4 The Research Questions**

Based on the facts conveyed in the background of the study above, the research questions of this thesis can be formulated as follows:

- a. What is the context of language used by Jokowi in his presidential election campaign in 2014?
- b. What is the context of media that supports Jokowi in his presidential election campaign in 2014?
- c. What is the context of culture produced by Jokowi in his presidential election campaign in 2014?

- d. Why does Jokowi use high- and low-context of language, media, and culture in his campaign?

### **1.5 The Research Objectives**

The objectives of this research are;

- a. To identify the context of language that is used by Jokowi in his presidential election campaign in 2014.
- b. To identify the context of media that supports Jokowi in his presidential election campaign in 2014.
- c. To identify the context of culture that is produced by Jokowi in his presidential election campaign in 2014.
- d. To interpret high- and low- context of language, media, and culture that are used by Jokowi in his campaign.

### **1.6 The Scope of the Study**

This research is categorized as a discourse analysis study that focuses the discussion about the role of context interpretation of Jokowi in the presidential election campaign. The analysis in this research focuses on language, media, and culture of Jokowi's campaign. This research describes the communication strategies of Jokowi in the presidential election campaign, which consist of two theories. The first theory is pragmatics and discourse context. The second theory is high- and low-context.

### **1.7 The Research Significances**

This research is significant to contribute to a better understanding about communication problems. Its advantages are not only for researchers, but also for others, which include:

- a. This research is proposed to enlarge the knowledge and create the capability about linguistic analysis concerning with discourse analysis.
- b. The result of this research will be useful for the people who want to take part in the election process.

- c. This research is expected to be valuable reference for future researchers who will conduct a research dealing with the similar topic.

### **1.8 The Organization of the Research**

The organization of this research is divided into five chapters. They are (1) introduction, (2) theoretical review, (3) research methodology, (4) discussion, and (5) conclusion. Chapter one is introduction that consists of the background of the study, the research topic, the research problems, the research questions, the research objectives, the scope of the study, the research significances, and the organization of the thesis. Chapter two illustrates the review of the previous researches, the review of related theories that are used to analyze the research problem. The next chapter is about research methodology. The contents of this chapter are type of research, type of data, data collection, and data analysis. Later on, chapter four contains the discussion of the data analysis and the result of the analysis. Both the data analysis and the result of analysis are conducted by using relevant theories explained in the chapter two. Chapter five is the last chapter that presents the conclusion of the whole discussions that have been done in the previous chapters.

## **CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL REVIEW AND THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

This chapter describes the review of the previous researches, the review of the related theories and the formulation of the theoretical framework that are used in this thesis. The previous researches explain about the research that have been done by other researchers under the discussion of high- and low-context theory and discourse analysis. Meanwhile, the review of the related theories is presented to describe an obvious explanation about the theoretical framework of the research.

### **2.1 The Review of the Previous Researches**

The review of the previous researches gives the information about the object that is analyzed, the topic that is discussed, the researches that have been done before, and the research that is still needed to develop. There are six previous researches that are presented in this chapter. The previous researches will explain about the topics and the discussions of the researches.

The first previous researcher is Wurtz (2010). She applies high- and low-context dimensions on a cross cultural analysis of websites from high- and low-context cultures. The objects of discussion are the models of McDonald's websites design in Pakistan, Japan, Switzerland, India, German, China, and Denmark. The theory of high- and low-context is used to identify the communication strategy of McDonald's that is reflected on websites as the marketing strategy, in which the website's design is created to adjust with the cultural aspect of the country.

The second previous researchers are Ahmed., Mouratidis., and Preston (2009). They analysis is about the cultural impact on local website design in Asian-Eastern culture. They examine the local website designs which used the high power distance theory and high-context culture theory. The theories identify the cultural values that exist in the local website design in Asia-Eastern culture. The objects of discussion are the website designs of Malaysia University website,

Singapore KFC website, Malaysian tourism website, and China McDonald's website.

The third previous researchers are Nishimura., Nevgi., and Tella (2008). Their research discusses a cross cultural analysis of the communication style and cultural features in Finland, Japan, and India. They apply high- and low-context theory that is used to identify the differences of communication cultures. They argue that Japan and Finland belong to high-context cultures, while India is closer to a low-context culture with certain high-context cultural features. They also hope that their research can contribute to foreign language education, transcultural communication, and transcultural studies.

The fourth previous researcher is Siregar (2012). His research observes about the text of the news in *Harian Analisa dan Harian Sumut Pos*, in which both media are used in the campaign process of Harahap-Dzulmi and Tan-Armayanti in the second round of the head of district election (*Pemilihan kepala daerah langsung/Pilkadasung*) in Medan in 2010. He applies the theory of critical discourse analysis that is used to understand the position of mass media and the process of constructing true reality that is presented into the audience or the readers.

The fifth previous researcher is Tyas (2013). She discusses the pragmatics of existential presupposition analysis of *Uniform Justice* Novel by Donna Leon. She finds out whether there is a complication of existential presupposition that is conveyed in the novel or not. If complication of existential presupposition is found, the analysis will continue to figure out the cause of the difficulty. Existential presupposition is the assumption that someone or something is identified by the use of a noun phrase that exists, they are applied in utterance based on the novel, for examples; *the king of Sweden, the cat, the girl next door, etc.*

The last previous researchers are Bader and Karim (2010). They discuss pragmatics in a new combination way that is called pragma-discourse analysis. They just explained the concept and the method of pragmatics-discourse analysis without applying in the object of discussion. From the previous researches

explained above, some of researchers use the theory of high- and low-context culture that is applied in the study of a cross-cultural analysis, transcultural communication, and multiculturalism. Meanwhile, some other researchers discuss the pragmatics of presupposition analysis and critical discourse analysis as the branch of linguistics study. Although high- and low-context theory is basically in anthropology study, it can be developed into linguistics study that is combined with discourse analysis. Because the combination of both theories is analyzed completely, the result of the analysis will also be clearly explained.

## **2.2 The Review of the Related Theories**

### **2.2.1 The Review of High- and Low-Context Theory**

This sub chapter will review about the theory of high- and low-context by Anthropologist Hall (1976). Theory of high- and low-context helps us to understand the powerful effect of culture towards communication. The powerful effect of culture means the culture that makes the dominant influence in the system of communication in human life. A key factor in this theory is context. Hall (1976: 16) explains the importance of the role of context that is widely recognized in the communication fields. Therefore, what should be noticed by the communicators is context, and information which are all related in function. In brief, context is an important aspect in communication, because without context the communication will be misunderstood. The right meaning must be achieved by communicant from communicator. According to Wurzt (2010:4) by context, we refer to situation, background, or environment connected to an event a situation, or an individual. The key words of those explanations are situation and background related to an event which must be recognized if we want to take the message in the communication process that is called context. In conclusion, if we want to understand and to get the message of communication, the communication must be related to situation and background of the people who share the information.



Hall identifies high- and low-context in communication. Below is the explanation of his identification;

“A high-context (HC) communication or message is one in which most of the information is either in physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. A low-context (LC) communication is just the opposite; i.e., the mass of the information is vested in the explicit code. Twins who have grown up together can and do communication more economically (HC) than two lawyers in a courtroom during a trial (LC), a mathematician programming a computer, two politicians drafting legislation, two administrators writing a regulation, or a child trying to explain to his mother why he got into a fight”, (Hall, 1976:91).

The explanation above indicates that in high-context (HC) communication, people tend to speak little in code, but they are dominant in their physic, such as; gesture, expression, body language, body movement, and symbolic behavior, or mark of action. In other words, those are non-verbal communication. In addition, in high-context (HC) communication, people tend to speak in implicit meaning. It is only the interlocutors who have close relationship that understand their conversations. Definitely, the language is said in indirect meaning, which only little people can interpret the intention of speaking. It can be inferred that (HC) communication is the private communication with the background knowledge that is bounded in their communication process.

On the other hand, in low-context (LC) communication, people tend to speak in explicit meaning, in which the meaning depends on the content of speaking. The audience receives the information exactly as it is sent by the speaker. In addition, the addressor uses the simple language to transmit the message to the addressee. In other words, (LC) communication is an open conversation because the interlocutors are not bounded in the close relationship. Everyone understands the meaning of words that are used in the conversation. (LC) communication is less in physical aspects because there are dominant literal words in the conversation. It can be inferred that low-context communication is the public communication, in which the interlocutors do not need to have the same background knowledge to understand the objectives of the conversation.

In the last discussion, Hall also confirms again about a high-context (HC) and a low-context (LC) communication. Below is his confirmation;

“In general, HC communication, in contrast to LC, is economical, fast, efficient, and satisfying; however, time must be devoted to programming. If this programming does not take place, the communication is incomplete. HC communications are frequently used as art forms. They act as a unifying, cohesive force, are long-lived, and are slow to change. LC communications do not unify; however, they can be changed easily and rapidly”, (Hall, 1976:101).

The aforementioned statements which have been described in a high-context communication employ a little in language usage, but the communicators understand what they are discussing. In other words, it can be mentioned that high-context communication or culture is conversation that uses little code because the meaning has existed in their brain. The interlocutors have similarity in background knowledge, activity, setting and experience that have been preprogrammed, and it has been bounded in context. Furthermore, low-context communication and culture is reversed. The communication are not used in art forms which means that the culture has only a little symbols. Hall (1959) in Nishimura et.al (2008:2) defines culture as the way of life of people in the sum of their learned behavior patterns, attitudes and material things. In other words, culture is the creative interaction of people with others. In conclusion, high-context and low-context communication has different significances. Both of them are always in opposition, distinction, contradiction, dissimilarity and disparity.

Based on the explanations that have been discussed in aforementioned paragraphs, and to make high- and low-context theory more specific to connect with the analysis in this research, below are the interpretation and the formulation about the theory. They are;

- a. High-context communication language refers to little in code, implicit, indirect meaning, nonverbal, and body language.
- b. Low-context communication language refers to informative, explicit, direct meaning, verbal or literal word.

- c. High-context communication media refers to visual, more images, using metaphor language.
- d. Low-context communication media refers to textual, informative.
- e. High-context communication culture refers to art forms, aesthetic, colorful and symbolic.
- f. Low-context communication culture refers to natural, colorless, and no symbol.

All of the formulations above will be applied to identify the context of language, media, and culture as the phenomena of communication problems that are found in the presidential election campaign of Jokowi in 2014, as the object of research discussion.

### 2.2.2 Context

It has been previously discussed the review of high- and low-context theory, which identifies how the system of message is delivered in communication of two contexts. They are high-context and low-context. To make a deep discussion and to find the red line with the other theories of context, below is the explanation about context. According to Schirato and Yell (2000:109) contexts can be understood as the particular environments in which communication, texts and meaning making occur, and in which they function as meaningful. In brief, context is the situation in which it makes sense of a text or makes up meaning in communication.

Meanwhile, according to Nunan (1993:78) there are two different types of context. The first one is the linguistic context. It is the language that surrounds or accompanies the piece of discourse under analysis. The second one is the non-linguistic or experiential context within which discourse takes place. It can be inferred that the language usage and the background knowledge of the communicator is the important thing in the discussion of discourse analysis because both of them inform the intention of the communication.

In addition, according to Halliday and Hasan (1985:6,49) there are two types of context. They are context of culture and context of situation. Context of situation means the environment of the text which consists of three components namely the configuration of field, tenor, and mode. Features are to specify the register of the texts. Field means to describe what is happening. Tenor means who is taking part. Mode means how the text is structured. Meanwhile, context of culture is the institutional and ideological backgrounds that give value to the text and constrains its interpretation. It can be inferred that context of culture is the cultural background involving in communication and language as system for interpreting the text. On the other hand, context of situation is considered by language as a text, and the way of the text is interpreted with three components: field, tenor, and mode.

As demonstrated by paragraphs above, context is an important thing in the discussion of communication in order not to make the process of communication misunderstood. The communicant and communicator will get the right meaning. Context that plays in the process of interpretation is more dominant in linguistic analysis. How the language is produced and used can be understood with context. In relation with high- and low-context theory, it is kind of concepts for describing the context of situation. Context is just to transfer the information of direct and indirect meaning.

### 2.2.3 Language

The main purpose of discourse analysis is to investigate the intention beyond the text. A text is the main concern of language analysis. According to Halliday and Hasan (1985:10) a text may be either spoken or written. This research will discuss the texts that are produced in Jakarta Post. It contains statements and argumentations of Jokowi during the campaign period.

This research chooses the word “language” in order to give a specific meaning that will be explored. Language is the element of the text that carries the information in a text, in which it can tell or show us something about its context. According to Sbisá (1999:326) by text, I mean an instance of language in use,

either spoken or written. In short, language is the system of signs that has meaning which is used in communication or in text production, so that, for understanding the intention of language usage, it will be discussed in discourse analysis.

#### 2.2.4 Media

The next discussion in this research is media which means the mass media that supports Jokowi in his presidential election campaign. Media has dominant factor to influence the audience in order to respond to Jokowi. What are the media that support Jokowi? They will be seen in how the message is presented visually or textually. Discourse analysis can be proven where the media lean. According to Gunter, he explains that:

“Discourse has been used to refer to written text, but it has also been used in connection with audio visual media. Its application to the media grew out of semiotic studies attempting to assess the meaning of language in terms of its implicit ideological assumptions, and discourse analysis pays specific attention to the linguistic component of language use in the media.” (2000:87).

As it has been demonstrated by quotation above, it can be inferred that discourse cannot only be used for analyzing the language in written text, but also it can be used for analyzing audio visualization of media. In other words, discourse analysis can assess where the media to side with ideology, importance, or candidate for president. Media is an effective tool for transferring information and persuasion in campaign. Media is the representation of context of culture: as the institution where it shared the information to audience.

#### 2.2.5 Culture

To discuss culture means to understand the human way of life because all states, tribes, and people have culture which is not similar. Consequently, culture can tell something unique which is possessed by all people. To identify different culture, according to Bodley (2000:9), he has divided in the three aspects of culture, (1) mental, meaning what people think, (2) behavioral, meaning what people do, and (3) material, meaning what people produces. In other words,

mental and behavioral aspects are the systems of belief, knowledge, and value. Material aspect is a symbolic meaning that has many things to do with culturally defined meaning, for example, the meaning of color, the meaning of arts, the meaning of customs, etc.

In addition, according to Lederach (1995:9) culture is the shared knowledge and schemes created by a set of people for perceiving, interpreting, expressing and responding to the social realities around them. It can be inferred that culture is the process of transmitting information that is shaped by human action for accepting the others. In other words, culture is not only created and used for themselves, but also for getting response from other societies.

As it has been demonstrated by paragraphs above, this research elaborates the strategy of Jokowi in producing and sharing culture during the campaign period. Producing culture has big impact on increasing the level of electability of Jokowi in the presidential election campaign in 2014.

#### 2.2.6 The Review of Pragmatics and Discourse Context Theory

Pragmatic approach is the study of language usage and meaning of utterances in relation to the situation. Fraser in Mey and Asher (1998:710) explains that pragmatics is the study of the system which underlies the ability of language users to interpret utterances. Pragmatics is concerned with how people use these symbols interactively. In other words, pragmatics investigates the communication meaning of language and utterance as the object of discussion. According to Yule (1996:4) in Tyas (2013:16) the advantage of studying language via pragmatics can explain or describe people's intended meaning, their assumptions, their purposes or goals, and the kinds of actions that they are performing when they speak.

In addition, Brown and Yule (1988) consider the role of context in interpretation, in which they put pragmatics and discourse context as one of their formulation. Pragmatics is the study of meanings as communicated by the speaker or the writer that are found in utterances. Then, they are further interpreted by the listener or the reader. Moreover, discourse analysis is the study of language in

usage in which the context is used to interpret the intention. In summary, pragmatics and discourse context are the study of meanings and intentions that are found in the communication and the context as the consideration of the interpretation. In this study, contexts refer to situation, time, speaker, hearer, event, etc.

There are four terms in pragmatics and discourse context analysis. They are **reference**, **presupposition**, **implicature**, and **inference**. The term of reference means to connect with someone or something. Presupposition is the assumptions shared by the speaker and the hearer. Implicature is what the speaker can imply, suggest, or mean as distincted from what the speaker literally says. Inference means the process of taking conclusion. The fourth term of the pragmatics and discourse context analysis will be explained deeply in the following discussions.

#### **a. Reference**

In previous paragraphs they have a little explanation about the traditional meaning of reference. The traditional meaning of reference is the relationship between words and things as mentioned. Reference is also the relationship between a language and the world. Thus in discourse analysis Brown and Yule (1988:28) state that reference is treated as an action in the part of speaker/writer. It can be inferred that reference is the action of speaker/writer in communication or in text production. The action means that it is only the speaker who understands the intention and the topic that are connected with something or someone. The position of the hearer is just to suppose the information from the speaker. Below is the following example.

A : My uncle's coming home from Canada on Sunday + he's due in

+

B : How long has he been away for or has he just been away?

A : Oh no they lived in Canada eh he was married to my mother's  
sister ++ well she's been dead for a number of years now +

The speaker A uses the expressions *my uncle* and *he* to refer to one individual and *my mother's sister* and *she* to refer to another.

(Brown and Yule, 1988:28)

The illustration above shows that the speaker A is active in delivering information to B. The action of speaker A is to mention about his uncle and his mother's sister as the expression.

Brown and Yule (1988:192) explain that there are two reference in text, exophoric and endophoric. Exophoric is the interpretation of reference that lays outside the text, while endophoric is the interpretation of reference that lays within the text. Endophoric relations are of two kinds; those which look back is anaphoric, then those which look forward in text is cataphoric.

Meanwhile, the discourse reference is also to discuss the representation and expression. Representation means how the speaker is shown by some terms, characters, or symbols. Expression means how the speaker acts something in conversation. Brown and Yule (1988:204) explain that discourse reference means the relationship of reference is taken to hold between expression in a text and entities. In other words, discourse reference shows something that has really existed in the world or in the real life, and the speaker must describe something correctly. The successful reference is supposed to be describe something true to ease the hearer to pick out the intended referent. The description of the speaker must be recognized in society with definite expression. It means that the speaker has a specific referent (proper name, pronoun, pronominal) to show in conversation.

Brown and Yule (1988:206-208) state that there are two ways of identifying the speaker's intended referent which are discourse representation and referring expressions. In other words, discourse representation is the speaker's actual representation of affairs or statements that exist in reality. Brown and Yule illustrate about discourse representation by the following example.

My uncle's coming home from Canada.

(Brown and Yule, 1988: 207)

The speaker just describes *my uncle*, there is no specific name. The hearer may only identify the identity in terms of the individual referred to as the speaker's uncle.



On the other hands, referring expressions means that the hearer is supposed to be able to recognize the speaker's referent which is intended by the speaker. Referring expressions consist of indefinite and definite expression. There are some indefinite expressions such as *a man, a rainbow, a beautiful girl, a line* (Brown and Yule, 1988:208). Referring expressions also consist of specific referent, the general proper names such as *Elizabeth, Plato, Mr. Bennett* (Brown and Yule, 1988:210). The last discussion of types of referring expression are definite noun phrase (attributive) and pronominal. Definite noun phrase expression is like *the matron, the priest, the killer, the man who took the photographs*, while pronominal expression is like *the chicken, the newspaper* (Brown and Yule, 1988:210-213).

#### **b. Presupposition**

Presupposition must be presented in the communication in order to make the speaker's information delivered to the hearer. The speaker and the hearer give and take the same information. As Brown and Yule (1988:29) define:

“that is, ‘defined in terms of assumptions the speaker makes about what the hearer is likely to accept without challenge’; the notion of assumed ‘common ground’. Presuppositions are what is taken by speaker to be the common ground of the participants in the conversation. Notice that, in both these quotations, the indicated source of presuppositions is the speaker”.

From the definition above, it can be inferred that the function of presupposition helps to reduce the response of barrier towards in the interpretation of utterance. Because the source of presupposition is the speaker, the utterance of the speaker must be tangible to be interpreted by the hearer. In other words, hearer will accept the information if the speaker transmits the information clearly. The familiar information which is taken by the speaker is called common ground.

Common ground means the basic information that exists in the interlocutor, not only the same prior knowledge but also the same background of life. Brown and Yule also give illustration about the common ground process. Below is the fragment;

A : My uncle's coming home from Canada on Sunday + he's due in  
+

- B : How long has he been away for or has he just been away?  
 A : Oh no they lived in Canada eh he was married to my mother's  
 sister ++ well she's been dead for a number of years now +  
 (Brown and Yule, 1988:28)

The illustration above explains that the interlocutor accepts the information that is delivered by (speaker A) which is given the response with the question from (speaker B). In other words, (speaker A) is successful to presuppose (speaker B) because (speaker B) can predict the information. In fact (speaker B) responds with the question. In conclusion, the target of presupposition is common ground which means that the speaker and the audience have the same prior knowledge of the topic discussion in conversation.

Logical presupposition means that the speaker creates the assertive information and the common knowledge information. As Brown and Yule explain:

- (2) a : My uncle is coming home from Canada.  
 b : My uncle isn't coming home from Canada.  
 c : I have an uncle

We can say that (2a) logically presupposes (2c) because of constancy under negation.

(Brown and Yule, 1988:29)

From the fragments above, we can divide which sentence gives obvious information and which does not. Sentence (2a) asserts the information that *her uncle is coming home from Canada*. However in sentence (2b), we cannot understand the information, if there is no previous information that supports the sentence. Moreover, in sentence (2c) we must assume that there is an assertion of information because the information in the sentence is obviously that *the speaker has an uncle*. From the illustration and the explanation above, it can be inferred that the assertive information must appear in the communication so that the information in the conversation can be well accepted by the audience. The information which is delivered by the speaker must be familiar or common knowledge for the hearer.

It rises the question what indication the hearer has accepted from the speaker's presupposition. There is another way that we can use to measure it. Brown and Yule also give illustration with the fragment that the hearer has accepted the speaker's presupposition. The method is from Loftus' study (1975). Below is the fragment;

After watching a film of a car accident some subjects were asked the two questions (3).

- (3) a. How fast was car going when it turned right?  
b. Did you see a stop sign?

We can note that one of the speaker-presupposition in asking (3a) is that *car A turned right*. A number (35%) answered yes to question (3b). another group of subjects were asked the questions in (4)

- (4) a. How fast was car A going when it ran the stop sign?  
b. Did you see a stop sign?

One of the speaker-presupposition in asking (4a) is that *car A ran the stop sign*. In this situation, a significantly larger group (53%) answered yes to question (4b).

(Brown and Yule, 1988:30)

From the fragment above, it can be concluded that the question will be answered by the hearer if the speaker gives the preceding information as the assumption of the hearer. In other words, the audience will give response about the information that is delivered by the speaker if the speaker understands what the audience need or require.

Brown and Yule (1988:79) quote from Venneman's proposal that for a discourse, there is a presupposition pool which contains information that is constituted from general knowledge from the situative context of the discourse, and from the completed part of the discourse itself. It can be inferred that audience will accept the information from speaker if the information is related to general knowledge.

### c. Implicatures

Implicature is used by Grice (1975) to account for what a speaker can imply, suggest, or mean, which is apart from what the speaker literally says. In other words, implicature is what the speaker says is different from his intention or it is called indirect statement. Sometimes, the purpose of implicature is used as politeness in conversation. There are two kinds of implicature, (1) conventional implicature and (2) conversational implicature.

Brown and Yule (1988:31) explain that conventional implicature is determined by the conventional meaning of the words used. It can be inferred that conventional implicature is the general meaning of words. A lot of people understand the meaning of word that is being used and the intention of the topic in the conversation. Look at the following example.

(5) He is an Englishman, he is, therefore, brave.

In the following example (5), the speaker does not directly assert that one property (being brave) follows from another property (being an English man), but the form of expression used conventionally implicates that such a relation does hold.

(Brown and Yule, 1988:31)

As demonstrated in the paragraph above, it gives the example of general meaning that English man is a brave man. The sentence which is related to the real condition says that many people know Englishman is brave. It is proven with the history of English men as colonials and they have many dominion countries. It can be concluded that conventional implicature is that the topic of the speaker is intended to be general knowledge. The other example is about conventional implicature that is like the case of *cicak vs buaya* that all Indonesian citizens known that *cicak* is the representation of KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission) and *buaya* is the representation of *Kepolisian* (Indonesia Police).

Meanwhile, conversational implicature emerges when the process of dialogue or the process of speech act is progressing. The role of conversational implicature is to give response to the speaker is intention. Responding must be relevant with the intention. Being relevant means the conversation must provide a contribution as required.

Of much greater interest to the discourse analyst is the notion of conversational implicature which is derived from a general principle of conversation plus a number of maxims which speakers will normally obey. The general principle is called the *Cooperative Principle* by Grice (1975)

(Brown and Yule, 1988:31)

The process of conversational implicature between the speaker and the hearer will be smooth, if the speaker applies the cooperative principle as Grice (1975) suggests to give contribution in your conversation as required by interlocutor to accept the purpose of the conversation. There are four terms in *Cooperative Principle*; (1) Maxim of quantity means make your contribution as informative as is required. In other words, do not make your contribution more informative than is required. (2) Maxim of quality means do not say what you believe to be false. In other words, do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence. (3) Maxim of relation means the information must be relevant with the situation or context and (4) maxim of manner means be perspicuous, avoid obscurity of expression, avoid ambiguity, be brief, be orderly (Brown and Yule, 1988:31)

In the previous paragraph, they have a little explanation about the role of conversational implicature to give response from what the speaker intends to say. In order to get response, the speaker must use *Cooperative Principle*. Brown and Yule also give illustration about the position of the hearer who gives response to the conversational implicature.

- (6) A : I am out of petrol.  
B : There is a garage round the corner.

(Brown and Yule, 1988:32)

The conversational implicature derived from the assumption of the speaker B tells that the garage is not only round the corner, but also will be open and selling petrol. The speaker A conveys with the literal meaning of his utterance, and the speaker B answers the instruction as required. From the illustration above, it can be concluded that implicatures is just to identify the position of the speaker in delivering the information. The way of the speaker in transferring the information, is using conventional implicature or conversational implicature.

#### d. Inference

Inference is the process of taking conclusion in communication that is done by the hearer, reader or audience. Inference is also the process of interpretation of utterance. In order to get inference, audience must understand in which a speaker's intended meaning is in producing an utterance. Inference occurs in different kinds. It can be demonstrated by the following example.

- (7) a. If it's sunny, it's warm.  
 b. It's sunny.  
 c. So, it's warm

(Brown and Yule, 1988:34)

Audience can interpret the utterance or the information from the speaker in three conditions. They are specific conclusions (7c) and from specific premises (7a) and (7b) via deductive inference. It is common that audience (the hearer) takes inference from declarative sentence and some subsequent information that is produced by the speaker. Take a look at the following example.

- (9) John was on his way to school.  
 (11) Last week he had been unable to control the class.

(Brown and Yule, 1988:34)

Most readers infer from sentence (9) that John is a schoolboy as the original inference. However, if the sentence (9) has another following sentences; (11) the inference will be changed that John is a schoolteacher. Inference occurs not only from some subsequent information, but also from the basis of socio-cultural knowledge of audience. Socio-culture means pre-existing knowledge which is possessed by audience. Speakers must understand the environment of the society before they deliver their opinion. It will help the audience in the inferential process.

It has been previously discussed that inferential process arrives from the literal meaning of the speaker's intention to convey the declarative sentence. On the other hand, inferential process also arrives from the speaker's intention that is used to convey an indirect request. Pay attention to the following illustration.

- (43) It's really cold in here that window is open.  
 (43a) Please close the window.

(Brown and Yule, 1988:256)

The speaker (43) addresses with an indirect request telling about the speaker's true request (43a). Audience will receive the intended meaning of the speaker if they understand the particular context when the process of conversation happens. In conclusion, the theory of pragmatics and discourse context will be applied to analyze and to interpret the communication strategy of Jokowi in the presidential election campaign in 2014.

### **2.3 The Theoretical Framework**

The research topic of this thesis is discourse analysis study about the role of context in interpretation, using pragmatics and discourse context of reference, presupposition, implicature, and inference analysis. The fifth analysis interpret sentences, phrases, and words that are used by Jokowi in the presidential election campaign as the linguistics aspect of analysis. The analysis discussion also uses the theory of high- and low-context. Context relates to the situation, environment and event. The theory of low- and high-context is used to identify the context of language, context of media, and context of culture that are produced and support Jokowi in his campaign as the communication strategies. The results of this research are expected to have the literature review and practical benefits. The results are expected to enlarge the knowledge and create the capability about linguistic analysis concerning with discourse analysis. The result of this research will be useful for the people who want to take part in the election process. Below is the fish bone diagram as the representation of the theoretical framework in this research.

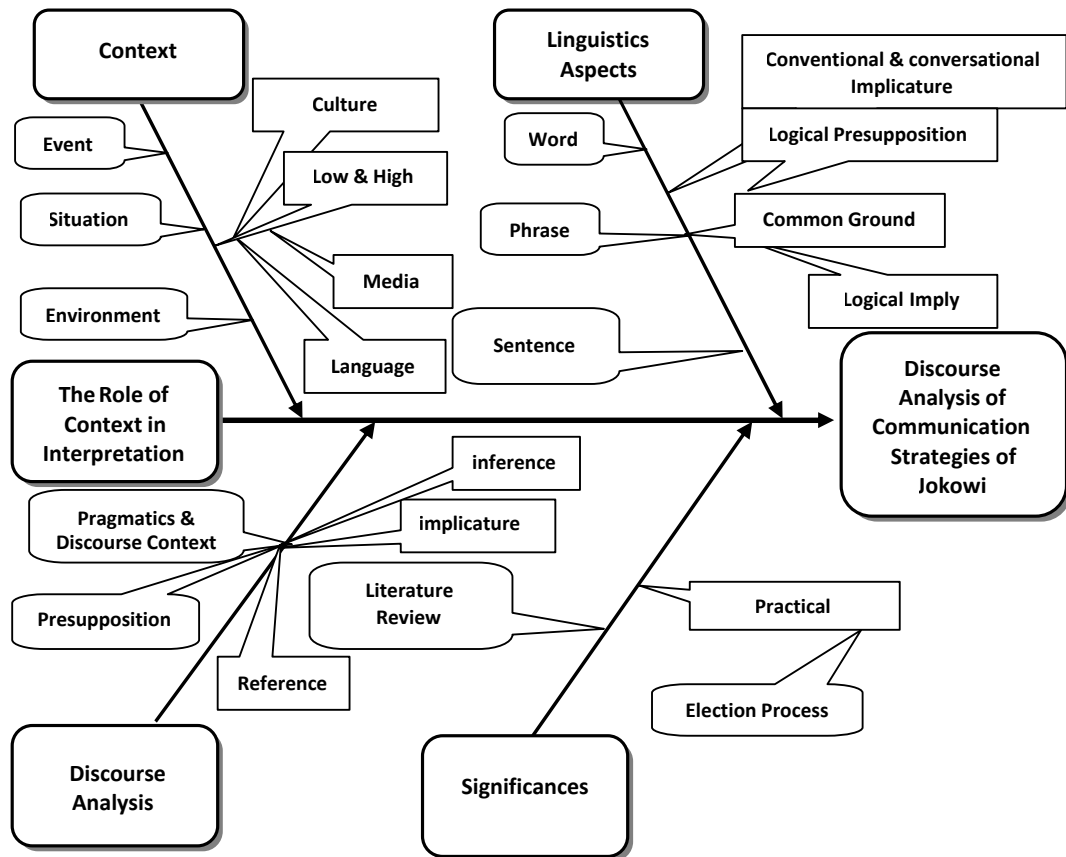


Figure 2.1: The fish bone diagram of the theoretical framework in this research.



## **CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

Research methodology describes the whole process of doing research. The research process in this thesis includes: the type of the research, the type of the data applied, how the data are collected, and finally how the data are analyzed.

### **3.1 The Type of the Research**

The type of the research based on the source of the data can be classified into library research and field research. The research classification in this thesis is library research in which the research can be done in room or library. In other words, library research is synonymous to deskwork research. According to Blaxter, Hughes, Tight (1962:62) deskwork research is the research processes which do not necessarily go into the field. It consists, literally, of those things which can be done while sitting on a desk. In brief, library research focuses on the process of analyzing newspaper, book, journal, and other written documents in which the researcher spends a lot of his time writing and observing the documents on the desk.

### **3.2 The Type of the Data**

The type of the data in this research is qualitative data. All of the data in this research are in the form of words, phrases, sentence, and photographs that are used by Jokowi in the presidential election campaign in 2014. According to Blaxter, Hughes, Tight (1996:60), qualitative research, on the other hand, is concerned with collecting and analyzing information in as many forms, chiefly non-numeric, as possible. It can be restated that the qualitative data do not contain any numerical aspect. It is only to analyze the data in the shape of information, argumentation, event, and photograph.

### 3.3 The Data Collection

The data in this research are collected through documentation techniques in this case the researcher takes any data from documents and internet browsing but does not take the data from the field like a doing interview or giving questionnaires to informants or to respondents. Blaxter, Hughes, and Tight mention:

Researches who base their studies on documents may make considerable use of secondary data; that is, data which has already been collected, and possibly also analysed, by somebody else. Examples of documents which might form secondary data for research include; books and journals, newspapers, television, and radio programmed. (1996:151)

As the above quotation indicates, the data that are used in this research are categorized as secondary data. The data are collected from the written texts. They are the visions, missions, programs, statements and photographs of Jokowi in the presidential debate and presidential election campaign articles in the Jakarta Post Newspaper. The selected editions are Jakarta Post Newspaper published on June 9<sup>th</sup>, 23<sup>th</sup>, and July 4<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> 2014.

From the selected editions, there are 5 phrases that refer to the visions, missions and programs of Jokowi. Meanwhile, 5 sentences refer to the argumentations of Jokowi in the process of presidential debate. On the other hand, the photograph data are collected from the internet browsing on the website [www.google.image.com](http://www.google.image.com). The photographs represent as the identification of the context of media and the context of culture in the presidential election campaign of Jokowi in 2014. Context of media and culture are related to the photographs which are assumed as the identification of the high- and low-context in communication systems that support Jokowi in the presidential election campaign.

### 3.4 The Data Analysis

The data analysis illustrates about the methods of how the researcher treats the data and also showing the example of the data analysis. The analysis techniques in this research are interpretation and identification methods. The interpretation method is applied to the theory of pragmatics and discourse context by Brown and Yule (1988). Meanwhile, identification method is applied to the theory of high- and low-context by Hall (1976). In addition, the process of the data analysis in this research is done in five steps. Those five steps are clearly described as follows:

1. The first step is the data collections

The data collections or documents is from Jakarta Post Newspaper which consist of 5 phrases and 5 sentences including the visions, missions, programs and statements of Jokowi in the presidential debate. Meanwhile, the data collection of photograph are from the internet website [www.google.image.com](http://www.google.image.com).

2. The second step is the data tabulation

In this step, the researcher lists the phrases, sentences and images that will be interpreted.

3. The third step is the data interpretation

As Blaxter, Hughes, Tight (1996:197) mention that interpretation is the process by which you put your own meaning on the data you have collected. In this research, researcher interprets the data to analyze reference, presupposition, implicature, and inference of Jokowi in the presidential election campaign in 2014.

4. The fourth step is the data identification

The identification process is to classify the context of language, media, and culture as the communication strategies of Jokowi in the presidential election campaign in 2014.

5. The fifth step is the conclusion

In this step, the researcher draws the conclusion from the interpretation and identification. From the whole analysis done in the previous chapters.

The example of the data and the data analysis is presented in the tables below:

### Language

Table 3.1: The vision and mission of Jokowi in agriculture. Jakarta Post on Monday, June 9<sup>th</sup>, 2014.

Text	
1	<i>Provide 1 million ha of new agricultural land outside Java and Bali</i>

The situation in the sentence (1) illustrates that the food stocks will be increased by supplying 1 million ha of new agricultural land outside Java and Bali.

- Reference

There is no reference in the sentence (1), but the verb phrase is categorized as a definite verb phrase expression, in which the word “*provide*” is the verb then expanded by the object of preposition “*1 million ha of new agricultural land outside Java and Bali*”.

- Presupposition

- >> *It is still lacking of agricultural land outside Java and Bali.*
- >> *To increase food stock outside Java and Bali.*

The information in the sentence (1) suggests two assumptions, they are (1) “*lacking of agricultural land*, and (2) *increasing food stock outside Java and Bali*”. Both assumptions are reasonable information. Because forest and plantation in many islands outside Java and Bali are larger than agricultural land. Meanwhile, the purpose of opening new agricultural land is to increase food stock security because there are poor islands in Indonesia. Papua is one of them. Reasonable information indicates logical presupposition.

- Implicature

The intended information of the verb phrase (1) “*Provide 1 million ha of new agricultural land outside Java and Bali*” has a direct meaning, which means there is no indication of conventional or conversational implicature.

- Inference

The inferential process of readers in the verb phrase (1) appears from the specific premise of the information. The interpretation is “*to increase food stocks, so Indonesia can be prosperous and to eradicate poverty*”.

Table 3.2: Key Excerpts from the Third Debate. Jakarta Post on Monday, June 23<sup>th</sup>, 2014.

Text	
2	<i><b>Palestine issue.</b> We will support the independence of Palestine and its membership within the United Nations.</i>

The situation in the text (2) informs that Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla give total supports towards the independence of Palestine and admit Palestine as a member of the United Nations.

- Reference

The sentence in the text (2) uses the expressions of pronoun “we” and pronominal “its” as the specific referent, where the interpretation of pronoun “we” refers to Jokowi and his colleague Jusuf Kalla, which is stated beyond the text, called exophoric relations. Meanwhile the expression of pronominal “its” refers to “Palestine”, which is stated on the text, called endophora-anaphoric relations.

- Presupposition

>> *Palestine has not been independent and is not a member of The United Nations.*

Palestine issue is familiar in Indonesia, because most Indonesians are Muslim, so they believe that Palestine as their family. In addition, Indonesia has a political foreign system called “*Bebas Aktif*”, meaning to be free in partnership among countries and to be active in contributing the world peace.

- Implicature

The intended information in the text (2) is clearly implied. Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla will support the independence of Palestine and admit it’s in membership The United Nations. In other words, readers accept the information without barrier. It can be inferred that there is no indication of conventional or conversational implicature in the text (2).

- Inference

The inferential process of the text (2) occurs in specific premises and original inference. The specific premises means the information is clearly implied, and original inference means the inference of most readers’ perceptions, or most

readers have the same inference. The inference is “Indonesia always committed to support the world peace” as the specific premises, and “Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla will support the independence of Palestine”, as the original inference.

**Media**

The first identified context of communication media is *Kompas* newspaper. *Kompas* is a national newspaper written in Indonesia, which is also indicated to support the second candidate of president in the presidential election campaign in 2014. Below is the evidence that *Kompas* newspaper is in support of Jokowi. It shown in the headline news of *Kompas* newspaper edition on Sunday July 6<sup>th</sup>, 2014.



Figure 3.1 Headline news of *Kompas* newspaper: *Giliran Rakyat Bersuara*

Table 3.3: Headline news of *Kompas* newspaper on Sunday July 6<sup>th</sup>, 2014.

Text	
3	<i>Giliran Rakyat Bersuara</i> (Citizens' Time to Speak Up)

Data interpretation:

Figure (3.1) displays the picture of presidential candidate Jokowi gives a *Salam Dua Jari* or Two Finger Salute; he is captured in the center of the stage,

among the crowd of ten thousand supporters at his last rally of campaign period at Bung Karno stadium in Senayan, Central Jakarta, on Saturday July 5<sup>th</sup>, 2014. Entitled *Giliran Rakyat Bersuara* (citizens' time to speak up). The title means the time for Indonesians to choose and decide their president directly and without any intervention. Moreover, the title brings the message that the second presidential candidates represent the cleanest record in the political dynasties and military. They are simply ordinary men that reflect most Indonesians.

Based on the identification data above, it is indicated that *Kompas* newspaper uses high-context communication in delivering the message into readers. It is shown in the predominance of image and visual communication that are presented on the headline news edition on 6<sup>th</sup>, 2014. In addition, *Kompas* newspaper uses indirect language in delivering the information because the title is written in implicit meaning.

## Culture

The first cultural identification is the slogan of “*Revolusi Mental*” (mental revolution). The slogan is used by Jokowi as the spirit of struggle in his campaign. Below is the picture that shows the piece of article written by Jokowi entitled “*Revolusi Mental*”.



Figure 3.2 The piece of *Revolusi Mental* article of Kompasiana

Table 3.4: *Revolusi Mental*

Text	
4	<i>Revolusi Mental</i> (Mental Revolution)

Data interpretation:

Figure (3.4) presents piece of article in printed media that is written by Jokowi. The article is entitled *Revolusi Mental* (Mental Revolution), above the title, there are words saying is written *Krisis Moral* (moral crisis). Both slogans relate to the system of knowledge and value as the aspects of culture. *Revolusi Mental* means to revise or to change into better Indonesia government systems; such as corruption, nepotism and collusion. Furthermore, *Krisis Moral* relates to the habits of respecting the right or wrong. In other words, *Krisis Moral* is identical to mental crisis. Nowadays, it is predicted that Indonesia is in crisis of behavior and attitudes, such as many crimes in Indonesia right now.

As demonstrated in paragraph above, it can be identified that the slogan of *Revolusi Mental* (mental revolution) is high-context communication culture, because the slogan is conveyed in indirect message. The message explains that the first thing to do to change the Indonesian's way of thinking is to have mental revolution. Finally, it can be inferred that the slogan of *Revolusi Mental* is one of the cultural aspects that is relate to high-context communication culture.



## CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION

This research concerns with discourse analysis study which discusses the communication strategy used by the second presidential candidate that is Jokowi in the presidential election campaign in 2014. The identification results in Jokowi's communication strategy indicated that the linguistic aspect has big impact on increasing his level of electability. Therefore, to get to know how the message of Jokowi is delivered, it needs to be analyzed in terms of the role of context in interpretation.

There are four questions in this research. The first question is what the context of communication language used by Jokowi in his presidential election campaign in 2014 is. The answer to the question is that it uses the theory of pragmatics and discourse context as the linguistic analysis, and the theory of high- and low-context that is used to identify the context of language in communication strategy of Jokowi. Based on the data of language analysis, it indicates that the communication strategy of Jokowi contains *reference*, *presupposition*, *inference* and there is no *implicature* as the aspects of pragmatics and discourse context analysis. The specific referent is found in the statements of Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla, which is beyond the text, called exophoric relations. The relations of reference are also categorized as endophoric-anaphoric, which is stated in looking forward in text. Otherwise, there is no reference in the phrases, including the visions, missions and programs of Jokowi, but the phrase is expressed with definite noun phrase expression. As a result, readers recognize the relation of reference that is expressed in text with the entities.

Meanwhile, in the presupposition analysis, the information is addressed by Jokowi which contains the general knowledge and assertive information as the indication of logical presupposition and common ground which means that the speaker and the audience have the same background knowledge. Moreover in the inference process, readers interpret the information from Jokowi which is specific premises and socio cultural inferent. In other words, specific premises mean that the information is clearly asserted while socio cultural inferent means the pre-

existing knowledge which has been possessed by the audience, and Jokowi understands about the socio culture of Indonesians. Furthermore, there is no indication of implicature process in the communication strategy of Jokowi such as conventional and conversation implicature. All information is conveyed with direct meaning and literal statements, so the audience understandd the information without any difficulties barriers. From the illustration above, it can be inferred that the context of communication language of Jokowi is low-context communication language because the information is delivered in explicit and direct meaning.

The second question is what the context of communication media that supports Jokowi in his presidential election campaign in 2014 is. The answer to the question is that it uses the theory of high- and low-context where there are three printed media and one electronic media. The media consists of nationally printed newspapers such as *Kompas*, *Tempo* and Jakarta Post as the English newspaper while the electronic media is only *Metro TV*, which is a national electronic media. The fourth media in promoting and broadcasting Jokowi use high-context communication media which is proved with their visual communication that shows Jokowi as the predominance of image and the prominent use of indirect language. It is the most optimal way to send the message to be well understood by the audience.

The third question is what the context of culture produced by Jokowi in his presidential election campaign is. The answer to the question is that it uses the theory of high- and low-context where there are three cultural communication strategies that are produced by Jokowi; the first one is the slogan of “*revolusi mental*” (mental revolution). The slogan is used as the spirit of struggle in his campaign. The message in the slogan “*revolusi mental*” is the first thing to do to change the Indonesians way of thinking is to have mental revolution. Moreover, the second cultural communication strategy of Jokowi is the symbol of “*salam 2 jari*” (two finger salute). The symbol refers to peace, friendship and victory. The symbol hopes that it will emerge the feeling of partnership among Jokowi and his voters. In other words, the message in the symbol “*salam 2 jari*” is the spirit of togetherness. The last cultural communication strategy of Jokowi is “*blusukan*”

(impromptu visit). *Blusukan* is related to the symbolic behavior to represent the character of being close to and caring about Indonesians. From the illustration above, it can be inferred that the communication culture produced by Jokowi is high-context communication culture because there are meanings and messages that are involved in his cultural products/strategies.

The fourth question is why Jokowi uses high- and low-context of language, media and culture in his presidential election campaign in 2014. The major reason is that Jokowi wants to increase his electability in presidential election campaign in 2014. As a result, he uses low-context communication language in order to make the communication understandable for all societies. He also gets support from high-context communication media as the effects on being familiar to Indonesians. Then, Jokowi produced high-context communication culture as a tool to be closer to and accepted by all Indonesian citizens.

In conclusion, if a candidate wants to be successful in the election process, the candidate must pay attention to the linguistic aspects in communication strategy because it has great impact on increasing the level of electability. The situation was depicted in Jokowi's success in presidential election campaign in 2014. To be able to deliver the messages to the voters, Jokowi uses low-context communication language, high-context communication media and high-context communication culture.

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## APPENDIX

	<b>The Title</b>	<b>The Published Date</b>
<b>Text</b>	<b>Selected Campaign Programs</b>	<b>On Monday, June 9<sup>th</sup>, 2014</b>
1	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Agriculture</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Improve irrigation systems on 3 million ha of agricultural land.</li> <li>▪ Provide 1 million ha of new agricultural land outside Java and Bali.</li> </ul>	
2	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Corruption</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Prioritize anticorruption measures in the judiciary, political entities, taxation offices, customs offices and natural resource industries.</li> </ul>	
3	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Defense and Security</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Allocate 1.5 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) for defense within five years.</li> <li>▪ Build the TNI to become a respected maritime force in the Southeast Asian region.</li> <li>▪ Empower the National Police Commission to be a watchdog over police force.</li> <li>▪ Increase budget for state intelligence.</li> </ul>	
4	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Economy</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Achieve a financial inclusion ratio target of 50 percent.</li> <li>▪ Target a tax ratio of 16 percent.</li> </ul>	
5	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Education</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Propose an education bill to provide citizens with free 12-years compulsory education.</li> <li>▪ Highlight a civic educational aspect in the national curriculum.</li> <li>▪ Abolish the national examinations.</li> </ul>	
6	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Energy</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Issue a government regulation in lieu of law (Perppu) to replace the Upstream Oil and Gas Regulatory Special Task Force (SKKMigas) with new energy management system.</li> <li>▪ Revise the Oil and Gas Law to prioritize the development of national capacity and provide legal certainty for businesses.</li> </ul>	
7	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Environment</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Rehabilitate 100.7 million ha of non-forested, unproductive forest and critical areas.</li> </ul>	
8	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Foreign Affairs</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Perform maritime diplomacy to accelerate the settlement of existing border disputes with neighboring countries.</li> </ul>	
9	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Health</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Allocate at least 5 percent of the state budget to reduce maternal and child mortality rates, and control HIV/AIDS and communicable and chronic diseases.</li> </ul>	
10	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Housing</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Develop more villages with row houses.</li> <li>▪ Construct 10 industrial estates along with housing for workers.</li> </ul>	
11	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Infrastructure</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Build 2,000 km of new roads, 10 seaports and 10 airports.</li> <li>▪ Renovate and revitalize 5,000 traditional markets.</li> </ul>	
12	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Labor</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Protect domestic workers and Indonesian migrant workers from discrimination and exploitation.</li> <li>▪ Provide free legal support for Indonesian migrant workers.</li> </ul>	
13	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Law</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Eradicate corruption, judicial mafia practices, banking fraud and money-laundering practices.</li> </ul>	
	Sources: Presidential candidates' vision, missions and programs documents submitted to the General Election Commission (KPU) in May.	

	The Tittle	The Published Date
Text	Key Excerpts From The Third Debate	On Monday, June 23 <sup>th</sup> , 2014
14	<b>Palestine issue.</b> We will support the independence of Palestine and its membership within the United Nations.	
15	<b>Defense policies.</b> Improve the welfare of military personnel; modernize military equipment; modernize the defense industry; and aim to win battles on sea and land. Economic growth of more than 7 percent will allow for greater defense spending. There is a need for a military draft.	
16	<b>Maritime safeguards.</b> We would deploy drones to detect stolen resources, and prepare for future battles using these devices. Drone command centers could be established in Jakarta, Kalimantan and Sulawesi.	
17	<b>Resolving disputes with neighboring states.</b> Border conflicts should be resolved through intense diplomacy. I believe if we send our best diplomats to handle such cases, they can be speedily resolved.	
18	<b>Migrant worker protection.</b> Before their placements, migrant workers should receive training and undergo a strict selection process. Our embassies should actively collect complete data on our migrant workers and closely monitor their situations. We should not send our migrant workers to countries that do not have migrant treaty with Indonesia.	
19	<b>On World Trade Organization (WTO) issues.</b> There are pros and cons to joining the WTO. If we do not join, then our goods may be subjected to barriers. We need to improve our productivity and competitiveness in order to compete against imported products. The problem is not with the WTO, but with our lack of competitiveness.	
20	<b>On the sale of PT Indosat (formerly a state company) to a foreign entity.</b> The Indosat sale was a direct result of the 1998 financial crisis, when the government needed money. There was a clause in the sale agreement that would allow us to buy back Indosat, and in the future we should do that.	
21	<b>South China Sea.</b> This issue involves other countries. We should be careful about getting involved in that as we do not want to ignite the wrath of other countries, particularly China. But we would always be ready to contribute to a peaceful resolution. If our help is not needed, we should not force contribution on others.	
22	<b>Relations with Australia.</b> There is an issue of trust between us, which has been ignited by the wiretapping incident. There should be more interaction between people. Diplomacy through education and culture should be prioritized. Australia also seems to regard us as a weak country; this is something that should not be taken lightly.	



	The Tittle	The Published Date
<b>Text</b>	<b>Jokowi Pushes 9-Point Plan</b>	<b>On Friday, July 4<sup>th</sup>, 2014</b>
22	Increase the salary of Indonesian Military (TNI) officers, police officers and civil servants gradually over five years and improve their professionalism.	
23	Allocate an average of Rp 1.4 billion (US\$ 117,474) in special aid funds to every village, recruit village officials as civil servants.	
24	Provide a Rp 1-million monthly subsidy to poor families should the national economy grow by more than 7 percent annually.	
25	Offer a land ownership program to 4.5 million families. Establish or revitalize irrigation on 3 million hectares (ha) of farmland. Establish 25 dams and 1 million ha of new agricultural land outside of Java. Establish a bank for farmers and small businesses. Empower the State Logistics Agency (Bulog).	
26	Revitalize 5,000 traditional markets and establish fish auction, storage and processing facilities.	
27	Provide 10 million new jobs within five years. Provide every cooperative with a Rp 10-million annual support fund. Empower and promote digital and creative industries.	
28	Provide free inpatient and outpatient services with Healthy Indonesia Card (KIS). Provide 6,000 community health centers (Puskesmas) with inpatient facilities and clean water.	
29	Improve the education quality of Islamic boarding schools ( <i>pesantren</i> ) and increase the welfare of their teachers.	
30	Provide education for all citizens with Smart Indonesia Card (KIP). Provide quality education facilities and syllabus. Guarantee teachers' welfare and increase teachers' benefit. Continue the teacher certification program.	

	The Tittle	The Published Date
<b>Text</b>	<b>Key Points of The Debate</b>	<b>On Saturday, July 6<sup>th</sup>, 2014</b>
31	<b>Food resilience:</b> We need to survey the market before production begins. Farmers are told to grow papayas, but where is the market? We also need to develop the so-called post-harvest industry. The key to solving this problem is having good intentions and good will.	
32	<b>Energy sovereignty:</b> We have enormous sources of energy, such as gas, oil and geothermal energy. We must continue to convert oil into gas. We need to develop infrastructure for gas distribution.	
33	<b>Food imports:</b> Energy is very crucial. We are in a crisis because of the huge volume of imports. We must improve productivity by developing quality seeds, good irrigation infrastructure.	
34	<b>Development:</b> We must strike a balance between economic development, people's welfare and environmental conservation. They must be developed simultaneously.	
35	<b>Green environment:</b> The Kalpataru Award given by the government is good. I think the award should be given in another form. The people must be given incentives to encourage their participation in conservation.	
36	<b>Farmland:</b> We need additional farmland. But, we must first find the water for irrigation. We cannot repeat the mistakes of the past.	

# Prabowo, Jokowi make campaign a battle of ideas

The month-long campaign period for the upcoming presidential election has begun. The manifestos of each candidate might be vital considerations for many voters in informing their preference come the July 9 election, but could miss the attention of another large — and perhaps more substantial — group of voters who would struggle to comprehend all those “promises”. The Jakarta Post’s Hasyim Widhiarto offers an analysis of the matter.

Businessman and politician Hashim Djojohadikusumo can vividly recall his first encounter with Dutch-born forest researcher Willie Smits, who has spent decades studying palm sugar alternative fuel in Indonesia. He met Smits in 2007, a year before he and his brother Prabowo Subianto co-founded the Gerindra Party, which is now the third largest political party.

“Prabowo and I became aware of Smits when we were researching the energy crisis,” Hashim said in a seminar held last Monday.

“In our first meeting, Prabowo and I ate hamburgers while we listened to Willie’s presentation, which lasted for four hours. When the presentation ended, Prabowo said Willie’s idea [about alternative fuel] was astonishing and was the answer for our energy problem.”

Indonesia consumes around 1.4 million barrels of fossil fuel per day (bpd), yet produces less than 900,000 bpd of oil.

Hashim said Smits’ research suggested that palm sugar from one hectare (ha) of land could produce approximately 82 barrels of bioethanol per year, meaning that dependence on fuel imports could be slashed through the cultivation of palm sugar on four million ha of land. This, according to him, inspired Prabowo to include the cultivation of palm sugar and other commodities for the production of bioethanol in his manifesto.

With the 2014 presidential election just one month away, presidential candidates and their teams have been busy introducing their presidential vision, mission and programs to the country’s 186 million registered voters.

For some key campaign members, like Hashim, their job is not only informing the public about programs, but also how they will be realized.

A seminar on Monday, organized by Gerindra-affiliated think-tank Garuda Nusantara Institute, for example, was held to elaborate on Gerindra and Prabowo’s proposed energy sector programs in front of students, activists and representatives of government and private sector.

“This is how we will explain and disseminate our party’s programs to non-Gerindra supporters,” Hashim, who is also Gerindra deputy chief patron, said in his remarks.

Prabowo, who is a presidential candidate nominated by a Gerindra-led coalition, which includes the Golkar Party, the National Mandate Party (PAN), the United Development Party (PPP), the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) and the Crescent Star Party (PBB), will compete in a head-to-head presidential race against inactive Jakarta Governor Joko “Jokowi” Widodo, who is backed by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), the National Awakening Party (PKB), the NasDem Party and the Hanura Party.

While Prabowo picked PAN chairman and former coordinating economic minister Hatta Rajasa as his running mate, Jokowi opted for former Golkar chairman and former vice president Jusuf Kalla.

Although the majority of pol-

sters consider Jokowi — who is well known for being soft spoken and for his *blusukan* (impromptu visits) while Jakarta governor — to be the strongest contender for the upcoming presidential election, retired Army general Prabowo has kept his chance of winning alive due to the relatively high number of swing voters.

A survey conducted by pollster the Populi Center from May 24 to 29, for example, showed that Jokowi received support from 42.4 percent of the survey’s 1,500 respondents while Prabowo garnered 35.5 percent. Meanwhile, the remaining 21.6 percent were still undecided.

“It is still possible for Prabowo to take over Jokowi’s lead. Apart from running effective campaigns, both camps must be able to convince swing voters in their upcoming presidential debates,” Populi chairman Nico Harjanto said on Wednesday, adding that the center’s previous survey found that Jokowi still led the race by a margin of more than 10 percent.

Political analyst Burhanuddin Muhtadi sees the narrowing electability margin of the two candidates as an alarming signal for Jokowi, whom he considered less aggressive than Prabowo when promoting his presidential vision to the public.

“Jokowi is rarely seen speaking about his own vision and programs,” Burhanuddin, the executive director of pollster Indikator Politik Indonesia, said in a recent discussion. “This means that many middle-class voters, labeled as Jokowi’s support base, are moving closer to Prabowo, who has been intensely covering his programs and is endorsed by PAN and the PKS, the two political parties that maintain middle class support.”

The General Elections Commission (KPU) scheduled the open campaign period to be between June 4 and July 5.

Jokowi — who seems to be aware of the public’s interest in his political ideas — recently decided to step out of his comfort zone and start speaking about his presidential programs in detail. In a meeting with business communities on Wednesday, the former Surakarta mayor, impressed an audience of hundreds as he outlined his economic platforms, which relied on efficient bureaucracy and the improvement of human resources by integrating science, skills and character building education. “[Education] will certainly trigger the improvement of our economy. If Indonesians maintain good character and discipline, they will find productivity improves. This [high level of] productivity will later increase our competitiveness [as a nation],” he said.

Jokowi, who holds a forestry degree and has a background in the furniture business, has also sent the message to his political opponents that he could comfortably speak about issues that are not his forte like defense and security. He told the audience that he would procure three drones, not only for security purposes but also for running surveillance against illegal fishing and logging activities.

Jokowi also mentioned his plan

to build new dams and develop reliable irrigation systems to maintain food security and improve farmers’ welfare.

“You can prepare new farmland, but where will the water [for irrigation] come from? If basic agricultural infrastructure is not available, don’t dream [about food security],” he said, hinting at Prabowo’s programs on the establishment of new agricultural land but failing to mention supporting infrastructure in any detail.

Presidential candidate pairs must submit their vision, missions and programs to the KPU when they register for the presidential election.

While the Jokowi-Kalla pair titled their manifesto “Nawacita” (a Sanskrit term for nine programs) the Prabowo-Hatta ticket named theirs “the Real Agenda and Program to Save Indonesia”, which is outlined in eight areas of discussion.

Key campaign members from both camps have admitted that

their candidates received support from experts and experienced politicians during the drafting of their campaign promises.

To elaborate on the candidates’ proposed policies and programs, the KPU has scheduled five presidential debates between June 9 and July 5. The first debate, on June 9, will cover is-

suces related to the development of democracy, clean governance, law and human rights.

Gerindra lawmaker Martin Hutabarat said Prabowo would take advantage of the debate series, saying that he was a much better orator than Jokowi.

Capital market analyst Lin Che Wei, meanwhile, said in a discussion last Tuesday that Jokowi had an advantage over Prabowo in luring voters’ as he is believed, by many, to be the antithesis of the outgoing government.

“In every election, there is a strong need [among the public] for a change. And Jokowi has the strength there,” he said.



## PRABOWO-HATTA AND JOKOWI-KALLA’S Selected Campaign Programs

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provide 2 million hectares (ha) of new agricultural land for the cultivation of rice, corn, soy, sugar and sago</li> <li>Construct new fertilizer factories with a total capacity of 4 million tons per year</li> </ul>	<p><b>Agriculture</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improve irrigation systems on 3 million ha of agricultural land</li> <li>Provide 1 million ha of new agricultural land outside Java and Bali</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strengthen the role of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) by providing more investigators and improving investigative facilities</li> </ul>	<p><b>Corruption</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Prioritize anticorruption measures in the judiciary, political entities, taxation offices, customs offices and natural resource industries</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Empower the Indonesian Military (TNI) and the National Police at an organizational and individual level</li> <li>Improve the welfare of TNI/police personnel, veterans and their families</li> </ul>	<p><b>Defense &amp; Security</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Allocate 1.5 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) for defense within five years</li> <li>Build the TNI to become a respected maritime force in the Southeast Asian region</li> <li>Empower the National Police Commission to be a watchdog over the police force</li> <li>Increase budget for state intelligence</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Establish a special bank to channel loans for farmers and fishermen</li> <li>Protect and modernize traditional markets</li> </ul>	<p><b>Economy</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Achieve a financial inclusion ratio target of 50 percent</li> <li>Target a tax ratio of 16 percent</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provide citizens with free 12-year compulsory education</li> <li>Recruit 800,000 new school teachers within five years</li> </ul>	<p><b>Education</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Propose an education bill to provide citizens with free 12-year compulsory education</li> <li>Highlight a civic educational aspect in the national curriculum</li> <li>Abolish the national examinations</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Build new hydroelectric and geothermal power plants with a total capacity of 10,000 megawatts</li> <li>Provide 2 million ha of land for the cultivation of sugar palm, cassava, coconut, pecans and other commodities for the production of bioethanol</li> </ul>	<p><b>Energy</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Issue a government regulation in lieu of law (Perppu) to replace the Upstream Oil and Gas Regulatory Special Task Force (SKKMigas) with a new energy management system</li> <li>Revise the Oil and Gas Law to prioritize the development of national capacity and provide legal certainty for businesses</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Replant 77 million ha of damaged forest using an intercropping technique</li> </ul>	<p><b>Environment</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rehabilitate 100.7 million ha of non-forested, unproductive forest and critical areas</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Implement free and active foreign policy to protect national interests and Indonesian citizens worldwide</li> </ul>	<p><b>Foreign affairs</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Perform maritime diplomacy to accelerate the settlement of existing border disputes with neighboring countries</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provide impoverished children with free milk through the “white revolution” program</li> <li>Send newly graduated physicians to work in disadvantaged regions</li> </ul>	<p><b>Health</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Allocate at least 5 percent of the state budget to reduce maternal and child mortality rates, and control HIV/AIDS and communicable and chronic diseases</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Build 2,000 new low-cost apartment buildings for low-income families</li> </ul>	<p><b>Housing</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Develop more villages with row houses</li> <li>Construct 10 industrial estates along with housing for workers</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Build 3,000 kilometers of new roads, 4,000 km of railways</li> </ul>	<p><b>Infrastructure</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Build 2,000 km of new roads, 10 seaports and 10 airports</li> <li>Renovate and revitalize 5,000 traditional markets</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provide 2 million new jobs per year by improving regulations and infrastructure in labor-intensive manufacturing and providing new agricultural land</li> </ul>	<p><b>Labor</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Protect domestic workers and Indonesian migrant workers from discrimination and exploitation</li> <li>Provide free legal support for Indonesian migrant workers</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ensure legal certainty and non-discriminatory law enforcement</li> </ul>	<p><b>Law</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Eradicate corruption, judicial mafia practices, banking fraud and money-laundering practices.</li> </ul>

Sources: Presidential candidates’ vision, missions and programs documents submitted to the General Election Commission (KPU) in May

Once elected, the new may fulfill his promise tough with Malaysia.

HIKMAHAN

## Foreign exchange

Forex trade robust in Bali: BI p5

## New car

An 'everyday GT' enters the local Ferrari family p18



## Golf

Wie, Yang share lead at US Women's Open p27

# Jokowi wins on Prabowo's turf

Haeril Halim

THE JAKARTA POST

Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle's (PDI-P) presidential candidate Joko "Jokowi" Widodo gave an impressive performance during the third televised debate organized by the General Elections Commission (KPU) on international affairs and defense issues, two subjects considered strong suits for his rival, Gerindra Party's Prabowo Subianto.

Early in the debate, Jokowi showed off his workish understanding of foreign affairs by outlining several priorities in his overseeing of foreign policy, if elected president.

In his opening statement, Jokowi said that he would make the protection of Indonesian citizens abroad and the protection of the country's natural resources priorities.

Prabowo, meanwhile, spoke in platitudes with emphasis on prosperity as the key to improving the country's standing on the international map.

In an apparent move to win the hearts of Muslim voters, many of whom believed in but abandoned him following a smear campaign questioning his faith, Jokowi said that he would support an independent Palestinian state.

"We will support the independence of Palestine and its membership of the United Nations," Jokowi said in his opening statement.

Jokowi also said his administration would promote dialogue and refrain from using military power even in international conflicts.

"Border conflicts should be resolved through intense diplomacy. I believe if we could send our best diplomats to handle it, it would be easily resolved," Jokowi said.

Jokowi, however, said his administration could go the extra mile if foreign countries infringed on the country's sovereignty.

"But if it's a serious violation, don't think that I can't be firm. If it warrants not being taken lightly then I will seriously cause a rumble. Being firm means having the courage to make a decision and accept the risk," Jokowi said, delivering a blow to Prabowo's crafted image as being a firm and resolute leader.

Prabowo, meanwhile, consistent with his nationalistic view on the economy, said that he would protect the country's natural resources against being plundered by foreign powers and use them to improve the people's welfare.

"Foreign policy is nothing if we are weak internally in terms of economy. One thing that I have repeatedly said is how to secure our national security and our national wealth. This is a fundamental to have in order to have a strong bargaining position on the global stage," Prabowo said.

Prabowo appeared to tone down his nationalistic rhetoric by pledg-



Good luck! Presidential candidate Joko "Jokowi" Widodo (right) greets his rival, Prabowo Subianto (left), before the third presidential debate at the Holiday Inn Hotel in Jakarta on Sunday. The debate, which was moderated by an international law professor from the University of Indonesia (UI), Hikmahanto Juwana, focused on international affairs and national defense.

## Prabowo Subianto

The foundation for our foreign affairs and defense is the prosperity of the nation. Foreign affairs will mean nothing if domestically we are weak. If we are poor, then we will not be highly regarded by other nations. Domestic conditions reflect the strength of our foreign policy. Indonesia should secure its national resources as too many of them are flowing overseas. We should improve our domestic economic strength. Indonesia does not want to have enemies; 1,000 friends are not enough but just one enemy is too many.

- **Resolving disputes with neighboring states.** The government's core national interest is to protect the integrity of our nation. If that interest is disrupted by others, we must defend it. If there is a dispute, we need to resort to dialogue. We need to build friendships with other nations. We will impose a 'good neighbor' policy, promote tolerance and forge mutual understanding.
- **Migrant worker protection.** To prevent unskilled workers from going overseas, we need to improve education. Such an improvement will need money and that can only be provided if the economy is strong.
- **On SBY's foreign policy.** The policy is on track and we see no need to change it.
- **Greatest foreign threat.** There are certain countries that will try to claim our territory. We must be prepared.
- **Greatest domestic threat.** Poverty has weakened the strength of our nation.
- **On the purchase of the Leopard main battle tanks (MTBs).** The MTB is suitable for our terrain, and we need them.
- **Relations with Australia.** Honestly, the problem does not lie within Indonesia. The problem is on the Australian side. Australia has a phobia about us, as it sees that in the past, we conducted several military operations. We have to convince our friends in Australia that we are a good neighbor. We are not a threat to Australia.

## KEY EXCERPTS FROM THE THIRD DEBATE

## Joko "Jokowi" Widodo

The foundation of our foreign policy is to be 'free and active'. This would be carried out with four strategies. Protect migrant workers; protect natural and maritime resources; improve productivity and competitiveness; and participate in improving regional and global security. Around 80 percent of our ambassadors' time should be spent on marketing our products. The world's geopolitics has shifted from the West to the East. This has created a greater chance for Indonesia to play a significant role.

- **Palestinian issue.** We will support the independence of Palestine and its membership within the United Nations.
- **Defense policies.** Improve the welfare of military personnel; modernize military equipment; modernize the defense industry, and aim to win battles on sea and land. Economic growth of more than 7 percent will allow for greater defense spending. There is a need for a military draft.
- **Maritime safeguards.** We would deploy drones to detect stolen resources, and prepare for future battles using these devices. Drone command centers could be established in Jakarta, Kalimantan and Sulawesi.
- **Resolving disputes with neighboring states.** Border conflicts should be resolved through intense diplomacy. I believe if we send our best diplomats to handle such cases, they can be speedily resolved.
- **Migrant worker protection.** Before their placements, migrant workers should receive training and undergo a strict selection process. Our embassies should actively collect complete data on our migrant workers and closely monitor their situations. We should not send our migrant workers to countries that do not have a migrant treaty with Indonesia.
- **On World Trade Organization (WTO) issues.** There are pros and cons to joining the WTO. If we do not join, then our goods may be subjected to barriers. We need to improve our productivity and competitiveness in order to compete against imported products. The problem is not with the WTO, but with our lack of competitiveness.
- **On the sale of PT Indosat (formerly a state company) to a foreign entity.** The Indosat sale was a direct result of the 1998 financial crisis, when the government needed money. There was a clause in the sale agreement that would allow us to buy back Indosat, and in the future we should do that.
- **South China Sea.** This issue involves other countries. We should be careful about getting involved in that as we do not want to ignite the wrath of other countries, particularly China. But we would always be ready to contribute to a peaceful resolution. If our help is not needed, we should not force a contribution on others.
- **Relations with Australia.** There is an issue of trust between us, which has been ignited by the wiretapping incident. There should be more interaction between people. Diplomacy through education and culture should be prioritized. Australia also seems to regard us as a weak country; this is something that should not be taken lightly.

- » Jokowi brings more substance to debate
- » Prabowo speaks in generalities

ing that he would not take drastic measures and would continue many of outgoing President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's foreign policies, if elected president.

Just like Jokowi, Prabowo said that he would promote dialogue as a tool to solve any dispute with regional neighbors as part of his "good neighbor policy".

On another regional issue, the country's rocky relationship with Australia, the two candidates approached the problem differently.

While Prabowo said that the roller-coaster of Indonesia-Australia relations resulted from the latter's phobia toward its northerly neighbor, Jokowi attributed the problem to a lack of trust.

"The wiretapping incident reflects that it is a matter of trust. If we continue to build on G2G [government to government], B2B [business to business] and P2P [people to people] relations, we could reduce conflict,"

said Jokowi, adding that cultural diplomacy and education cooperation could work further to reduce tension.

Prabowo also used the issue of foreign policy to attack PDI-P chairperson Megawati Soekarnoputri, when she served as president between 2001 and 2004 for her decision to divest valuable state assets, including state telecommunication firm PT Indosat.

"Indosat was sold during the administration of Ibu Mega, yet we know it has strategic value. What do you think of this?" Prabowo asked. Jokowi defended Megawati, say-

ing that she made the decision when the government was cash-strapped. "Let's not talk about the past but focus on the future. If necessary, we have the buy-back option," Jokowi said.

Foreign affairs analyst Wiryo Sastrohandoyo said the two candidates attempted to be nationalistic in their views to woo voters, which could scare off foreign investors.

"Bringing up this nationalistic sentiment will create fear among foreign investors," he said.

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Only 5.9 percent of all s in Indonesia are placed category of not being a

**Education**

Young students still struggling to read **p 5**



**Protest**

Lawmakers hurl objects at Hong Kong leader at govt meeting **p 10**



**Musi**

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## Jokowi pushes 9-point plan

Margareth Aritonang and Hasyim Widhiarto

THE JAKARTA POST / JAKARTA, BANDUNG

In West Java, home to a conservative Muslim base that has largely backed Prabowo Subianto, presidential frontrunner Joko "Jokowi" Widodo pledged on Thursday to provide more resources for the development of Islamic boarding schools and teachers.

The pledge came as part of a nine-point working agenda titled the "Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla real program", launched in West Java's capital city of Bandung.

"There is no doubt that the contribution of pesantren [Islamic boarding schools] to our education system is very important. It would be a mistake if the government did not take over their development," said Jokowi.

"Helping pesantren is a must." Jokowi and Kalla held a joint press conference in Bandung on the sidelines of Jokowi's last push to woo voters in the country's biggest electorate pocket. The province accounts for 17.5 percent of the nation's 188 million eligible voters.

Jokowi has acknowledged the difficulty of luring voters from the province. "We are quite weak here."

The province's governor, Ahmad Heryawan, is a politician with the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), while the mayor of Bandung, Ridwan Kamil, is supported by PKS and Prabowo's Gerindra Party. PKS is in Prabowo's nominating coalition.

Although Jokowi's Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) won the recent legislative election in the province, votes for Jokowi remain fluid due in large part to a smear campaign that has labeled him a Christian of Chinese descent born of a Singaporean parent.

In campaign events in the province, Jokowi has repeatedly denied the allegation.

"Now you can see my ndeso [village] face so you can witness for yourself that I don't have Singaporean looks as has been alleged," said Jokowi before thousands of supporters in Garut.

Aside from religious schools, Jokowi also emphasized in his nine-point plan the allocation of an av-



Enactment: Residents of Johar Baru in Central Jakarta show letters from the local election authority, inviting them to take part in a presidential election simulation on Thursday. The government has called on people to exercise their right to vote on July 9.

- » Jokowi-JK push programs to help Islamic schools, villagers, in Bandung
- » W. Java is key battleground with 17.5 percent of country's voters
- » Prabowo cancels events in East Java, heads to West

erage Rp 1.4 billion (US\$117.474) in special aid funds to every village in the country, as well as recruiting village officials as civil servants.

He also vowed to provide a Rp 1-million monthly subsidy for poor families should the national economy grow by more than 7 percent annually.

As West Java is a rice farming hub, Jokowi also promised a land ownership program to 4.5 million families, and pledged to revitalize irrigation

**Jokowi - Jusuf Kalla real programs**

- Increase the salary of Indonesian Military (TNI) officers, police officers and civil servants gradually over five years and improve their professionalism.
- Allocate an average of Rp 1.4 billion (US\$117.474) in special aid funds to every village. Recruit village officials as civil servants.
- Provide a Rp 1-million monthly subsidy to poor families should the national economy grow by more than 7 percent annually.
- Offer a land ownership program to 4.5 million families. Establish or revitalize irrigation on 3 million hectares (ha) of farmland. Establish 25 dams and 1 million ha of new agricultural land outside of Java. Establish a bank for farmers and small businesses. Empower the State Logistics Agency (Bulog).
- Revitalize 5,000 traditional markets and establish fish auction, storage and processing facilities.
- Provide 10 million new jobs within five years. Provide every cooperative with a Rp 10-million annual support fund. Empower and promote digital and creative industries.
- Provide free inpatient and outpatient services with Healthy Indonesia Card (KIS). Provide 6,000 community health centers (Puskesmas) with inpatient facilities and clean water.
- Improve the education quality of Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) and increase the welfare of their teachers.
- Provide education for all citizens with Smart Indonesia Card (KIP). Provide quality education facilities and syllabus. Guarantee teachers' welfare and increase teachers' benefit. Continue the teacher certification program.

on 3 million hectares of farmland.

Perhaps upon hearing of Jokowi's redoubled efforts in West Java, Prabowo canceled his campaign events in East Java and headed to West Java.

While Jokowi attended a mass

gathering on Thursday afternoon at Tegallega Square in Bandung city, Prabowo visited supporters in Ciparay, a district in Bandung regency.

The candidates' rallies were held only around 50 kilometers away from each other.

According to the schedule submitted by Prabowo's campaign team to the General Elections Commission (KPU) last month, he was initially scheduled to visit the East Java cities of Tuban and Bojonegoro on Thursday, raising speculation that the team was no longer expecting victory in the country's most populous province.

Prabowo campaign spokesperson Bara Hasibuan, however, quickly denied the speculation, saying that Prabowo considered both provinces equally important.

"We are confident about the prospect of winning in East Java. We have also seen West Java as an important campaign battleground that could provide a significant number of votes for us."

Prabowo's running mate Hatta Rajasa also visited the West Java city of Tasikmalaya after making a short trip in Central Java.

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# The Jakarta Post

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**V for victory:** Presidential candidate Joko "Jokowi" Widodo gives a salam dua jari, or victory salute, as he speaks to a crowd of tens of thousands of supporters at his last rally of the campaign period at Bung Karno Stadium in Senayan, Central Jakarta, on Saturday.

# Prabowo at loss, Jokowi in command

Kurniawan Hafi

THE JAKARTA POST/JAKARTA

Presidential candidate Joko "Jokowi" Widodo on Saturday evening spoke like a man who was prepared to lead the nation should he come out victorious in the July 9 presidential election.

His running mate, Jusuf Kalla, also demonstrated his role as an effective deputy to assist the leader in executing his vision and facing the public.

Meanwhile, Prabowo Subianto was often at a loss and it was very clear that he was struggling to control his temper, especially when he was cornered with questions from Jokowi and Kalla. His running mate, Hatta Rajasa, even posed a question with the intent of embarrassing Jokowi that backfired on him.

"We have so many ideas, visions and missions, but they were not implemented. We have made so many promises, but there was no realization. Do not just focus on making plans, think of implementation," Jokowi answered when Prabowo pressured him to answer his question on the need to massively expand rice fields.

In response to a

question from the moderator on environmental protection, the non-active Jakarta governor emphasized that people were waiting for a government that took action, not one that only issued normative and development programs.

"We can no longer just spout theories. Do not just be bombastic, our shortcoming now is irrealization, we already made so many plans. The important thing is to implement [the plans and programs]," said Jokowi.

The fifth and final round of live TV debates saw participation from both presidential candidate pairs and was moderated by Sudharso P. Hadi, rector of the Semarang-based Diponegoro University.

Prabowo reiterated his ambitious plan to develop 2 million hectares of land to ensure a sustainable rice supply for the country.

Prabowo said the biggest farming problem Indonesia faced was that it was losing 60,000 hectares of farmland a year to real estate and factories. Citing data from the Agriculture Ministry, he said that for next year alone, the country needed at least 730,000 hectares of additional land to cover the loss.

The retired three-star general

## Prabowo Subianto - Hatta Rajasa

- **Food resilience:** Food is a basic need. The government needs to ensure the availability of food by providing affordable and diversified food.
- **Energy sovereignty:** We must improve gas and oil production while at the same time, reduce imports. Also, we need to develop renewable energy. We should respect the existing contracts while negotiations take place. We also need to improve the proven reserve and develop the oil wells.
- **Environment:** Environmental damage is partly due to the huge population. We are seeing 5 million babies born every year. They need food. We need to raise environmental awareness. Sustainable development is a priority for us.
- **Meat prices:** Meat price increases during Ramadan, including the price of meat, are a national problem. Indonesia produces lots of cattle, but transporting cattle from West Nusa Tenggara to Jakarta is more expensive than bringing cattle from Australia.
- **Neptocracy:** We know about vote-buying practices but we let the law enforcers deal with the thieves. As a nation, we have weaknesses. If there is a government that signs a contract that disadvantages the people, I think we need to do some self-contemplation.
- **Forest degradation:** We must engage people in conservation efforts. We need to also improve the monitoring of illegal logging and illegal mining. Severe punishments should be handed down to those who violate the law.

then explained that his government would introduce new types of fertilizers to boost agriculture production. He believed that new fertilizer introduction alone would be able to increase rice production by 40 percent.

"We are using outdated fertilizers," said Prabowo. When asked about his plan to boost oil and gas production and explore renewable energy sources, both Prabowo and Hatta emphasized the importance of the upstream industry. Hatta said that Prabowo would honor the existing oil and gas contracts but would try to renegotiate

"Our energy supply is abundant."

## KEY POINTS OF THE DEBATE

- **Food resilience:** We need to survey the market before production begins. Farmers are told to grow papayas, but where is the market? We also need to develop the so-called post-harvest industry. The key to solving this problem is having good intentions and good will.
- **Energy sovereignty:** We have enormous sources of energy, such as gas, oil and geothermal energy. We must continue to convert oil into gas. We need to develop infrastructure for gas distribution.
- **Food imports:** Energy is very crucial. We are in a crisis because of the huge volume of imports. We must improve productivity by developing quality seeds, good irrigation infrastructure.
- **Development:** We must strike a balance between economic development, people's welfare and environmental conservation. They must be developed simultaneously.
- **Green environment:** The Kalibata Award given by the government is good. I think the award should be given in another form. The people must be given incentives to encourage their participation in conservation.
- **Familand:** We need additional land. But, we must first find the water for irrigation. We cannot repeat the mistakes of the past.

Fuel oils should be converted to gas to reduce dependency on fuel oil," said Jokowi.

Kalla then added, "We must change our energy strategy. We must improve the system. We already converted to gas in the kitchen and then in transportation."

Hatta made a big blunder when he tried to embarrass Jokowi on his achievements as the mayor of Surakarta and governor of Jakarta. But he wrongly asked Jokowi why the two cities failed to win the Kalipatru Environment Award under his leadership. He should have re-

ferred to the Adipura Environmental Awards.

"We will not answer the question because you asked the wrong question," Kalla rebuked Hatta.

Both Jokowi and Kalla teased the coalition members of Prabowo, because many of them were implicated in various graft cases centering on the haj financing, Korean procurement, oil imports and beef imports.

"None of our coalition members were involved such corruption," said Kalla. (Jf, dyf)