CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR IN POLITICAL NEWS OF
THE JAKARTA GLOBE ONLINE NEWSPAPER

A Thesis
Submitted to Adab and Humanities Faculty
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
The Degree of Strata I

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ABSTRACT


By referring to George Lakoff and Mark Johnson’s theory on conceptual metaphor, this research is aimed to identify the types of conceptual metaphor in the Jakarta Globe online newspaper, as well as to describe the conceptualization of politics that is occurred and how the concepts of politics is highlighted.

The method of this research is qualitative method. The research questions will be answered in analytical description. The data are obtained from compilation of online news in thejakartaglobe.com, since 1 July 2014 to 9 July 2014 (presidential election 2014). The timeline of the corpus is based on three main phase of the presidential election: campaign, cooling down, and the election phase. The metaphorical expression is obtained by using data card and further will be analyzed based on George Lakoff and Mark Johnson theory, which is elaborated in term of source domain and target domain to understand the concept.

Based on the data obtained, there are 27 data findings which contain 19 structural metaphors, 6 ontological metaphors, and 2 orientational metaphors. The findings proven that the structural metaphor is the most metaphor occurred by types; whereas politics is described mainly in three conceptual domains, which are war, competition, and journey; and also highlights different concept in majority of conceptual metaphor.

Keywords: Semantics, Metaphor, Conceptual Metaphor, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson.
APPROVEMENT

THE ANALYSIS OF CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR
IN POLITICAL NEWS OF THE JAKARTA GLOBE ONLINE NEWSPAPER

A Thesis
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The thesis entitled above has been defended before the Letters and Humanities Faculty's Examination Committee on April 10th, 2017. It has already been accepted as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of strata one.

Jakarta, April 10th, 2016

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma of the university or other institute of higher learning, except where due acknowledgment has been made in the text.

Jakarta, April 10th 2017

Fiky Firmansyah
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In the name of Allah, the most gracious and ever merciful

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Jakarta, January 2017

The Writer
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

A. Background of the Study

Political issue and discourse in Indonesia has recently become an interesting issue to discuss; from the issue of new order era, reform era, even the performance of United Indonesia Cabinet (cabinet governed by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono). Not only in newspaper did the issue become hot topic, but also in other mass media such as television and internet. Interestingly, the topic of presidential election 2014 was one of the most massive topic that was discussed in Indonesia due to supported by the development of information technology, in which many reports regarding the issue was published through online media such as Facebook, Twitter, and other online portal news.

Reporting news or current issue is not only delivering information from one media to the reader, but it also needs to be communicative. News itself is defined as an important information which draws people’s attention.\(^1\) Thus, the term of political discourse may not be pretty much familiar to the reader so that the author of the article required some skill to write feature or any term which is familiar to the reader, including using metaphor.\(^2\)

\(^{1}\) Sumadiria Haris AS, Jurnalistik Indonesia: Menulis Berita dan Feature, (Bandung: Simbiosa Rekatama Media, 2016), p. 64.
\(^{2}\) Ibid., p. 158.
Metaphor is used to associate a concept of a term like abstracts, political discourse, and language paradigm in society. One of the functions of language is persuasive boundary, a constraint that gives meaning (conceptual meaning) onto the known word, without changing the emotive meaning; and consciously or not, it is used to change the interest of many people. Thus article of a news report could change the interest of people if language is crafted such as using metaphor.

Leanna Boerger mentioned four basic functions of newspaper; to inform, to interpret the news, to provide a service to readers, and to entertain. In the function of informing, newspaper is not only providing facts but also creating public opinion that tends to be not objectively provided. In the middle of the 19th century, press in the United States (US) provided information about politics that was considered as a not objective reports as the news tend to support one side of a party, creating public opinion with their views and values, and bringing their opponents down. In Indonesia, especially in new order era, newspaper was used limitedly in providing news or to express what the authors wanted to express. All racial and political news were restricted to be published in newspapers. To criticize certain things, the authors used metaphor and euphemism in their writing in order to keep it in line with the government.

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6 retrieved from http://www.cliffsnotes.com/more-subjects/american-government/the-mass-media/the-evolution-of-the-mass-media
7 Bambang Kaswanti Purwo, op. cit., p. 168.
As internet appears to develop rapidly in the 21st century, newspaper expanded its scope into online newspaper, in which allowing readers (users) to read it anywhere and anytime, moreover through mobile device. The easy use of online newspaper is used by people to share and make reports viral on the internet through social media, therefore it is one of many effective ways to create trends. During presidential election 2008, Barrack Obama utilized social media, websites, and blogs, to promote himself against John McCain and do the same strategy against Romney in presidential election 2012.8

Metaphor has become a persuasive political device for many circumstances. Metaphor has assisted politicians in communicating more effectively by addressing a more understandable information to public. Metaphor is used in politics to stir and justify action due to the fact that the metaphor for a particular political situation fits that situation.9

Presidential election in 2014 triggered a fabulous phenomenon; it was the first presidential election with two remaining candidates that pigeonholed Indonesian people into two sides, Prabowo Subianto’s and Joko Widodo’s. People were distracted with what mass media issued, moreover in the online media such as online newspaper and people’s postings on social media. Online news unceasingly reported various bad things about each candidate and attacking each other. Moreover, people also tickled with a language phenomenon like some slogans such as budget leaks, blusukan (impromptu visit), building systems, and more.

9 Scott Jefferey Mio, Metaphor and Politics, (California State Polytechnic University: EBSCO Publishing, 2002), p. 120.
Therefore, this research will focus on metaphor as the phenomenon of a language. The topic of politics is determined in this research because it was a hot issue in 2014 in which Indonesian people highly paid attention about the issue. Based on those interests, this research tries to analyze metaphor which appears in the political headlines and focuses on language phenomena of metaphor in conceptualizing politics, not as political phenomena.

The research uses theory of conceptual metaphor and mapping by Lakoff and Johnson in the book of Metaphors We Live By and The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor. They divide metaphor in three categories (structural, orientational, and ontological metaphors) and called the mapping as conceptual mapping theory, which is re-described by Zoltan Kovecses in “Metaphor a Practical Introduction”, as the supporting theory.

It is interesting to discuss this issue as internet is currently used widely, not only as a media to inform certain issue, but also sharing one’s thought to people even creating public opinion. Moreover, this research takes place in big event, the presidential election 2014.

B. Focus of the Study

This research will be focused on kinds of metaphors that appear on political headlines from the pre to the presidential election (1-9 July 2014) on The Jakarta Globe online newspaper. This research will also describe conceptual metaphor of politics from the metaphorical linguistic expressions that appear on the newspaper.
C. Research Questions

Based on background of the study, the questions of the research are:

1. What kind of metaphor does frequently appear in the political news of The Jakarta Globe online newspaper?

2. How is metaphor of politics conceptualized in the newspaper?

D. Significance of the Study

This research is expected to be able to increase the knowledge about metaphor especially in analyzing topics, moreover politics. The research is also expected that the result can be an additional reference in the study of metaphor. Moreover, it can be applied in media monitoring field.

E. Research Methodology

1. Objectives of the Study

   Based on the research questions, this research intends:

   a. To find out what kind of metaphor that are frequently occurred in the political news of The Jakarta Globe online newspaper.

   b. To find out how the conceptual metaphor toward politics in The Jakarta Globe online newspaper.

2. Method of the Study

   The research uses a qualitative method. According to Bogdan and Taylor cited from James Potter, qualitative methodologies refer to research produce descriptive data: people's own written or spoken words and observable behavior.\(^\text{10}\) The way to

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analyze this research is by describing the usage of metaphor based on the three
types of metaphor, and describing metaphor of politics on a table along with its
mapping.

3. **Technique of Data Collecting and Data Analysis**

   This research uses bibliography research technique as this research uses written
sources to obtain the data.\textsuperscript{11} The printed news which is allegedly containing
metaphor will be noted in a data card. In this research the data are collected by
following steps:

   a. Reading the news (in printed version) of political headlines;
   
   b. Giving mark to the expressions that allegedly contains metaphor;
   
   c. Writing the obtained data onto data card marked by numbers;
   
   d. Categorizing the data card into three kinds of metaphors based on Lakoff and
       Johnson’s theory;
   
   e. Choosing the findings for metaphor of politics in a table;
   
   f. Analyzing and making a conceptual mapping from the metaphor found and
       compile of how the metaphor of politics is described;
   
   g. Making a report and conclusion of the research.

4. **Instrument of the Study**

   This research uses data cards as instrument of the research in order to write,
identify, and classify the data which are needed from the Jakarta Globe online
newspaper. The data card contains metaphorical expressions to classify the type of

metaphor occurred. The data which contains metaphor of politics will then be analyzed in mapping. Besides, other supporting instruments of the research are Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary and Cambridge Advance Learner’s Dictionary.

5. **Unit of Analysis**

The unit of analysis in this research is the printed online newspapers of The Jakarta Globe from 1-9 July 2014, as the date represents three big phases in the election (campaign phase, cooling down phase, and the election date). It is daily news in the www.thejakartaglobe.beritasatu.com from politic tab (panel) in the website. It consists of 16 articles in which cover news related to presidential election in 2014. It contains news report as well as spokespersons who gave argument about presidential election 2014.
CHAPTER II
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A. Previous Research

Various researches have been done related to metaphor and conceptual metaphor, but only some of the researches shared the metaphor as language phenomenon, not only as figurative language in purposes of rhetoric or else. Here are some previous researches related to metaphor.

The first research is a thesis entitled with “Analisis Semantis Metafora dalam Artikel Ekonomi Majalah Der Spiegel” (Semantic Analysis of Metaphor on Economic Articles in Der Spiegel Magazine) by Sri Astuti, the student of University of Indonesia.12 The research discusses metaphor on economic article in Der Spiegel magazine which uses Lakoff and Johnson’s theory to find types of metaphor that occurred in the magazine. In addition, the research uses Kurz theory to see the productivity and stability aspect in the metaphor. She found that the commonly used metaphor in Der Spiegel magazine is structural metaphor; meanwhile, by aspect of productivity and stability, lexical metaphor is one of the frequently occurred metaphor. She also found that the concept of war is often used in that economic article. However, this research is different from the current research that Kurz theory is not being utilized by the writer since it tends to refer to literature field, while the current research is only focused on Lakoff and Johnson’s theory to reveal more conceptions for term of politics.

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The second research is a research conducted by Bahrean Umar Siregar from University of North Sumatera whose research is compiled in Pertemuan Linguistik Pusat Kajian Budaya dan Bahasa Atma Jaya: ke Tujuh Belas (PELBB 17). It is entitled with “Metafora Kekuasaan dan Metafora Melalui Kekuasaan” (Metaphor of Power and Metaphor through Power)\(^\text{13}\). The focus on the research is metaphor as language phenomena which appeared in the reform era of Indonesia. The data was taken from various newspapers and speech quotes in newspaper related to the depiction of reform era. He found that metaphor of power tend to be used to conceptualize abstract things such as nation, governance, leadership, democracy, reformation, law, politics, and economic. Meanwhile, he found the metaphor through power was used by two strategic power, mass media and legislative; both metaphor through power shared similar purpose to create public opinion, to lead an orientation regarding social and political issue, in order to acquire status and legitimation. This research sought information from language phenomena to track social changes such as social trust to the government, reformation of law, politics, etc. This research is nearly related to the current research by source, but in different era and circumstances. What makes it different from the current research is that this research is a wider field of metaphor which requires discourse understanding to track social and language phenomenon, while the current research is specified in narrower field, merely about conceptualization of politics.

The third previous research which is related to metaphor is “A Study of Metaphor in Newspaper (English versus Vietnamese) by Ho Vi Nu My Linh of Da

\(^{13}\) Bambang Kaswanti Purwo, op. cit., p. 139.
Nang University, Vietnam.\textsuperscript{14} The research is a contrastive analysis which tries to compare the usage of metaphor between English and Vietnamese, syntactically and semantically. The research finds metaphor in both languages share in common almost every characteristic in the aspect of syntax and semantics. Besides, metaphorical expressions have the distinctive features and different effects in performances of the purposes and nature of newspapers. Due to this research uses contrastive analysis, it has no co-relation to the current research.

Lastly, a research done by Fadilah Mahmudah from UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta concerned on metaphor in business articles. “An Analysis of Metaphor in The Jakarta Post Business Articles on May 5, 2014 Edition” sought kinds of metaphor which frequently occurred on business articles.\textsuperscript{15} The research found the ontological metaphor was the most frequently occurred metaphor as many unclear words were frequently used to define another term in economic.

B. Discourse Analysis

Discourse contains several interpretation based on which field it is concerned. In Sociology, for example, discourse refers to relations of social context from the language usage; while in Politics field, discourse is seen as the usage of language in political activities.\textsuperscript{16} In Linguistics, discourse is language units that is larger than sentence which is a reaction of the form of formal linguistic units that concern to

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{14} Ho Vi Nu My, Master Degree Thesis: “A Study of Metaphor in Newspapers (English versus Vietnamese)”, (College of Foreign Language, Danang University, 2011).
\end{flushright}
the words, phrases, or sentences looking at the relationship among these elements, either written or spoken.  

Discourse analysis concerns with language beyond the word, clause, phrase, and sentence, as well as to show and interpret the relationship between meaning and purposes expressed through the discourse. Eriyanto stated that through discourse analysis, people can know more than merely the text of a newspaper (news report), but also how the sentence was used as well as metaphor that was conveyed; it is seeing what is beyond a text and context.

In discourse studies, metaphor can be analyzed about how we see and understand something in reality through language. Metaphor relies on two domains in which have similarities in dissimilarities. Thus, allowing discourse analysis to take part to analyze the context of each domains. Context is the other characteristic of the social situation or communicative event that systematically influence text or talk. Discourse analysis studies the meaning of words in context, analyzing the part of meaning that can be explained by knowledge of the physical and social world, and the socio-psychological factors influencing communication, as well as knowledge of the time and place in which the words are uttered or written.

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21 Ibid, p.3.
C. Metaphor

Seeing of its usage, metaphor is often related to literature fields; an extraordinary language which is not using its usual meaning.\textsuperscript{23} Metaphor is also defined as a part of figurative language which is not using the meaning of everyday language.\textsuperscript{24} Aristotle explained metaphor as an application of alien name by transference either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or by analogy, that is, proportion;\textsuperscript{25} in other word metaphor is naming something to something else specific and vice versa, from specific thing to more understandable, or by using analogy of comparison that A is B.

Metaphor is often called as a novel or poetic linguistic expression where one or more words for a concept are used outside of its normal conventional meaning to express similar concept, a usage of poetic language where words like mother, go, and night are not used in normal everyday senses. However, Lakoff and Johnson see it as not only the matter of extraordinary language of poetry or rhetoric but also a pervasive in everyday life which includes thought and action.\textsuperscript{26} They said that our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature.

Since metaphor is related to thought and action, metaphor can be occurred by the speaker consciously or unconsciously. An example of conscious usage of metaphor are poem, lyrics, rhetorical speech, and more. While unconscious usage

\textsuperscript{23}George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, Metaphors We Live By, ( Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 3.
\textsuperscript{24}Bambang Kaswanti Purwo, op. cit., p. 139.
\textsuperscript{25}Retrieved from: http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aristotle-rhetoric/
\textsuperscript{26}George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, op. cit., p. 3.
of metaphor is daily speaking, in which utterer produce metaphorical expressions in his/her daily conversation. For example, someone might say (1) if you use that strategy, they will wipe you out or (2) he attacked every weak point of my arguments. The metaphor is occurred although the utterer doesn’t aware of it as metaphor. It happened because the utterer wants the hearer to understand more about his/her information. Hence, the utterer just delivered Argument is War metaphor in the both examples.

In general, metaphor is a parable of A to B, where B means C. An instant example is like on the lyrics of stereo “my heart is stereo”, assuming the heart of the singer as similar as stereo, not in shape but function. Knowless and Moon suggested two traditional approach to understand metaphor in general by considering a word has literal meaning and metaphorical meaning (substitution or transfer approach), as well as comparison approach which implies a similarity and relevancy between two domains. The substitution approach can be expressed more schematically, as in this example (3) we used to thrash all the teams in Keith Schoolboy League. We had a great squad and no-one could touch us.

Word A has literal meaning A

Word B has literal meaning B1 has metaphorical meaning B2

Metaphor: B2 is substituted for A

The metaphorical meaning of thrash substitutes for a more literal word such as ‘defeat’; where thrash has another, literal, meaning, ‘hit’.

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27 Bambang Kaswanti Purwo, op. cit., p. 140.
As for the comparison approach:

Word A has literal meaning A
Word B has literal meaning B
Metaphor: A is like B\textsuperscript{29}

In the case of example (3), the word thrash implies an underlying statement ‘winning a game easily is like hitting one’s opponents’. Hence, understanding metaphor requires to understand how and why winning a game is like a physical attack.\textsuperscript{30} It compares the term defeating as it is like physical attack by using the word thresh.

D. Conceptual Metaphor

Kovecses stated that in cognitive linguistic view, metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain.\textsuperscript{31} As earlier mentioned that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, it means that both definitions can bound together as what is called conceptual metaphor. Metaphor in here is seen as a kind of thinking or a conceptualization. Conceptual metaphor consists of two domains where one is more understandable than the other to convey. According to Kovecses, conceptual domain consists of source and target domain; a concept domain which someone draw metaphorical expression to understand another conceptual domain is called source domain, while the conceptual domain that we understood this way is target domain.\textsuperscript{32}

Conceptual metaphor is talking about two entities (domain) that is different in many aspects through a metaphorical linguistic expression. For instance, he is

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid. p. 52.
\textsuperscript{30} Murray Knowles and Rosamund Moon, loc. cit.
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid. p. 4.
without direction in life is actually a life is journey metaphor; where life is the target
domain, and journey is the source domain which share a more understandable, while
the statement ‘he is without direction in life’ is called metaphorical linguistic
expression. Therefore, it is essential to notice the metaphorical linguistic
expressions to see the source and target domain to determine a conceptual
metaphor.

A group of researcher called Pragglejaz offered a procedure to determine
metaphor in a text. They are analyzing the lexical unit by establishing its meaning
in context, and determine whether it has more basic contemporary meanings in
other context than the one in the given context. Basic meanings tend to be more
concrete, (what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste),
related to bodily action, More precise (as opposed vague), and historically order.33

Those steps help researchers a lot to determine whether the text is metaphoric
or not, even though it cannot be applied in all metaphor types because conceptual
metaphor is related to concepts, not merely individual lexical items.

E. Types of Conceptual Metaphor

Lakoff and Johnson’s characterization of metaphor as three kinds:

1. Orientational Metaphor

Orientational metaphor does not related to a concept in terms of another but
organize the whole system concept in terms of another.34 It doesn’t rely on

33Ibid. p. 5.
34 George Lakoff and Johnson, Op. cit., p. 14
talking about A is B or A is understandable in terms of B. Orientational metaphor is related to spatial orientation (up-down, in-out, front-back, etc.) that creates people’s way of thinking of something in general. It defines spatial orientation like happy is up, related to English culture that saying “I’m feeling up today”.\(^\text{35}\)

In orientational metaphor, culture of its bearer really matter; some cultures may not refer spatial words that indicate “up” to indicate indicate a happy feeling; “I’m feeling up” means “I’m feeling happy” while “my spirits rose” means “I became sadder” in another occasion. Metaphorical concept in orientational metaphor might have arisen from physical and cultural experience. For example happy is up and sad is down: I’m feeling up, that boosted my spirit, my spirit sank, he’s really low these days. All the drooping posture indicates sadness and depression while erect postures indicate positive emotional state, that is the physical basis of metaphor Happy is up and Sad is Down. From that example and its usage in daily life, now come the orientation that Good is Up is coherent with special cases like Happy is Up, Health is Up, Alive is Up, etc.\(^\text{36}\)

2. Ontological Metaphor

Ontological metaphor is talking about abstract qualities as if they were objects or entities (abstract). It conceptualizes and talks about things, experience, and process as if they have definite physical properties.\(^\text{37}\) We never

\[^{35}\text{Ibid.}\]
\[^{36}\text{Ibid. p18.}\]
\[^{37}\text{Murray Knowles and Rosamund Moon, Op. cit, p31.}\]
know what, an abstract thing, the mind is but we set it as it has physical properties (object). Ontological metaphors provide much less cognitive structuring for target domain concept than structural metaphor does, it merely gives a new ontological status to general categories of abstract target concepts and to bring about new abstract entities.\textsuperscript{38} For instance, My \textit{mind isn’t operating} today; it delineates that an abstract thing (mind) has a physical property (operate) of doing something. Furthermore, speakers can use ontological metaphor for more specific jobs such as to refer to, to quantify, or to identify aspects of the experience that has been made more delineated. For example, conceiving of fear as an object as “our possession”. Thus, linguistically refer to fear as my fear or your fear.\textsuperscript{39}

In further study, the most obvious ontological metaphor is seen as personification. The distinction between ontological metaphor and personification is that ontological metaphor delineate an abstract concept (human & nonhuman) to abstract concept (nonhuman), while personification delineate one abstract concept (non-human) to another concept (human). Here are two examples of this metaphor: (1) \textit{my mind isn’t operating today} and (2) \textit{Inflation is eating up our properties}. In the example 1 mind is operating, while operating is not proper to be referred as human, it is what machine does; therefore, the concept can be called as mind is machine. In 2 inflation is obviously an abstract thing and eating up is obviously a concept what human

\textsuperscript{38} Zoltan Kovecses Op, cit, p.38.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., p. 39.
does. So 1 is ontological metaphor while 2 is personification. Lakoff and Johnson gives a deeper example such as “inflation has attacked the foundation of our economy” or “our biggest enemy right now is inflation”. Here the inflation is personified, but the metaphor is not merely “inflation as person” but a more specific namely “inflation is adversary” metaphor.\textsuperscript{40}

3. Structural Metaphor

Structural metaphor is grounded in systematic correlation within human experience. The metaphor enables speaker to understand a term in another more understandable term. Like “argument is war”, the statement tries to make people understand the meaning of argument by describing the war terms. A conceptual structure of each domain has similarity in dissimilarity. Source domain provides a relatively rich knowledge structure for the target domain concept, this understanding take place by means of conceptual mappings between element A and element B.\textsuperscript{41} Lakoff proposed that argument and war are two domains which share rich correspondent usage, where people can win and lose argument, seeing the person we are arguing as an opponent, attacking their position and defending our own argument, people use plan and strategies in arguing, and so on.\textsuperscript{42}

According to Lakoff and Johnson, structural metaphors are cases where one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another.\textsuperscript{43} The argument is war

\textsuperscript{40} George Lakoff and Johnson, Op. cit., p. 35
\textsuperscript{42} George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, Op. cit., p. 5.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., p.14.
metaphor shares nearly similar structure in concept. Another example of how structured two domains is in obligations are physical burdens metaphor, as the following examples:

a. *She’s loaded* with responsibilities.
b. *She’s shouldered* the task with ease.
c. *She’s weighed down* with obligations.
d. *She’s carrying a heavy load* at work.
e. I have to *get out from under* my obligations.

Lakoff and Johnson observed that these expressions all express a common underlining idea, obligations as physical burdens. The target domain (obligation) is the concept which is being understood metaphorically through the source domain (physical burden). Both domains can be understood in the following scheme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Domain: Physical Burdens</th>
<th>Target Domain: Obligations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Carrying physical burden</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fulfilling obligations</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>requires the expenditure of energy and can become tiring.</td>
<td>requires the expenditure of energy and can become tiring.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If the burden is too <strong>heavy</strong>, it is impossible to <strong>carry</strong>; if you do not free yourself of it or relinquish it</td>
<td>If the obligation is too <strong>onerous</strong>, it is impossible to <strong>fulfill</strong>; if you do not free yourself of it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

45 Ibid., p. 248
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>lower</strong> it or <strong>drop</strong> it, it will cause you physical damage.</th>
<th><strong>suddenly</strong>, it will cause you <strong>undue</strong> stress.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dropping</strong> the physical burden may damage it.</td>
<td><strong>Suddenly relinquishing the obligation</strong> may be harmful to those to whom the obligation is owed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The burden may be <strong>transferred</strong> to someone else.</td>
<td>The obligation may be <strong>fulfilled</strong> by someone else.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In some cases, its <strong>weight</strong> may be <strong>lessened</strong> by removing some of its parts.</td>
<td>In some cases, it may be made less <strong>onerous</strong> by removing some of its parts.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**F. Highlighting and Hiding**

Not every concept are correspondent to the other concept when trying to relate the conceptual relations between both source and target domains, hence Lakoff and Johnson also noted about highlighting and hiding a concept to comprehend the conceptual metaphor.\(^{46}\) When a source domain is applied to the target domain, only some aspect of the target are brought into focus, the other aspect or concept which is not in line to the context will remain hidden or out of focus.\(^{47}\) For example, argument, as target domain, has various sets of concepts, including ARGUMENT IS WAR, ARGUMENT IS CONTAINER, and ARGUMENT IS BUILDING. Those metaphors represents different focus and sets of concepts. The ‘WAR’ concept focuses on the control of the arguments, ‘CONTAINER’ concept highlights

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\(^{46}\) Murray Knowles and Rosamund Moon, Op, cit, p33.

\(^{47}\) Zoltan Kovecses Op, cit, p.92.
the content and basicness of an arguments, while ‘BUILDING’ concept highlight the construction of the argument and its strength. At the same time, each of those concept hides the other aspect of the argument metaphor, for instance the ‘ARGUMENT IS WAR’ metaphor hides the aspect of content, construction, basicness, and so on.

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48 Ibid., p.93.
49 Ibid.
CHAPTER III
RESEARCH FINDING

A. Data Description

This research focuses on conceptual metaphor in linguistic field, which comprises of three kinds of metaphors: Orientational Metaphor, Ontological Metaphor, and Structural Metaphor. The data are collected from 18 online articles taken from thejakartaglobe.com during presidential election 2014 (1-9 July 2014). The closest hypernym of the analyzed words or context is used in this research to determine the conceptual metaphor, especially toward Ontological and Structural metaphor. After analyzing the corpus, a total of 27 metaphors have been found in the Jakarta Globe online newspaper, comprising of 19 Structural Metaphors, 6 Ontological Metaphors, and 2 Orientational Metaphors. Meanwhile, among all conceptual metaphor that has been analyzed, the metaphor of politics occurred the most. The data findings are compiled as listed below:

Table 2. Data Findings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data</th>
<th>Metaphorical Linguistic Expression</th>
<th>Types of Metaphor</th>
<th>Coverage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>He would begin the process of <em>winding back the electoral system.</em></td>
<td>Structural Metaphor</td>
<td>Article 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Even though they’re not appropriate for us. Like direct elections — we’ve already <em>gone down that path.</em></td>
<td>Structural Metaphor</td>
<td>Article 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>I believe much of <em>our current political and economic systems go against</em> our</td>
<td>Ontological Metaphor</td>
<td>Article 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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50 Bambang Kaswanti Purwo, op. cit., p. 162.
<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nation's fundamental philosophy, laws and traditions, and against the 1945 Constitution.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. <strong>A return</strong> to the 1945 Constitution.</td>
<td>Structural Metaphor</td>
<td>Article 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The country has successfully <strong>positioned itself</strong> as the most democratic nation in South East Asia.</td>
<td>Ontological Metaphor</td>
<td>Article 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. “I think today we are already <strong>at a point of no return</strong>, he cannot use a strongman approach, look at the dispersion of power today, there are many parties. He cannot do that.”</td>
<td>Structural Metaphor</td>
<td>Article 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. There should have been a social contract for him to pledge to <strong>defend this system</strong> that we have tried so hard to establish for 16 years.</td>
<td>Structural Metaphor</td>
<td>Article 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. “The world <strong>has embraced democracy</strong>. Indonesia is also better off for it. Indonesia is democratic now, but [Prabowo] does not approve,”</td>
<td>Ontological Metaphor</td>
<td>Article 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Blake’s statement is widely understood to concern Prabowo — former commander of Kopassus, the Indonesian Army’s Special Forces Command — who is now facing off with Jakarta Governor Joko Widodo in the country’s presidential race.</td>
<td>Structural Metaphor</td>
<td>Article 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. “Don’t give outsiders room to make <strong>guerrilla maneuvers</strong> in our domestic politics,” Dino said.</td>
<td>Structural Metaphor</td>
<td>Article 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td><strong>“Indonesia wants to stand</strong> with dignity” the pugnacious former special forces general said to a roar of applause in a speech ahead of this week’s election.</td>
<td>Structural Metaphor</td>
<td>Article 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>The <strong>Spirit of democracy is being damaged</strong> by various practices.</td>
<td>Ontological Metaphor</td>
<td>Article 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>It will be a step to <strong>political suicide</strong> for Prabowo to pursue this when he knows there will be almost no support for it</td>
<td>Structural Metaphor</td>
<td>Article 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>If the <strong>nation is poor</strong> … if we don’t have enough planes, helicopters … we will not have authority as a nation.</td>
<td>Structural Metaphor</td>
<td>Article 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>“We want Indonesia to become a maritime power in this world. <strong>We want to win the seas,</strong>” Joko said, in his opening remarks of that debate. “We want this nation to carry authority. We want this nation to be respected.”</td>
<td>Structural Metaphor</td>
<td>Article 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>The common understanding is that <strong>rhetoric used by politicians is crafted</strong> to attract votes and garner support.</td>
<td>Ontological Metaphor</td>
<td>Article 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td><strong>It has been hurting our state budget and economy,</strong>” Eric said.</td>
<td>Ontological Metaphor</td>
<td>Article 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>But Yudhoyono would later run for president, and he <strong>won</strong> eventually, <strong>defeating</strong> Megawati. Megawati’s aides disclosed that she was not pleased with this incident.</td>
<td>Structural Metaphor</td>
<td>Article 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Some would say that with the Democratic Party — with Yudhoyono as its leader —</td>
<td>Structural Metaphor</td>
<td>Article 11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
officially **backing** Prabowo, that gives him a better chance at winning the presidential election on Wednesday.

20. Joko **has been forced to defend** himself **against the attacks**, which are mainly focused on his race and religion.

21. Presidential candidate Joko Widodo, who **claims victory** in Wednesday’s election, says this year’s race **opens a new chapter** for Indonesia as people have decided to **set a new direction for the country**.

22. I want to firmly say that **the victory** that had been stated by the quick count results is not Jokowi and JK’s victory, not the campaign team’s, political parties’ — but the victory of all of Indonesia.

23. Yet, **the race remains too tight** to accurately predict who will win eventually.

24. Fast-forward three months to today, and that same pollster, Roy Morgan, is now saying **the race is “too close to call”**.

25. **Indonesia’s currency and bond markets rose** in offshore trade on Wednesday after the political party of reform-minded candidate Joko Widodo, also known as Jokowi, claimed he had won a closely fought presidential election.
26. But the rupiah rose 2 percent in offshore non-deliverable forwards to levels around 11,525 per dollar.

27. The people are to decide which way the country is going.

B. Data Analysis

From the data above, it is analyzed into a description based on the literal meaning of the analyzed word, as well as contextual meaning of the word and discourse to determine the proper conceptual metaphor for both the source and target domain.

1. Types of Metaphor

1.1. Orientational Metaphor

From all the articles that have been analyzed, orientational metaphor is only found in Article 14, which is described as follows:

- Datum 25

"Indonesia’s currency and bond markets rose in offshore trade on Wednesday after the political party of reform-minded candidate Joko Widodo, also known as Jokowi, claimed he had won a closely fought presidential election."

Based on the context of the sentence above, the word rose is used in an indication of an improvement toward Indonesian currency. Rose is the past form of rise which literally means to move upwards. Based on its literal meaning, it has spatial orientation ‘up’. Improvement itself is defined as the process of something
becoming better. Here we found that the rose constructs spatial orientation “up” while it delineates an improvement (better condition) toward Indonesia’s currency and the bond market in offshore trade. Therefore, it can be concluded that the word rose in this context carries orientational metaphor “Good is Up”.

- **Datum 26**

  “But the rupiah rose 2 percent in offshore non-deliverable forwards to levels around 11,525 per dollar.”

  Similar to the previous finding, the author of the article used the word rose which is indicating the “good is up” metaphor. The spatial ‘up’ was delineated in the word rose in the context of increasing value. It is used to indicate a better condition or an improvement of something, in which it was intended to describe Indonesia’s rupiah’s value improvement.

1.2. **Ontological Metaphor**

After analyzing all the corpus, ontological metaphor is occurred in seven articles and delineates various concept as follows:

- **Datum 3**

  “I believe much of our current political and economic systems go against our nation's fundamental philosophy, laws and traditions, and against the 1945 Constitution.”

  In the sentence above, the writer found two metaphors occurred. First, the phrase ‘our current political and economic systems’ contains ontological context in

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which possessing a system indicated by the word ‘our’ toward political and economic system, which both are known to be an abstract term that people understand that way. Here, the word ‘our’ possesses the ‘systems’ which are political and economic systems. System itself is defined as an organized set of ideas or theories. Therefore, the proper hypernym for the word ‘systems’ is idea. Referring to the term of idea, it is ontological as it is abstract and is being given quality to be referred. Here, idea is constructed as human experience toward object due to the possessive pronoun ‘our’, so that we can understand it as something that can be possessed, created, etc. We can understand that the target domain idea is being delivered through source domain object that can be possessed or referred. Therefore, by this concept, it is as if we can refer the idea such as our idea, your idea, and their ideas.

Meanwhile the other ontological metaphor is indicated by the phrase ‘go against’. The sentence “our current political and economic systems go against our national’s fundamental philosophy” delineated as if the ‘idea’ can go against something. This is a kind of personification where a nonhuman entity (abstract) is given human qualities such as “going”. Hence, what is conceptualize in here is that idea as if human, the idea is human metaphor occurred in as ontological metaphor rather than structural metaphor since both domains do not highlight rich similarities yet ontological due to giving qualities of human experience.

- **Datum 5**

  “The country has successfully positioned itself as the most democratic nation in South East Asia”
The writer finds another personification in the sentence above. The phrase “the country has positioned itself” delineates depiction of a country, in this context is Indonesia, as if it was given human qualities with the verb positioned. The verb position literally means to put or arrange (someone or something) in a particular place or way; as for figurative meaning, it means to portray or regard (someone) as a particular type of person. Based on the definition, we can understand that the verb positioned is used for human term. As it is known that personification is simply an ontological metaphor, it is clear that the phrase above contains metaphor, it is “country as human” metaphor.

- Datum 8

“The world has embraced democracy. Indonesia is also better off for it. Indonesia is democratic now, but [Prabowo] does not approve,”

In this datum, the writer finds another personification occurred in the phrase “the world has embraced democracy”, yet the ontological metaphor in this case is concerned on the democracy which is delineated as if an object. The phrase was intended to convey that the majority of countries in the world have accepted democracy system. Democracy is an abstract thing in term of ontology; it doesn’t have shape, form, or appearance. Democracy itself is defined as one of governmental system. From that expression, democracy is seen as something that has its own independent existence so that it can be embraced by the world (majority of countries) as if an object that can be identified due to it can be embraced or else.

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This ontological metaphor refers that human experience (embrace) would give a better understanding toward an abstract thing. The word democracy is targeted to be understood through object as the source domain, so that human experience can refer or identify the term democracy. Therefore, it is understood that the expression contains a democracy is an object metaphor.

- Datum 11
  
  “Indonesia wants to stand with dignity” the pugnacious former special forces general said to a roar of applause in a speech ahead of this week’s election.

  Another personification occurred in this sentence. It can be understood that a nonhuman thing such as “Indonesia” (country) is given the qualities of human action “to stand”. According to Cambridge Advanced Learner’s dictionary, the verb to stand has literal meaning and the meaning in term of politics. Literally, it means to be in a vertical state especially for human or animal. Although the verb “to stand” is not belong to only human action, which animal can do it as well, the word is better known and used as common action of human. Meanwhile, in political term, stand can be defined as to compete. Therefore, it can be understood that the phrase was to convey that the country wants to be able to compete (with another countries) with dignity. Hence, it can be concluded that the ontological metaphor in this sentence conceptualize “country as human”, allowing our experience to qualify the country terms.

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• Datum 12

“The Spirit of democracy is being damaged by various practices.”

To better understand the expression above, we need to know the definition of the spirit of democracy. Spirit means a particular way of thinking, feeling or behaving, especially a way that is typical of a particular group of people, an activity, a time or a place.\(^{54}\) Adding to that definition, spirit of democracy can be defined as the feeling or attitude toward democracy system. The status quo of this occurrence is that Indonesian people has accepted democracy as their government system. Here, the sentence is delineated the spirit of democracy as if an object that can be damaged. The verb damage is defined as to harm or spoil something, we can understand that the word cannot be used alone but toward an object. A brittle object, however, is most likely to get damaged. Ontological metaphor is used in this sentence as the abstract phrase such as spirit (of democracy) is delineated as if it was an object, particularly a brittle object. The sentence delineates a feeling as if it has physical strength so that when it is weaken, it can be damaged. It is obvious that feeling (the hypernym from spirit of democracy) as the target domain which is described toward brittle object through the word damaged. Hence people will better understand or able to qualify it toward object. Therefore, it can be concluded that the expression in Datum 14 contains ‘feeling is brittle object’ metaphor.

• Datum 16

The common understanding is that rhetoric used by politicians is crafted to attract votes and garner support.

The writer finds a word which has no physical object meaning, rhetoric, is used in a delineation of human activity through the verb crafted. Rhetoric is a speech or writing which is intended to be effective and influence people or clever language which sounds good but is not sincere.\textsuperscript{55} Here we can understand that the hypernym of rhetoric is language. Meanwhile, craft is defined as to make object especially in a skilled way, which its synonym to art as well.\textsuperscript{56} From both definition it is clear that rhetoric is used in ontological metaphor toward the verb crafted, in which it delineates an abstract word “rhetoric” to be more understandable with human experience through the verb “craft”. The ontological metaphor from this sentence is “language is art” because there is a sense where the language is being crafted as if an artworks. The experience of when human doing crafting is related to creating and producing, in skilled way, which is end up creating a valuable product. Meanwhile, human can produce influencing speech when it is done in skilled way. By this way, it is ontological where it can be qualified as if the language is art.

- Datum 17

“It has been hurting our state budget and economy,” Eric said.”

The sentence above is talking about subsidy in Indonesia has become a huge burden to the state budget and economy. The subject “it” refers to the subsidy on low-octane gasoline. The abstract target like budget and economy is delineated of experiencing hurt as if it has human sensory to feel the pain. The ontological metaphor occurred as the abstract term like economy can now be referred; in this


case, it was referred as human experience, the feeling of hurt. Therefore the most suitable concept toward this metaphor is “economy is human”.

1.3. Structural Metaphor

Structural metaphor shares a richer conceptual mappings in both domains. The source and target domains have similar correlation in a set of mappings. The metaphor occurred in majority of the articles that have been analyzed as follows:

- **Datum 1**

  “He would begin the process of **winding back the electoral system**.”

The sentence above talks about how Prabowo Subianto, one of the 2014 presidential election candidate, plans to bring back Indonesia’s electoral system. Here it can be seen that the metaphor occurred which is indicated by the word winding back. This metaphor has structural relation where the electoral system is the target domain and the winding back as the source domain. Electoral system the system related to election, which is a process of choosing a person or group for political position. Here, it can be understood that the term politics is proper to be used to represent the electoral system. The phrase winding back indicates a condition of trying to return to previous status; winding itself describes a path, road, river, etc. which repeatedly turns in different direction. Here we can understand that the word winding constructs experience of journey. Hence, a delineation of politics as journey is occurred, which is a structural in nature. Both domains share sets of mappings as follows:

---

Table 3. Mappings of Politics is Journey 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source domain: Journey</th>
<th>Target domain: Politics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The path which is being taken</td>
<td>The electoral system: direct election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A misdirection in journey requires the</td>
<td>An unsuitable political system leads the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>traveler to return</td>
<td>politicians to change it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The traveler</td>
<td>The candidates / politicians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal of the journey</td>
<td>Winning the election</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• Datum 2

“Even though they’re not appropriate for us. Like direct elections — we’ve already gone down that path.”

Another politics is journey metaphor is occurred in the sentence above. As previously explained that the electoral system (direct election) is part of politics term, it can be understood that politics is delineated toward journey, indicated by the phrase “gone down that path”. The expression “we’ve gone down that path” constructs journey experience as described in the Chapter II. The expression portrays that the election as if a path that have been taken in a journey. The target domain politics is described through a more understandable domain journey as they shares resemblance mappings as follows:

Table 4. Mappings of Politics is Journey 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source domain: Journey</th>
<th>Target domain: Politics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The path that has been taken</td>
<td>Current electoral system, direct elections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative routes or path</td>
<td>The system besides direct elections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The travelers</td>
<td>Those who follow the system</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Members of travelers would propose alternative path when finding out the path is not good to go through

Some politician may criticized the electoral systems when it is inappropriate

- **Datum 4**

A *return* to the 1945 Constitution

The sentence above was expressed by Prabowo Subianto as a slogan that he will implement if he was elected in the presidential election, as he believed that the free election (direct election) was not in line with the constitution. It can be understood that politics (through its process, election) can lead the winning candidate to lead the country into a return to the constitution. A journey metaphor implied by the word “return” toward politic. It describes as if by becoming the president of Indonesia, Prabowo can lead the country to be in line with the 1945 constitution which is the principle of Indonesia. It is resemble with human experience in the term of journey, where the leader of the group have the right to determine the destination of the journey, even deciding to return to previous path to achieve the destination. It can be concluded that the expression above is expressing if Prabowo won the election and gained strategic political position (as President), he could lead the country to “return” to the 1945 constitution. Therefore, it can be understood that the politics term is constructed as a journey due to it has similar sets of mappings which are structural. Here are the resemblance mappings of both domains:
Table 5. Mappings of Politics is Journey 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source domain: Journey</th>
<th>Target domain: Politics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By leading a journey, the travel-leader can aim his/her fellow to go back to its prior reason to go traveling</td>
<td>Becoming president can lead the candidate to implement policy which is in line with the constitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heading back to the start</td>
<td>A return to the 1945 constitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The starting of a journey</td>
<td>The 1945 constitution</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Datum 6**

“I think today we are already at a point of no return, he cannot use a strongman approach, look at the dispersion of power today, there are many parties. He cannot do that.”

In the text above, the phrase at a point of no return is used toward current political situation. A point of no return is understood as the stage at which it is no longer possible to stop what you are doing and when its effects cannot now be avoided or prevented.\(^\text{59}\) Hence it can be concluded the current political situation is at its unstoppable stage as it may trigger inevitable effect. However, the phrase at point of no return is also used in term of journey, which means a point in a journey at which, if one continues, supplies will be insufficient for a return to the starting place.\(^\text{60}\) The sentence above delineates as if current political situation is in its point in a journey at which, if Prabowo insist to change the system, it will lead into


negative effect. It is obvious that the politics once again is described as a journey by the phrase at a point of no return. The target domain “politics” is delineated through source domain “journey”. In this case we can see that both domains shares resemblance mappings as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source domain: Journey</th>
<th>Target domain: Politics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The starting point of the journey</td>
<td>The first electoral system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The inevitable road to go through</td>
<td>The current electoral system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deciding to return may be disadvantageous as supply might insufficient</td>
<td>Deciding to bring back the first electoral system may give bad effects</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Datum 7**

  “There should have been a social contract for him to **pledge to defend this system** that we have tried so hard to **establish** for 16 years.”

  The word ‘defend this system’ in this context refers to the current political system adopted in Indonesia (democracy). Here the political system is being delineated as something that must be defended, struggle for, from any threat, where in this context is an attempt to bring old political system by Prabowo. The politics is war metaphor is indicated by the word defend in which the word is mainly discussed in term of war. The phrase to defend this system delineates that the current political system must be defended from the threat that was issued to be brought by Prabowo. Threat in the term of ‘war’ is obviously the attack from the enemy; while in this case, the threat toward the current electoral system is an
attempt to bring back the old system or distrust the current electoral system. Therefore, it has similar structure between the politics and war as described below:

Table 7. Mappings of Politics is War 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source domain: War</th>
<th>Target domain: Politics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two side of war</td>
<td>Those who believe the old electoral system suits better to current political situation and those who trusts current electoral system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defending the side from threat</td>
<td>Defending the system from political influence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Meanwhile, another metaphor also occurred indicated by the word ‘establish’ which is used in the context of the political system. Here, the metaphor highlight not in the concept of politics but rather to the concept of idea (hyponym of system). This metaphor is more structural than ontological since the target domain idea and source domain building have rich similarities in dissimilarities. It is described as if it has been established such as building that requires long process to be finished. The idea is better understood toward the delineation of human experience toward term of building. Both domains shares similar conceptual mappings as follows:

Table 8. Mappings of Idea is Building

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source domain: Building</th>
<th>Target domain: Idea</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It takes time to finish a building.</td>
<td>It takes time to have a system settled for a government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building is structurally constructed to establish.</td>
<td>A system has a structure and systematic to be implemented.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Construction of a building can preserve long last if it is constructed with good materials. A system, when it is believed and supported by strong relevance, will last long.

- **Datum 9**

  “Blake’s statement is widely understood to concern Prabowo — former commander of Kopassus, the Indonesian Army’s Special Forces Command — who is now facing off with Jakarta Governor Joko Widodo in the country’s presidential race.”

  In this case, presidential election is delineated as if a race. Race is a competition in which all the competitor try to be the fastest and to finish first. Politic, represented by presidential election, is conceived as a competition which the candidate of the election are trying not to be the fastest but to get the most voters to win the election. Therefore, the most proper conceptual metaphor for the expression above is politics is competition. Both domains have corresponding structures as follows:

  Table 9. Mappings of Politics is Competition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source domain: Competition</th>
<th>Target domain: Politics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The race.</td>
<td>Presidential election.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The competitors who join the race.</td>
<td>The candidates of the election.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The fastest one becomes the winner.</td>
<td>The one with the most vote win the election.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The winner is rewarded with prize.</td>
<td>The winner is rewarded to become the president of Indonesia.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• Datum 10

“Don’t give outsiders room to make guerrilla maneuvers in our domestic politics,” Dino said.

The sentence above contains a structural metaphor of politics is war as the expression explains that domestic politics is threatened by foreign parties from guerrilla maneuvers. Here the writer found two words that indicate the term of war; they are outsiders and guerrilla maneuvers. Outsiders in terms of war are those who are not in the same side of the group, while guerrilla literally means a member of an unofficial military group that is trying to change the government by making sudden, unexpected attacks on the official army forces.61 Hence, it can be understood that the parties that are not practically involved in Indonesian politics is trying to get involve toward political issue in the country. Here, politics is described into a word which is familiar toward human knowledge of war, guerilla. It can be concluded that the term of politics is targeted to be understood through the source domain of war, which are resemble in mappings as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source domain: War</th>
<th>Target domain: Politics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guerrilla maneuver.</td>
<td>Negative involvement in local politics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is outsiders in war that can threaten one side of group.</td>
<td>There is foreign parties that concern on political issue of Indonesia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involvement of outsiders can influence the ongoing war.</td>
<td>Involvement of foreign parties can affect to the election (voters).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

• **Datum 13**

“It will be a step to political suicide for Prabowo to pursue this when he knows there will be almost no support for it.”

The term suicide is defined as an act of killing oneself intentionally, which refers to act of ending oneself’s life. However, when the term is used in political term, political suicide, it doesn’t mean to kill himself in political situation or as such, but a concept by which a politician or political party loses widespread support and confidence from the voting public by proposing actions that might threaten the status quo, in this context is democracy. It can be seen that the term political suicide occupies the life term in term of politics. Conceptually, politics is delineated as life as its source domain. Human understand that suicidal is an act to kill or to end oneself; when it comes to political terms, it can be understood that political suicide can lead the actor ended up loses his/her political power. We can understand that life has beginning and ending, so do political power in which begins with people’s supports and ends with losing support. Therefore, it can be concluded that both domain shares resemble conceptual mappings, as described below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source domain: Life</th>
<th>Target domain: Politics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Life has beginning and ending.</td>
<td>Political power has beginning and ending.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life begins with birth.</td>
<td>Political power begins with people’s support.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Life ends with death.  
Political power can ends due to people’s distrust.  
People can end their lives with suicidal.  
Politician can lose people’s support for acting against people’s demand or hope.

- **Datum 14**

“If the **nation is poor** ... *if we don’t have enough planes, helicopters ... we will not have authority as a nation*.”

The sentence above contains a structural metaphor rather than ontological as the word nation is not given qualities of human but a status which human has. It conceives that the nation as a human that is classified as poor because unable to afford things. Here we can see that one of human problem is poverty, as well as the nation. The condition of unable to afford things is occurred in human life where it also occurs in nation. Nation or country is systematically rich in meaning toward human, therefore, this metaphor, country is human, is a structural metaphor. Here are some corresponding meaning of both domains:

**Table 12. Mappings of Country is Human**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source domain: Human</th>
<th>Target domain: Country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>When human is poor, they cannot afford to buy their needs.</td>
<td>When a country is poor, it cannot afford to compete other nations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human who lives in poverty can be controlled by another human.</td>
<td>Poor country can be dictated by other countries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth lead human to be respected.</td>
<td>Wealth can lead the country to achieve regional or international acknowledgement.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Datum 15

“We want Indonesia to become a maritime power in this world. We want to win the seas,” Joko said, in his opening remarks of that debate. “We want this nation to carry authority. We want this nation to be respected.”

The word “we want to win the seas” delineates as if there is an opponent party to fight against. However, to better understand the metaphor in the expression above; we need to understand the context of winning the maritime. To win the maritime, Joko Widodo needs to win the election (to gain political power). If he win the election, he will strengthen Indonesia’s maritime sector. It is like the human experience in the term of war, where winning the war can lead the victorious side to occupy more power. Based on the context, it can be understood that the expression to win the seas contains structural metaphor in which the target domain is politics and the source domain is war. The politics is represented by the context of how Joko “Jokowi” Widodo planned to gain control of the sea if he was elected as the president, while the term of war is delineated toward the verb to win, which means there must be an effort, like in the battlefield, to achieve the victory.

Therefore, both domains are structural in mappings, as described below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source domain: War</th>
<th>Target domain: Politics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Winning the war allow the victorious side to occupy more power or defense.</td>
<td>Winning the election can lead the winner to strengthen maritime sector.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New fighting power</td>
<td>Maritime and other sectors that can be improved.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conquer in war.</td>
<td>Winning the election.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Datum 18

“But Yudhoyono would later run for president, and he won eventually, defeating Megawati. Megawati’s aides disclosed that she was not pleased with this incident.”

As previous analysis has used the word “win” in term of competition, the sentence above gives us a wider experience of a war rather than a competition. In this context, Yudhoyono was once served as the Coordinating Minister for Politics and Social and Security Affairs when Megawati was the President. Megawati has asked her ministers if any one of them would run to the election, but no one responded, yet Yudhoyono applied for the election without Megawati’s knowing. Therefore, the sense of war suits better in this expression rather than competition. In term of war, the opponent can be from anyone, even the closest one. Therefore, the metaphor occurred in here is politics is war. Therefore, the word won and defeat in this context has closest concept to the term of war. From the context, it can be understood that the politics allowed Yudhoyono to defeat Megawati. It can be concluded that the expression above contains “politics is war” metaphor which conceptually resemblance as follows:

Table 14. Mappings of Politics is War 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source domain: War</th>
<th>Target domain: Politics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is victorious and defeated side in war.</td>
<td>There is winning and losing party in politics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A surprise attack.</td>
<td>An unpredicted maneuver by opponent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is no everlasting ally in war.</td>
<td>There is no everlasting support in politics.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• **Datum 19**

“Some would say that with the Democratic Party — with Yudhoyono as its leader — officially backing Prabowo, that gives him a better chance at winning the presidential election on Wednesday.”

In this case, politics once again is delineated as a war. It is indicated by the word backing and winning. In the context of war, back up attack or even support from ally can strengthen the army to win the war. This concept is delineated in the sentence above where Democratic Party officially backing Prabowo, and might give him a better chance at winning the presidential election. The expression above delineates that the concept of politics is described in term of war. In other word, the politics is the target domain which is conveyed through source domain of war. Both domains share similar experiences such as ally in war is delineated as other political party support and more. Therefore, it can be concluded that both domains shares similar conceptual mappings which are structural, as described below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source domain: War</th>
<th>Target domain: Politics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ally’s support gives a better chance of winning a war.</td>
<td>A support from a party gives a better chance of winning an election.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The war.</td>
<td>The election.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maps of power and ally.</td>
<td>Political support or power points.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• **Datum 20**

“Joko has been forced to defend himself against the attacks, which are mainly focused on his race and religion.”
Another politics is war metaphor occurred in the sentence above. The word defend and attack are the common word used in term of war as Lakoff and Johnson described. The context of this sentence is that during the campaign phase, Joko “Jokowi” Widodo received negative news or campaign which was aimed to his race and religion issue. Such maneuver was intended to put down Jokowi’s electability in the presidential election. Such circumstances is similar in the experience of war terms, where one side can attack the enemy however it takes to take the enemy down. Therefore, it is obvious that the sentence above contains politic is war metaphor. Here are the structural corresponding meaning:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source domain: War</th>
<th>Target domain: Politics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The battlefield.</td>
<td>The presidential election campaign phase.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protecting self from enemy attack.</td>
<td>Defending virtue during the campaign phase.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfair attacks, surprise attack or ambush.</td>
<td>Negative campaign, propaganda.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Datum 21

“Presidential candidate Joko Widodo, who claims **victory** in Wednesday’s election, says **this year’s race** opens a new chapter for Indonesia as people have decided **to set a new direction for the country.”**

There are three metaphors occurred in the sentence above; they are politics is war, which is triggered by the word victory; politics is competition, which is
triggered by the word race; and politics is journey which is triggered by the phrase “to set a new direction”.

The term victory and defeat words in conceptual metaphor refer to the concept of war; in this case, this term is used in political issue, during presidential election 2014, by Joko Widodo to claim himself as the winner of the election. It can be concluded that the war term was used in political issue, which implies politics as the target domain and war as the source domain. Meanwhile, the conceptual mappings of this metaphor has been described in Table 13.

As for the phrase “this year’s race”, it refers to event presidential election that occurred during the year (2014). From that context, the term of race, which has been described in Datum 10, is used in term of political festival, the presidential election; where the presidential election is a phase for people to gain political power (to become a president). In this case, political issue was delineated with competition through the word race; where race is understood as a competition to achieve goal. Hence, it can be concluded that the conceptual target domain of politics is delineated in term of competition, where its mappings has been described in Table 8.

Lastly, another metaphor is occurred, indicated by the expression of “to set a new direction for the country”. The term of country was here delineated as if it has direction to go. In this context, the writer uses term of vehicle rather than a journey because both terms shares similar conceptual mappings. The country was delineated as if a vehicle which has direction to go, has driver or rider to operate the vehicle, and so on. Which is pretty much similar to concept of country which has policy to
reach the goal, led by president, etc. It can be concluded that the expression contains the concept of country as target domain and vehicle as the source domain, and are structural in mappings as follows:

Table 17. Mappings of Country is Vehicle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source domain: Vehicle</th>
<th>Target domain: Country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle has direction.</td>
<td>Country has policy and programs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle’s movement.</td>
<td>Country’s development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle is steered (ride/drive).</td>
<td>Country is controlled by president.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The driver is responsible for its passenger’s safety.</td>
<td>President is responsible to achieve the nation’s goal.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• Datum 22

“I want to firmly say that the victory that had been stated by the quick count results is not Jokowi and JK’s victory, not the campaign team’s, political parties’ — but the victory of all of Indonesia.”

Another politics is war metaphor is occurred in the sentence above, triggered by the word victory. As has been explained previously, the condition of victory-defeat are the condition which is belong to the term of war. The structural corresponding meaning of the metaphor has been provided in Table 13.

• Datum 23

“Yet, the race remains too tight to accurately predict who will win eventually.”

The sentence above contains a structural metaphor of politics is competition. Indicated by the word race and win. The context of this sentence is referring the presidential election 2014, which previously discussed as the representative of
politics term (hypernym). Meanwhile, the term win in here contextually refer to the competition as well, instead of terms of war. Because it is common that in a competition, there will be a winner and loser; while in term of war, there are victory and defeat side. The conceptual mappings of this structural metaphor is similar to Table 9.

- **Datum 24**

  “Fast-forward three months to today, and that same pollster, Roy Morgan, is now saying the race is “too close to call”

  Similar to the description in Datum 9 and 23.

- **Datum 27**

  “The people are to decide which way the country is going”

  The sentence above contains structural metaphor which is indicated by a delineation of a country that has way to go. It can be understood that another concept of vehicle (practically, not as an object) is used in the expression above. Here, the context of vehicle is more proper than a traveler as has been described in Datum 21 Table 17, the target domain of this metaphor is country and the source domain is vehicle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source domain: Human</th>
<th>Target domain: Country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lazy teen</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teenager has problem with its messy bedroom</td>
<td>Indonesia has lot of problem to be fixed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teenage must discipline themselves to be mature in life</td>
<td>Indonesia needs to have systematic plan to run the country</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. The Conceptualization of Politics in the Metaphor

Based on the corpus that has been analyzed above, the politics metaphor is not seen as ontological metaphor as it contains rich similarities between the source and the target domain, which means that politics has structural sets of mappings toward its source domains. Based on the description of the corpus, there are four source domains that conceptualize the politics term; they are war, competition, journey, and life. In other word, the four source domains have resemblance structure of mappings in term of politics.

In delineation of war, politics was conceptualized as something that can attack people (politician to another) so that the politician should defend themselves against attack (threat, disadvantageous act by others). This context of metaphor highlights only the offensive status of a war and hiding the other concept of war such as treaty. It was also seen as if a battlefield in war so that the actors do any effort to win the election such as campaign and obtaining support from other party (ally) to gain power.

Politics is also delineated as competition toward the term of race. Unlike politics is war metaphor, this metaphor didn’t highlight offensive terms like attacking one’s side of a party (bad attitude) in term of race although it can be occurred such as the concept of cheating during competition. Here, the author of the articles merely highlight that politics, which in this case is presidential election, is a tight competition to seek the winner as if in a race that seeks the fastest one to reach the finish to gain reward.
The conceptualization of politics is journey metaphor was represented by the hyponym of political system (democracy) and electoral system. Meanwhile the concept of journey was represented as a path that has been taken and the current path. In the description above. The electoral system and political system was seen as something that can be retaken or changed, akin a journey that the travelers can return or take another way to reach the destination.

Meanwhile, an interesting concept toward politics is occurred in term of life as source domain. The word politic is used as an adjective of the noun suicide, which is one of life matter, in political suicide phrase. Conceptually, life will end if the person deliberately doing suicide. It is similar to the concept of political suicide which the actors’ action can lead them to lose political trust or support if they act unsupportive toward their supporters.
CHAPTER IV
CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

A. Conclusions

After analyzing the political issue on thejakartaglobe.com, the writer finds that conceptual metaphor is proven pervasive in everyday life as it occurred in online media as well. From three metaphor that George Lakoff and Mark Johnson defined (Orientational, Ontological, and Structural Metaphor), Structural Metaphor is the most frequent type of metaphor that occurred in the article since 1-10 July 2014 (last week campaign phase to the presidential election 2014). It indicates that metaphor as a set of mappings which is systematic and structured was delineated in the presidential 2014 issues.

Various conceptualization of certain things are also occurred; including idea, country, economy, democracy, language, and politics. Meanwhile, the most frequent concept that was described in the articles are political issues which are represented by political system, political power, and the election issues. Politics, as the hypernym of the issues was mostly conceptualized as war, journey, and competition. The politics is war metaphor occurred in article of which describing political maneuvers as well as political position during the presidential election campaign, a fight for the political power, and claims of winning the election. The politics is journey metaphor was mostly described in the issue of political systems such as democracy and the electoral system which one of the candidates see it as a
not proper system to be applied in the future. Meanwhile, the politic is competition metaphor was delineated as a race competition.

B. Suggestions

This research has used metaphor as the tool to see language phenomena in certain occurrence, especially the presidential election 2014, yet merely identifying the feature of the conceptual metaphor and trying to see the concepts on term of politics. For further study, it is suggested that the readers are able to seek a deeper and broader analysis through the study of conceptual metaphor, moreover to be able to see concepts delivered by certain public figures or influencing people. From this suggestion, the reader may be able to see how a concept is frequently used to attract the audience in certain purposes. Therefore, this suggestion may give another opportunity to analyze broader research using conceptual metaphor as the ground theory.
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APPENDIX

The Jakarta Globe Online Newspaper, 1-9th July 2014

Article:1

Direct Elections Are Un-Indonesian: Prabowo
Josua Gantan / 1 July 2014 / 08:20 AM

Jakarta. Presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto has indicated that, if elected, he would begin the process of winding back the electoral system in favor of a “consultative” approach he says is more in keeping with Indonesian cultural traditions.

Speaking at a “Cultural Dialog with Presidential Candidates” event at Jakarta’s Taman Ismail Marzuki on Saturday, Prabowo began by saying that Indonesians had a tendency to be overly influenced by Western ideas such as democracy.

“Consciously or not, our elites were all Western-educated — Bung Karno, Bung Hatta, Bung Sjahrir, and including myself. We’re products of the West,” Prabowo said, rhetorically placing himself among the founders of the modern Indonesian state.

As such, said Prabowo, elites presume that Western ideas such as one man, one vote and direct elections for provincial and national leaders are the best on offer.

“Even though they’re not appropriate for us. Like direct elections — we’ve already gone down that path. But it’s like someone addicted to smoking; if we ask them to stop, the process will be difficult,” Prabowo said.

“I believe much of our current political and economic systems go against our nation’s fundamental philosophy, laws and traditions, and against the 1945 Constitution,” he said.

“Many of these ideas that we have applied are disadvantageous to us, they do not suit our culture,” Prabowo said.

Ikrar Nusa Bakti, a political analyst from the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) said that Prabowo’s remarks raised a sinister question.

“Is he going to change our system if elected? What does he mean by saying that free elections do not suit us?” Ikrar said. “His behavior worries me.”

On Saturday Prabowo returned to a phrase he has often used during campaign speeches around the country — “a return to the 1945 Constitution” — but it is a slogan which few ordinary Indonesians really understand. The Constitution, unamended, concentrates authority in the position of the president.

Article 37 of the Indonesian constitution allows the Constitution to be amended by approval of two-thirds of the People’s Consultative Assembly (MPR). This avenue was used to introduce
checks and balances against sweeping presidential power during the reform period beginning in 1998, and it is those which Prabowo apparently intends to remove.

Prabowo said that in order to move away again from direct elections, what would be required is a “consensus of the political elite,” which would include cultural, religious and labor leaders.

Arbi Sanit, a political analyst from the University of Indonesia, said that, “If Prabowo is elected, that shows he has the popular backing for such a change.”

On the other hand, such a change would seem a far stretch from what Indonesia is today. The country has successfully positioned itself as the most democratic nation in South East Asia. The Economist Intelligence Unit’s Democracy Index published in 2012 showed that Indonesia, overall, fared better than its neighbors in holding free and fair national elections as well as in ensuring the security of voters and civil liberties.

Prabowo’s remarks were made in the wake of a recent disclosure by American journalist, Allan Nairn, of quotes from his off-the-record interview with Prabowo conducted in Jakarta in June and July 2001. Nairn recounted that Prabowo “ranted about Gus Dur and democracy,” saying that “Indonesia is not ready for democracy,” because “we still have cannibals, there are violent mobs.”

Nairn also wrote that Prabowo is looking to establish an “authoritarian regime” in Indonesia.

‘Regressive’

“Going back to pre-98 is not a solution to the country’s problems,” Aleksius Jemadu, political analyst from Pelita Harapan University, said, referring to the authoritarian New Order era.

“Are we going back to square one?” he said. “I think today we are already at a point of no return, he cannot use a strongman approach, look at the dispersion of power today, there are many parties. He cannot do that.”

Siti Zuhro, a political researcher from the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), was equally critical of Prabowo’s regressive rhetoric.

“If he is going to turn back time on our democratic system, that is not how it should be,” she said.

“There should have been a social contract for him to pledge to defend this system that we have tried so hard to establish for 16 years,” she added.

Arbi was more scathing in his criticism of Prabowo’s anti-democratic remarks.

“Someone who is anti-democratic like him is not fit to lead Indonesia,” Arbi Sanit said.

“It is open now. He has a bad track record on democracy. Now he also has negative thoughts about democracy,” Arbi said.

“The world has embraced democracy. Indonesia is also better off for it. Indonesia is democratic now, but [Prabowo] does not approve,” he said.

Arbi added that without a democratic system of governance, there is no assurance of human rights, freedom of the press and freedom of speech.

“We need democracy, but a democracy where there is the strength of the majority and one that is supervised by opposition. That will ensure our nation’s stability,” Arbi said.
Trojan horse?

Ikrar Nusa Bakti said that Prabowo’s anti-democratic remarks showed “his true self.”

“He does not believe in democracy, but he wants to be elected through democratic means, this is the laughable part,” Ikrar said.

“He does not believe in democracy. That was why he kidnapped pro-democracy activists in the past,” Ikrar said.

Earlier in May, 41-year-old Mugiyanto, a pro-democracy activist during the 1998 reform struggle, told the AFP about his three-day long interrogation and detainment at the hands of Prabowo’s special forces.

“The most painful part was when I heard my friend being tortured,” Mugiyanto told the AFP.

More recently on June 19, Prabowo responded to requests by Reuters to interview him by warning that they “may not challenge him on his human rights record.”

Experts on Indonesian politics, Edward Aspinall and Marcus Mietzner from the Australian National University remarked that Prabowo’s blatant disrespect of democracy and free elections was worrying and echoed the rise of fascism in Europe in the early 20th century.

“It is very rare in the modern world for would-be autocrats to openly state that they want to destroy the electoral system through which they seek to achieve power,” the political analysts said on an Australian National University official website.

“They mostly mask such intentions before they are elected. We probably need to go back to the fascist movement of 1930s Europe to find such explicitly authoritarian sentiments expressed by electoral movements that end up winning elections.”

‘Do not misinterpret Prabowo’

Viva Yoga Mauladi, Prabowo’s campaign spokesperson, said that Prabowo’s comments have been misinterpreted.

Viva said that what Prabowo referred to in his speech at Taman Ismail Marzuki was the “excess of democracy.”

“Excess meaning the negative impacts of direct elections. For example, things that undermine democracy itself, such as money politics and the lowering of social cohesiveness,” Viva said. “That is what Prabowo really means. So do not misinterpret Prabowo as anti-democratic and intolerant.”

With respect to Allan Nairn’s quoting of Prabowo’s comments in 2001, Viva questioned the journalist’s credibility.

“I don’t know about Allan Nairn, what sort of journalist is he? What does he represent, the Washington Post? It is not clear at all,” he said with a laugh.

“Prabowo is very committed to Indonesia’s democratic progress,” Viva said.

Correction: A previous version of this story listed the reform period as starting in 1988. It is 1998.
Indonesia’s Foreign Minister Speaks Out Against US Envoy

Jakarta. Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa spoke out against the US ambassador to Indonesia on Monday for urging investigations into presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto’s human rights records — calling the timing of his comments wrong and the perceived meddling unacceptable.

Ambassador Robert O. Blake Jr. wrote in an e-mail to The Wall Street Journal more than a week ago that whereas his country did not have a position on Indonesia’s upcoming presidential election on July 9, “we do, however, take seriously allegations of human rights abuses, and urge the Indonesian government to fully investigate the claims.”

To this, Marty said in a text message to the Jakarta Globe, “while the statement may be a reiteration of US’ long-held and general view on addressing accusations of past human rights abuses, in Indonesia and elsewhere; however given the current context, its timing and nature reflect a lapse of judgement that is difficult to accept.”

“I have thus raised the matter with the ambassador of the US,” the minister added, without elaborating further.

Blake’s statement is widely understood to concern Prabowo — former commander of Kopassus, the Indonesian Army’s Special Forces Command — who is now facing off with Jakarta Governor Joko Widodo in the country’s presidential race.

Prabowo has been accused of involvement in human rights abuses in East Timor during the early 1990s as well as the kidnapping of pro-democracy activists in Jakarta in 1998.

Wiranto, commander of the Indonesian Military (TNI) at the time, recently confirmed that Prabowo had been discharged from the force for ordering the abduction of the activists, 13 of who remain missing to this date.

Still, Blake’s statement is perceived as an attempt by the United States to meddle in Indonesia’s domestic affairs.

Teuku Rezasyah of the Indonesian Center for Democracy, Diplomacy and Defense called Blake’s remarks a “fatal mistake,” “unethical” and “disrespectful” to the nation’s democratic process.

Aleksius Jemadu, another foreign-policy observer, said in an opinion piece published by the Jakarta Globe on Monday that Blake’s statement may indicate the United States’ preference of Joko over Prabowo.

Joko is considered more accommodating toward US regional interests, which include disputed territory in the South China Sea and an objective for Jakarta to join the Trans-Pacific Partnership free-trade pact.
“Despite the fact that both presidential hopefuls emphasize the importance of economic independence in their platforms, over the last few days, Prabowo has spoken in a tone that can be interpreted as unfriendly toward major foreign corporations in Indonesia,” said Aleksius, who is dean of the School of Government and Global Affairs at Pelita Harapan University.

Meanwhile, Joko, despite his own brand of economic nationalism, has a “trouble-free” background, making him “more likely to revitalize Indonesia’s democracy by adding the most desired element of good governance,” offering better legal certainty to foreign investigators, Aleksius added.

Aleksius said Blake’s words may be perceived as the United States’ “indirect rejection of Prabowo” and “a tacit endorsement of Joko” — which both he and Rezasyah said could possibly have the contrary effect, costing Joko votes and helping Prabowo win, given a nationalist current running through many Indonesian voters.

Former Indonesian ambassador to the United States Dino Patti Djalal, however, said earlier on Sunday that Indonesians should learn to ignore the commentary of foreigners on Indonesia’s domestic affairs — which is common in any country’s political process.

“Don’t give outsiders room to make guerrilla maneuvers in our domestic politics,” Dino said. “Overreacting may suggest we lack self-confidence and patriotism.”
Migrant Worker Moratorium Tabled by Hatta Not a Feasible Option, Critics Say

Vita A.D Busyra / 1 July 2014 / 09:04 AM


Jakarta. Migrant worker rights activists have cast doubt on vice presidential candidate Hatta Rajasa’s proposed moratorium on sending unskilled Indonesian workers abroad, saying similar policies have been undertaken before to little effect.

“Indonesia has a long history of placing a moratorium on sending migrant workers to several countries, from Saudi Arabia and Malaysia, to Jordan and Kuwait, but no concrete actions have been made [by the government] to enforce the bans,” Anis Hidayah, the executive director of Migrant Care, a nongovernmental organization, told the Jakarta Globe on Monday.

She said the prospect of earning more money abroad, combined with a lack of job opportunities at home would always ensure that a high number of unskilled Indonesians would try to go overseas for work.

With a moratorium in place, she said, these workers would be going illegally and thus would not be assured of the legal protection afforded to workers in their host country.

Anis said that rather than call for moratoriums on sending workers overseas, the government should boost the measures it already had in place to protect the workers.

“But the idea of a moratorium is just more appealing to voters,” she added.

She blasted the administration of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono for what she called its timid approach to beefing up migrant worker protection, accusing it of instead resorting to the politically expedient stop-gap measure of imposing moratoriums on a country-by-country basis.

Anis warned that if that policy was expanded to a blanket moratorium on sending unskilled workers abroad, it would result in a massive increase in the ranks of the unemployed at home.

“What’s certain is that such a moratorium will never be effective because it’s been proven from past cases that the chances of success are extremely small,” she said.

Andrinof Chaniago, a political analyst from the University of Indonesia, agreed that Indonesia was far from ready to impose a moratorium on sending unskilled workers abroad, and attributed this largely to the lack of vocational and entrepreneurial training afforded to local communities to empower people and keep them from having to seek a living overseas.

“I’m not optimistic about the proposed moratorium,” he said. “The most important action for now is to strengthen our protection of migrant workers, and at the same improve and monitor migrant worker placement agencies.”

Andrinof said that in the long term, the government should endeavor to create more jobs for its citizens at home.
“We’re still struggling to provide enough decent jobs for Indonesians. We’re still focusing on how to deal with human rights and labor outsourcing issues,” he said. “If we’re still unable to provide sufficient employment or to empower small and medium entrepreneurs, how can the moratorium be executed with any chance of success?”
Article: 4

State Palace Says ‘Obor Rakyat’ Not Connected to SBY

Novy Lumanauw, Farouk Arnaz / 1 July 2014 / 05:02 PM


Jakarta. The State Palace has denied any connection between President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and “Obor Rakyat,” a tabloid that published libelous content about presidential candidate Joko Widodo and the editor of which was said to be an assistant to one of Yudhoyono’s special staff.

Yudhoyono’s spokesman Julian Aldrin Pasha said the special staff to the president and their assistants are placed under Cabinet Secretary Dipo Alam.

Setiyardi Budiono, editor in chief of “Obor Rakyat,” is said to be an assistant to Velix Wanggai, Yudhoyono’s special staff for regional development and regional autonomy.

“The president does not know anything and has no connections with the ‘Obor Rakyat’ tabloid. Let the police investigate it thoroughly to know who is behind the publication,” Julian told reporters on Tuesday. “We have no business with Setiyardi Budiono. We’re giving the investigation of the case to the police.”

The tabloid has managed to make a name for itself in the weeks leading up to the July 9 presidential election for publishing false statements against Joko. In one of its articles, the publication said Joko, a Muslim, was instead a Chinese Christian.

It is distributed for free in Islamic boarding schools in Central and East Java.

Joko’s campaign team has reported the tabloid to the National Police for libel, while Setiyardi himself insisted that the tabloid was a form of protest against Joko, who is running for president and has temporarily stepped down as governor of Jakarta.

Police claimed they are still investigating and have not yet named any suspects.

Com. Gen. Suhardi Alius, chief of the National Police’s criminal investigation division (Bareskrim), said his department was still looking into the best angle at which to approach the case and that four experts will serve as witnesses in the case.

“There are four experts we need as witnesses — a language expert, [a representative from] the Press Council, [another from] the Ministry of Information and Technology and a non-partisan legal expert,” he said.

“We have summoned them, but only the Press Council [representative] came,” Suhardi said on Tuesday, adding that the witness was questioned on Friday and will face additional questioning on Wednesday.

“So there is no decision yet. Hopefully we have a proper legal standing and not just one evidence,” he said.
According to Suhardi, the tabloid can be charged with violation of at least three laws for libel, namely the Presidential Election Law, the Press Law and the General Crime Law. He emphasized that it was impossible for police officials to take legal steps based on a person’s opinion and therefore cooperation with other related entities such as the Attorney General’s Office was necessary.
Ar
Ticle: 5
Nairn Releases More on ‘the Americans’ Fair-Haired Boy’ Prabowo
Jakarta Globe / 1 July 2014 / 09:14 PM

**Jakarta.** Award-winning US journalist Allan Nairn continued on Tuesday to shake up Indonesia’s presidential campaign by publishing another article on his off-the-record interview with candidate Prabowo Subianto conducted in 2001.

Nairn published articles on June 21 and June 26, detailing Prabowo’s 2001 comments on his involvement in human rights abuses in East Timor. The article published on July 1, however, moves away from revelations on Prabowo’s actions — “he killed civilians,” Nairn wrote — and documents the former Army Special Forces (Kopassus) commander’s links to the United States’ intelligence establishment.

“I was the Americans’ fair-haired boy,” Nairn said Prabowo told him, characterizing the relationship as that of “good friends.”

Nairn writes that this relationship changed, however, after Prabowo was dumped out of power with the fall of Suharto, his father-in-law at the time, in 1998. The US switched loyalties to military commander Wiranto — “Prabowo’s most-hated rival” — and began criticizing Prabowo for the abuses he had perpetrated with US backing. According to Nairn, Prabowo was chastened by this experience, which was compounded by Washington denying him entry to visit the United States for his son’s university graduation.

The issue of Prabowo’s relationship with the United States was exhumed in diplomatic circles as recently as last week, when US Ambassador Robert O. Blake Jr. took the controversial step of e-mailing the Wall Street Journal in what was perceived by some in Prabowo’s camp as being tantamount to meddling in Indonesia’s election process.

The ambassador expressed no position on either presidential candidate but, the letter read, “We do, however, take seriously allegations of human rights abuses, and urge the Indonesian government to fully investigate the claims.”

“Washington’s man in Indonesia,” and “our fair-haired boy,” has not been fully investigated, despite his commanding officer in 1998, Wiranto, going on the record last month to say that Prabowo was thrown out of the military for ordering the abduction of Indonesian pro-democracy protesters — 13 of whom remain missing, presumed dead.

Nairn also recounts a quotation by Robert S. Gelbard — the US ambassador to Indonesia from 1999 to 2001 — in which he calls Prabowo “perhaps the greatest violator of human rights in contemporary times among the Indonesian Military. His deeds in the late 1990s before democracy took hold were shocking, even by TNI standards.”

Nairn notes, however, that Gelbard’s predecessor, Stapleton Roy, praised Prabowo in diplomatic cables for “maintaining discipline and restraint.”
This took place at a time and in an environment where schisms in the TNI conferred a sense of unpredictability for the United States, Nairn writes, and Prabowo was a useful character for Washington to cool the nationalist elements in the TNI.

“Within Indonesia,” one US cable said, “especially in the armed forces, an internal debate pits two factions against each other. One faction is progressive, educated, and enlightened… The other is introverted, ethnocentric, anti-Western. It believes that foreign education and training is a polluting influence. We have an opportunity to influence that debate and the future in support of our long-term interests.”

The bulk of Nairn’s latest article concerns the details of Prabowo’s on-again off-again relationship with the United States, including Prabowo facilitating the presence of US special forces on Indonesian soil and him being handled by the highest levels of US power — including the secretaries of defense and special operations commanders.

The original interview was conducted under the condition of anonymity. There were no recordings of the exchange. The statements that Nairn attributed to Prabowo were sourced from his notes.
Jakarta. Jabbing his finger repeatedly in the air, presidential hopeful Prabowo Subianto shouted to supporters in a packed Jakarta stadium that the corrupt had no place in Indonesia.

“You who disgrace Indonesia, you who buy Indonesia … we must answer ‘No! Not this time! Indonesia wants to stand with dignity,’” the pugnacious former special forces general said to a roar of applause in a speech ahead of this week’s election.

Behind him, applauding, sat one of the most senior Indonesian officials ever to be investigated in a government probe into graft, who is also the head of a major Islamic party supporting Prabowo’s July 9 presidential bid.

Suryadharma Ali quit as the religious affairs minister in May after being named by Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) of being involved in embezzling from the $5 billion state fund allocated for the pilgrimage to Mecca. Indonesia, the biggest economy in southeast Asia, has the world’s biggest population of Muslims.

Suryadharma has maintained his innocence. “Being made a suspect is not the final say on the matter,” he told local media.

But the presence of Suryadharma and others being investigated for corruption in his coalition raises the question of how effective Prabowo may be if he beats front-runner Joko Widodo to lead the world’s third-largest democracy for the next five years.

His other allies include the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), whose chairman was jailed over a beef import scandal, and the Golkar party of business tycoon Aburizal Bakrie, several of whose members are facing corruption charges. Most of the allies are in the coalition of current President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.

“The spirit of democracy is being damaged by various practices,” Prabowo said in a debate with his rival on Saturday. “I’m not saying there are no thieves in my party. But what I meant was this is a phenomenon in our country, who knows you might have them on your side.”

Prabowo’s brother Hashim Djojohadikusumo, a central figure in his campaign, said earlier: “We have to make a few unintentional, unwanted compromises. The Indonesian judicial system presumes, innocence before proven guilty, so I don’t want to comment on the recent cases. But we will not compromise on our basic thesis.”

Insiders say all of Prabowo’s coalition partners have been promised seats in the cabinet, including a special, senior position for Bakrie, the head of the Bakrie Group, a prominent resources-to-telecommunications conglomerate that has struggled with environmental and debt problems.
“Prabowo says ‘welcome’ to every political party. ‘Welcome what do you want? One, two, three positions?’” said Fahmi Idris, a senior official with Golkar.

However, Bakrie spokesman Lalu Mara Satri Wangsa, who is also vice secretary general of Golkar, denied any deals had been agreed.

Prabowo has declined comment when asked about deal-making with coalition allies.

Three officials from his Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra) did not return e-mailed requests for comment.

Close race

Opinion polls still have the popular and unassuming Joko in the lead, but the combative Prabowo, running on a platform of strong and effective government, is close behind. A crucial number of voters are undecided.

Transparency International ranks Indonesia 114th out of 177 countries it surveys on perception of corruption. The World Economic Forum’s Global Competitiveness Report has said corruption remained “the most problematic factor for doing business” in Indonesia.

One of the world’s fastest growing countries just a few years ago, the economy is projected to be at its weakest in four years in 2014 because of falling prices of its commodity exports, a weak rupiah currency and patchy policy.

Despite Prabowo’s reputation as a strongman and his vow to reverse the indecisiveness of Yudhoyono’s outgoing government, markets are more likely to cheer a Jokowi win in the hope that he represents a change from Indonesia’s old-style horse-trading in politics.

“Jokowi represents a break with that kind of past. There is a lot of hope invested in political change of the kind that Jokowi represents,” said Tim Condon, ING Asia’s chief economist.

The rupiah has fallen around five percent over the past three months, accompanying a steady narrowing in the lead Jokowi had in opinion polls over Prabowo. The stock market, Asia’s worst performer in 2013 in dollar terms, has fallen almost 3 percent since mid-May, when Joko’s lead started slipping.

The strongman

Prabowo was once married to a daughter of former iron ruler Suharto, and was a favored member of his inner circle at the time.

He has been dogged by persistent allegations of past human rights abuses, in particular during the economic crisis that led to Suharto’s downfall in 1998. Shortly thereafter, Prabowo was discharged from the army for breaking the chain of command and ordering troops to arrest activists.

But he was never investigated on any criminal charge and has consistently denied any wrongdoing. Now 62, this is his third shot at the presidency.

Prabowo also caused a flutter last week with comments that suggested to some analysts that he may try to turn the clock back on Indonesia’s transition to a full democracy after Suharto’s three decades of autocratic rule.
“There are many things [from the West] that we implement, that we imitate, out of our own simplicity,” he said at a seminar in Jakarta. “It turns out that these things aren’t appropriate for our culture. But it’s already a fact. For example, direct [presidential] elections.”

But he was quick to retract.

“I believe in democracy. I was a soldier, a professional soldier. And I swore an oath to defend the Indonesian constitution … This is already my third general election. So I do it the hard way. I don’t go and assemble tanks and take over parliament house,” he told a later meeting.

Firman Noor, a political analyst at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), said even if Prabowo was so inclined, there was very little likelihood that Indonesians would allow a move away from full democracy.

“It will be a step to political suicide for Prabowo to pursue this when he knows there will be almost no support for it,” he said.

Prabowo did not speak to Reuters for this article. But in an interview two years ago, he said what Indonesia needed was a strong government.

“There are always leaders and people who will look for reasons not to try anything new. But the Indonesian leadership must have the will, the toughness, the character, the courage, to think and try to look for creative solutions,” he said. “I was brought up with the motto ‘who dares, wins’ and I think it is time for the Indonesian elite to dare.”
Candidates’ Conflicting Views on Defense, Security

Jakarta Globe / 6 July 2014 / 11:01 PM


Jakarta. Terrorism, territorial integrity and maintaining pluralism are some of the biggest defense issues that need to be addressed by Indonesia. And in the third presidential debate between Prabowo Subianto and Joko Widodo on foreign policy and defense, some strong statements were offered by both candidates.

Prabowo, for instance, repeatedly said foreign policy should begin with a strong economy and military, insisting that Indonesia will not gain the world’s respect without it.

Joko, meanwhile, said Indonesia should not get involved in the South China Sea dispute because it has nothing to do with Indonesia.

In any case, both candidates expressed their desire to turn Indonesia into a formidable regional powerhouse.

Two extremes converge

In the presidential debates, the public could see the mettle of the presidential hopefuls, says Ikrar Nusa Bhakti, a political expert from the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI). Candidates were evaluated based on their ability to preserve and guard national interests and the nation’s unity.

Prabowo took his characteristic strongman approach to foreign policy issues, stressing the importance of national wealth and military might in achieving regional and global respectability. “If the nation is poor … if we don’t have enough planes, helicopters … we will not have authority as a nation. We will not be respected, we will not be heard. On the contrary, will be mocked,” Prabowo said. “We can be diplomatic with words, but in the end, other nations will only see the national strength of Indonesia — the real power of Indonesia.”

His platform also appealed to the welfare of the people, saying that poverty was the root cause of most of Indonesia’s ailments. “The best defense is the prosperity and welfare of the Indonesian people,” he said.

Joko, popularly known as Jokowi, pledged to build stronger relations between Indonesia and other countries through the three-pronged approach of government-to-government ties, business-to-business contacts, and people-to-people exchanges. Military engagement, he said, should be the last resort in dealing with bilateral or multilateral disputes.

Yet even the soft-spoken and former mayor of Solo stated the importance of guarding national sovereignty.

“We want Indonesia to become a maritime power in this world. We want to win the seas,” Joko said, in his opening remarks of that debate. “We want this nation to carry authority. We want this nation to be respected.”
In response to allegations that he is the pliant alternative to the steadfast Prabowo, Joko replied, “Don’t mistake me as not being firm. I am firm.”

Dangerous games

The common understanding is that rhetoric used by politicians is crafted to attract votes and garner support. Nationalist platforms used in campaigning tend to turn moderate in actual implementation. Yet the danger with grand proclamations is that the electorate will inevitably come back to capitalize on them.

“Prabowo is making an effort to build an image of himself as a general to defend Indonesia from external threats,” says Ade Armando, a communications expert at the University of Indonesia. “If you remember [during the debate], he spoke of and even asked about external threats.”

Prabowo’s list of “external threats” included his position on budget “leaks” — with an emphasis on outflows to foreign nations — and his remarks on the infamously mercurial Indonesia-Australia bilateral relationship. He maintained that any problems were not of Indonesia’s doing.

“I think the issue is that perhaps Australia has a suspicion or phobia toward us,” Prabowo said. Ade said Prabowo was “intentionally making Indonesians assume that there exist external threats, for which the country requires a strong leader.”

Among those flocking to Prabowo’s support are conservative Islamic groups.

“It’s dangerous because … the rise in Prabowo’s voters has been built by nationalistic jargon, even xenophobia,” Ade says. “I believe that he must exploit it to pull interest and attract people. I believe that in practice, he might be moderate, but at the same time, the spirit remains the same.”

The danger, he warned, was if his hard-line supporters demanded he make good on his more extreme nationalist policies.

“There are two ways of viewing the world in international relations,” Ikrar says. “Realists are those who see it this way: for us to achieve world stability, we need military strength. On the other hand, [those] who view it from a constructivist point of view see the world as not being like that: The world does not need conflict … we can resolve things through cooperation.”

The two candidates could be seen as representing the two different camps, with one emphasizing power and the other emphasizing diplomacy.

Ikrar says realism in international relations stresses the importance of the balance of power as well as the pursuit of state self-interest in determining the course of international relations. Any shift in power, be it through wealth or through military buildup, will usually generate tension.

Ikrar points out this inconsistency in Prabowo’s approach to foreign policy, saying his emphasis on President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono’s “Good Neighbor” policy does not align with his military plans.

“No one hand, he always mentions good neighborly relations … But then he says we want to expand our military capabilities,” Ikrar says. “He tried to use the terms used by SBY — ‘One enemy is too many, a thousand friends are too few.’ ”
On Joko’s performance, Ade said that he should continue to cultivate his image as a man of the people, but also strive to recapture the conservative Islamic portion of the electorate that may have swung toward Prabowo.

Although Indonesia’s Muslims are by and large moderate in nature, religion still plays a sizable role in politics, and Joko’s move to declare his support for Palestinian statehood and full recognition by the United Nations served the purpose of “showing his Muslim-ness,” Ade says.

Great expectations

Aleksius Jemadu, dean of the school of government and global affairs at Pelita Harapan University (UPH), said that Joko has tried his best to counteract Prabowo’s strongman image. “I think he will try his best to show that this perception is wrong, and it remains to be seen how he is going to prove that.”

However, Aleksius said he expected Prabowo and Joko to be more decisive on national security based on their nationalist views and “the view that their predecessor is too weak and soft on this issue.”

He said both candidates would be more assertive about Indonesia’s national interests and more critical and pragmatic about Indonesia’s leadership role in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

“Jokowi will focus on Indonesia’s maritime interests and Indonesia’s role as a middle power,” he said. “Prabowo will introduce his concept of progressive foreign policy to achieve a more respectable position for Indonesia.”

On the other hand, Bantarto Bandoro, a senior lecturer at the Indonesian Defense University, said that Prabowo’s own history in the military — including his role in the kidnapings of pro-democracy activists in 1997 and 1998 and his subsequent discharge from the army — could pose a problem.

“He must be very cautious in handling national security, especially when it touches the issue he is most connected with.”

On other security issues, however, Prabowo’s military background would be an advantage. Bantarto said he believed Prabowo had “more skill” in handling issues relating to national security. “Joko was a bit silent on the issues, indicating his lack of knowledge on matters related to national security.”

Article: 8

Candidates Disappoint with No Real Plan to Cut Fuel Subsidy, Analysts Say

Muhamad Al Azhari, Basten Gokkon / 6 July 2014 / 01:45 AM

Jakarta. Presidential candidates may have entertained the public with hard-hitting questions to each other, but economists and experts criticized both tickets in their lack of willingness to show their stance on how to reduce the fuel subsidy, one of the most sensitive issues for Indonesians.

Comments about oil and gas productions from both presidential candidates and their running mates in the fifth and final debate on Saturday night were also seen as not touching the substance of problems that the country is facing.

“During the debate, the candidates left out [the topic of] fuel subsidy, which is actually crucial. They tried to avoid that issue, I think, as it is really sensitive. But, based on their proposed programs, which can be found in media reports, both candidates plan to cut the fuel subsidy,” Eric Alexander Sugandi, an economist from Standard Chartered Bank.

Eric noted that from previous statements by both candidates, Joko Widodo plans to reduce the fuel subsidy gradually within four years’ time and Prabowo Subianto within three years.

The Jakarta-based economist said that the next government should pay serious attention in reducing the huge burden that the state budget has to bear from subsidizing the low-octane gasoline to Indonesians. Money could be used for other areas such as for education and health care.

“It has been hurting our state budget and economy,” Eric said.

In the revised state budget approved by the House of Representatives in June, the government is allocating as much as Rp 246.5 trillion ($21 billion) for the fuel subsidy, up 23 percent from the planned allocation in last year’s state budget.

While the fuel subsidy heavily burdens the state budget, any cuts in the subsidy will elevate the price of fuel, which has a domino effect on the economy.

Still, the government broke the threshold in 2013 as it spent Rp 10.1 trillion more for fuel subsidy than originally planned.

Tri Mumpuni, executive director of the People Centered Business and Economic Initiative (IBEKA), said that subsidies remain a critical issue that should have been addressed by both candidates. There should be measures to use alternative energy to reduce the state budget burden caused by the fuel subsidy, she added.

“There has not been any incentive [from the candidates] to really reduce fuel subsidy gradually,” she said in an interview on BeritaSatu TV on Saturday. “In actuality, the allocated cash for the fuel subsidy can be given for the development of renewable energy. There have been efforts coming from the citizens [to use renewable energy], but the government has yet to show their fully committed endorsement for such effort.”

While the debate was colored with stinging jabs — especially when Joko’s vice presidential running mate Jusuf Kalla, a former vice president during President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono’s first term, asked about “mafias” in the oil and gas sector — Eric said that both camps highlighted the same mission in the energy sector: to make Indonesia become self-sufficient in providing energy.

Kurtubi, an analyst at the Center for Petroleum and Energy Economics Studies in Jakarta, was wondering why Hatta Rajasa, Prabowo’s vice presidential running mate and a former chief economics minister, did not explain why the nation’s oil production was declining.
“Pak Hatta was the chief economic minister. He is also an expert on the oil and gas industry. He should know how to explain why production has gradually fallen. One of the biggest problems that caused our production to continue to decline has been on the exploration side,” said the veteran oil and gas analyst.

“There was also no solution that I have heard,” said Kurtubi.

Hatta has a degree in engineering on oil and gas from the Institute Technology of Bandung.

Kurtubi said that in his analysis, exploration has been declining in Indonesia because the oil and gas law, which was ratified in 2001, had created a complex bureaucracy for oil and gas companies to explore and, at the same time, had placed high costs for exploration.

“The process to make exploration in Indonesia is so complex. I can describe it like this, investors come today, and they will only work on the drilling project in the next five years,” he said.

“From the fiscal side, there is a clause in the 2001 law that requires investors to pay tax even before they discover oil. This is what needs to be revised, and as we know it the revision for this law has been stagnant,” said Kurtubi, referring to slow efforts by Yudhoyono’s administration to revise the law.

Indonesia, previously an oil exporter nation, left the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 2008 after oil production had been dropping below 1 million barrels per day since 2006.

According to the revised 2014 state budget, the government targets its oil output to reach an average of 818,000 bpd this year, down 2.6 percent from last year’s target of 840,000 bpd oil. However, the nation has only been producing 826,000 bpd of oil in 2013. A lack of local oil production also means that the country has to import more petroleum products like gasoline and diesel, which has contributed to a trade deficit.

Hatta said he and Prabowo plan to bring back Indonesia’s oil production to 1 million bpd by 2015, while from Joko hasn’t set any specific target.

Joko’s campaign instead is emphasizing the urgency for accelerating projects that can divert oil-based fuel to gas.

Indonesians go to the polls on Wednesday to vote for a president to succeed Yudhoyono, whose second five-year term ends in October.
Article: 9

Shades of Nationalism in Indonesia’s Foreign Policy

Jakarta Globe / 6 July 2014 / 11:05 PM


Jakarta. Presidential hopefuls Prabowo Subianto and Joko Widodo took up a nationalist rhetoric in the foreign policy debate held on June 22, with both candidates expressing their desire to build Indonesia into a formidable regional powerhouse. And as election day draws nearer, both are posturing to win the hearts of the nation’s people in a tight two-horse race.

Prabowo Subianto

In 1959, Prabowo’s family fled the country to seek safety on the island of Hong Kong after his father, renowned economist Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, found himself on the Indonesian government’s growing list of dissenters.

The former University of Indonesia lecturer had been involved with rebel movement PRRI-Permesta, which was made up of both civil and military leaders from Sumatra and Sulawesi seeking independence from the Sukarno-led central government at the time.

After narrowly escaping probable persecution, Prabowo and his family led transitory lives. He spent his educational years in various countries, including Hong Kong, Malaysia, Switzerland and Britain, before returning to his home country in the 1970’s to join the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI), upon his father’s insistence.

Still, despite a significantly broader international experience, the former lieutenant general has garnered a far less inviting reputation in the eyes of the international community than his current presidential opponent, Joko.

Prabowo is banned from entering the United States due to his alleged involvement in one of the bloodiest chapters in Indonesia’s history: the fatal shooting of Trisakti University students in 1998 and the resulting, violent chaos that led to the fall of strongman Suharto, who happened to be his father-in-law.

Other leaders who had been banned by Uncle Sam, however, were allowed to enter upon election into government office. Narendra Modi, India’s newly appointed prime minister, was similarly barred from entering the US due to his checkered track record on human rights, but was given a pass following his election in May.

During the presidential debate with Joko, Prabowo repeated at least three times that he prefers peace and diplomacy to armed conflict.

“I want to put friendship first; good-neighbor diplomacy. We will always put politeness first, tolerance with other nations — in line with the character of our nation. Through understanding each other, we will achieve good friendships,” Prabowo said in a soft-spoken speech that turned out to be a direct contrast to some observers’ predictions that he would take a firm stance against nations having conflicting interests with Indonesia.
Prabowo also emphasized the importance of first strengthening the country’s economy and human resources to build international prominence.

“Strong resilience and defense stem from the people’s prosperity. Therefore we need to work hard to strengthen our economy and reduce ‘leakage,’ ” Prabowo said, referring to capital flight and natural resources pouring out of the nation. “No country will respect us as long as we remain weak. Therefore, we will work hard to become a dignified nation who will stand on its own feet.”

Joko Widodo

Joko, the rising star of Indonesia’s political landscape, has noticeably little international experience. His travel abroad has been limited to trips to Europe as a furniture exporter for the business he established in his hometown of Solo, East Java.

But against all odds, Joko — who is affectionately known as “Jokowi” — has managed to earn praise from international leaders and political observers. The mild-mannered Jakarta governor joined the ranks of the “World’s 50 Greatest Leaders” compiled by Fortune Magazine this year, thanks to his reputation as a reformist public official.

Joko’s commitment to battle corruption and cut down on bureaucratic red tape, first as the mayor of Solo, then as a governor of the nation’s capital, gained him favor both nationally and abroad.

Despite his lack of international exposure, Joko can turn to the heavyweight international relations experts to have joined his team, including Rizal Sukma, executive director of the Center of Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), who serves as his personal adviser for foreign affairs.

The father of three, who has often been thought of being more conciliatory toward foreigners, at least compared with Prabowo, underlined that he would not be a toothless leader. When asked about border disputes, for instance, Joko replied: “If it’s clear that the [disputed area] belongs to us, of course we will make a fuss about that. Don’t think I can’t be stern.”

“I think being stern is daring to make decisions; daring to take action. As a leader of our nation I will take risks. If they try to take away our land, I’ll do anything to [prevent] them from doing so.”

In a meeting with foreign journalists, Rizal explained that with respect to foreign policy, Joko will give attention to issues concerning Indonesia’s territorial waters.

“Resources from the sea will be very important to us,” Rizal said. “We will tackle problems such as illegal fishing and smuggling. We are going to accelerate [and settle] the issue of maritime boundaries with our neighbors.”

Under Joko’s leadership, the country would play an active role in settling regional conflicts and ensure peace in the region, said Rizal, referring to elevating tension caused by the multi-sided struggle for control of the resource-rich South China Sea.

“The future of East Asia will … depend on how well the regional countries manage territorial dispute,” he said. “[Regarding] the so-called hot spot we are facing at the moment — the South China Sea — Indonesia will continue to play a positive role [in the matter] to find a solution … between Asean and China.”
The former Solo mayor has also stated his commitment to increase protection for Indonesians working overseas by providing better training, tightening the selection process and regularly monitoring the well-being of each citizen after leaving the safety of their country.
Jakarta. Indonesia Police Watch has warned it believes four areas, namely East Java, Yogyakarta, Solo and Jakarta, are at risk of clashes ahead of Wednesday’s presidential election.

The nongovernment organization, known as IPW, has called on the National Police to secure these potential conflict zones by taking precautionary measures.

“The National Police must work to anticipate and prevent any criminal activity or violence ahead of the presidential election, as several parts of the country have shown increasing signs of tension among supporters,” said IPW chairman Neta S. Pane in Jakarta on Sunday.

Based on IPW observations, a number of areas across the archipelago have seen a rise in reported crimes and clashes.

“There have been several attacks in Yogyakarta; clashes and Molotov cocktails [being thrown] by supporters. In Solo, a party member was shot at and in Jakarta a post for campaign volunteers was torched. Strangely, none of these cases have been solved [by police],” said Neta.

Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) supporters vandalized the Yogyakarta office of tvOne last week, in retaliation for news coverage which insinuated PDI-P presidential hopeful Joko Widodo and other members of his campaign team had connections to the outlawed Indonesian Communist Party (PKI).

IPW reminded the camps of both presidential candidates to control their respective volunteers and urge them to maintain calm, especially on July 9, when Indonesians make their way to polling stations to decide the fate of the country.

Additionally, the State Intelligence Agency (BIN) has warned clashes may occur in Central Java, Yogyakarta, Poso and Papua.

National Police chief Gen. Sutarman said the country’s law enforcers will make Jakarta a priority and deploy additional officers to ensure a smooth and secure presidential election.
Behind SBY Backing, the Rise of Prabowo

Jakarta Globe, Vita A Busyra / 9 July 2014 / 12:00 AM


Jakarta. The decision by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono’s Democratic Party to officially back presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto reflects the progress that Prabowo has made in the past two months to improve his electability.

There is a reason why, over the years, Yudhoyono has been dubbed as the “thinking general” by the media. He has made what can be viewed as calculated and well thought-out maneuvers.

Vice President Boediono knows this well. He once made public that the reason why Yudhoyono picked him as a running mate was because his name came at the top of a survey run by Saiful Mujani at Yudhoyono’s request. The polling sought to find out which running mate would maximize Yudhoyono’s electability in the 2009 presidential election.

Yudhoyono and his Democratic Party announced at its national meeting in May that they would be neutral during the election, meaning they would support neither Jakarta Governor Joko Widodo nor Prabowo, a former general.

Taking into account that Yudhoyono is keen to make decisions based on data and supporting evidence, one can safely argue that the reason why he did not choose to support Prabowo at an earlier point was because Prabowo’s chances of winning appeared slim, compared to Joko’s, who was leading in polls. Never mind that Hatta Rajasa, Yudhoyono’s in-law, is Prabowo’s vice presidential running mate.

On the other hand, Yudhoyono’s effort to lobby Megawati Soekarnoputri, chairwoman of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), to be part of the coalition that backed Joko were not successful.

“In my opinion, his political communication with Megawati failed. Sometime ago, SBY [Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono] has given a signal to the PDI-P and especially to Megawati, that they [the Democratic Party] are willing to join hands with the PDI-P,” Phillips Vermonte, a political analyst from the Center of Strategic and International Studies told the Jakarta Globe on Friday.

Additionally, Yudhoyono and Megawati hold a grudge against each other.

Nearing the 2004 election, it was reported that Megawati gathered her ministers to ask if any one of them was considering to run for the presidential election.

Yudhoyono — who then served as the coordinating minister for politics and social and security affairs — did not tell Megawati about his wish to run for president. But Yudhoyono would later run for president, and he won eventually, defeating Megawati. Megawati’s aides disclosed that she was not pleased with this incident.
The aversion to support a candidate with a slim chance of winning and the failure to gain favor from a winning side at that point, led to his declaration of neutrality in May. So what has changed since then?

Prabowo’s electability has improved rapidly as shown in various surveys. Prabowo’s unprecedented rise gave the thinking general the confidence to support him.

As such, the Democratic Party announced on Monday that it would be abandoning its earlier commitment of neutrality in the 2014 presidential election to throw its support behind the Great Indonesia Movement (Gerindra) party candidate.

“The Democratic Party decided and instructed all its members, supporters and associated organizations across Indonesia to fully support and vote for Prabowo-Hatta at the presidential election,” party chairman Syarief Hasan said at a press conference in Jakarta.

Senior party officials Jero Wacik, E.E. Mangindaan, Amir Syamsuddin, Roy Suryo and Edhie Baskoro Yudhoyono were present at the press conference. “This is our official stance,” Syarief said.

Some would say that with the Democratic Party — with Yudhoyono as its leader — officially backing Prabowo, that gives him a better chance at winning the presidential election on Wednesday.

Prabowo’s success in branding himself as a firm leader — thanks to his savvy, long-running campaigns — and the solid political machine in the form of established political parties backing him up are considered as twin reasons behind Prabowo’s ability to close the gap on Joko.

Aleksius Jemadu, a political analyst from Pelita Harapan University (UPH), attributed Prabowo’s growing popularity to his campaign team’s aggressive moves.

“His message is quite effective, a firm, nationalist leader who wants to improve Indonesia’s dignity,” Aleksius said.

Indonesians long for firm leaders, Aleksius said, while noting that the general public presently perceived the current president, Yudhoyono, as prone to vacillation. Hence it is only to be expected that many voters prefer a figure that exudes a stronger character in the coming election, he said.

“Prabowo fulfills the public longing for a firm leader, and that affects voters,” Aleksius said.

Prabowo has successfully branded himself as a firm and brave leader, an ex-military general who will not hesitate to make difficult choices.

“Meanwhile, that image does not exist for Joko. He is more of a humble leader,” Aleksius said.

Further, Prabowo has the backing of some of the most solid political parties in Indonesia. The Golkar Party, which has never been in the opposition since its founding as former dictator Suharto’s political vehicle, has thrown its considerable regional network behind the former general.

The relatively new Islamist party, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), is one of several key parties supporting Prabowo’s presidential bid.
On the other hand, various negative and smear campaigns targeted at Joko have hurt his electability considerably.

Rumors about Joko being a mere “puppet” to Megawati, being a closet Christian, being of a Chinese descent and him being affiliated with communist elements are afloat in the archipelago.

Joko’s team asked the police in June to arrest the publisher of a little-known tabloid after it falsely reported that the Muslim governor from the Javanese city of Solo was an ethnic Chinese Christian.

A National Police spokesman said authorities were investigating the case against Obor Rakyat, or People’s Torch, a newspaper available in Islamic boarding schools and mosques in Central and East Java.

Joko has been forced to defend himself against the attacks, which are mainly focused on his race and religion — potent topics in a country that is 95 percent native Indonesian and has the world’s largest Muslim population.

Some opinion polls show that Joko’s once huge lead over Prabowo has shrunk to single digits, a rapid decline that pollsters attribute to a successful smear campaign against the frontrunner ahead of the election.

“People in rural areas and people with middle- to lower-income and education tend to believe the black campaign [against Joko]. That is why the electability of Jokowi is decreasing significantly,” said Burhanuddin Muhtadi, the executive director of pollster Indonesian Political Indicator.
Election Win Is a Victory for Indonesians, Joko Says

Presidential candidate Joko Widodo, who claims victory in Wednesday’s election, says this year’s race opens a new chapter for Indonesia as people have decided to set a new direction for the country.

He said that based on preliminary results from credible polling stations, he and vice presidential running mate Jusuf Kalla were currently in the lead over rival Prabowo Subianto and his running mate Hatta Rajasa.

Joko had 52.98 percent of the votes, while Prabowo had 47.02 percent, according to results from pollster Saiful Mujani Research & Consulting. The data were based on 99.7 percent of the vote counted, and the margin of error was 0.62 percent. Altogether, seven polls called Joko as the leading candidate, while four listed Prabowo on top.

“We all want the better Indonesia whose people are healthy, smart, civilized, prosperous … Today history has been made, this is a new chapter for Indonesia,” he said, wearing his signature checkered shirt while speaking to a group of supporters at Tugu Proklamasi in Central Jakarta, a few hours after declaring victory.

“I want to firmly say that the victory that had been stated by the quick count results is not Jokowi and JK’s victory, not the campaign team’s, political parties’ — but the victory of all of Indonesia. One more time, this is the victory of all Indonesians,” Joko added.

The real victory, he said, came from the public’s participation in the election. Indonesians are aware of their rights and obligations, and do not let themselves be intimidated, Joko added.

In April, 75 percent of voters turned out for the legislative election, and that ratio was higher for this presidential election, at 82 percent, according to a pollster cited by BeritaSatu.com — in what was viewed as a tight race. More than 190 million people were registered to vote in the nation’s 34 provinces on Wednesday.

“The more important thing after the presidential election is to serve the people. Parties should unite and make Indonesia a better place,” Joko said.

Joko also urged the public to wait for the official announcement from the General Election Commission (KPU) on July 22, when the official results are due. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono had called for calm between both sides of the presidential tickets amid concern that supporters of either side might cause unrest.

“Do not taint the sincerity of the people’s voice in today’s election. I appreciate Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Rajasa for what they have contributed to democracy in Indonesia,” Joko said.
He added that he respected the two men and called them statesmen, patriots and fighters for Indonesia. He also expressed his appreciation of the president, whose two-term limit ends in October.

“You have supervised and led the presidential election to run well all long,” Joko said about Yudhoyono.
Jakarta. The trend that appears in various reliable polling results for the past weeks shows that whereas Prabowo Subianto’s popularity has increased significantly, the increase in Joko Widodo’s popularity is comparatively smaller. Some polls even show that Joko’s popularity has been stagnating. Yet, the race remains too tight to accurately predict who will win eventually.

Joko’s campaign team spokesman Anies Baswedan, told the Jakarta Globe on Thursday that there is only thing in the minds of Joko and his supporters now: working as hard as they can. “We no longer pay much attention to what polling results say. With the time that we have left, we only focus on working as hard as we can now,” Anies told the Globe.

As various pollsters show that presidential candidate Prabowo has managed to close in on Joko’s previously whopping popularity, the situation does not appear too encouraging at Joko’s camp.

In early April, one of the most credible pollsters following the Indonesian presidential race gave Joko a 30-point lead over Prabowo — a significant advantage that led it to declare that the race appeared “well and truly over, even before it’s begun.”

Fast-forward three months to today, and that same pollster, Roy Morgan, is now saying the race is “too close to call,” in a nod to Prabowo’s astounding surge over the past several weeks.

Roy Morgan’s latest monthly survey, involving 3,117 respondents above the age of 17 across Indonesia, showed 52 percent saying they would vote for Joko, and 48 percent for Prabowo.

The figures show a significant improvement for the latter, who polled at just 24 percent in Roy Morgan’s previous survey, in May, and at 15 percent in April. Joko, meanwhile, has only improved marginally, from 45 percent in April — when he held a massive 30-point lead over Prabowo — followed by a dip in May to 42 percent.

The pollster noted that Prabowo “clearly gained support from those who were previously supporting other candidates, to a far greater extent than did Joko.”

“While Joko is still ahead, Prabowo could win if the swing to Prabowo continues in the time that remains before voting day on July 9,” it said in a statement.

Debnath Guharoy, the Asia-Pacific regional director at Roy Morgan Research, said factors like Prabowo and his running mate Hatta Rajasa’s performances in the presidential and vice presidential debates had managed to sway voters.

“The Prabowo-Hatta camp have worked hard at closing the gap. Today’s media scene in Indonesia is markedly different from the election that brought SBY to office,” he said, referring to President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.

‘Difficult to predict’
Several other pollsters also have Prabowo only three to four percentage points behind Joko, while others put him in the lead.

A survey from Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting showed that Joko is 2.7 points ahead of Prabowo, AFP reported on Tuesday.

The results of a survey published on Thursday by the Political Communication Institute (Polcomm) gave Prabowo 46.8 percent and Joko 45.3 percent, from a field of 1,200 respondents from across the country.

“It’s difficult to predict who will win,” said Polcomm director Heri Budianto, calling the closeness of the race unprecedented in Indonesian politics. “The tension is getting higher. We hope the presidential election will run well and smoothly.”

One can safely say that a few days before election comes, Joko has lost the dramatic momentum he once had. Yet, whether the trend can continue and result in Prabowo taking over Joko by election day on 9 July, remains a question that even polling experts find difficult to answer decisively.

Fadli Zon, a deputy chairman of Prabowo’s Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), said the results were in line with the figures from the party’s own surveys.

He added he was confident that Prabowo’s slight lead on Joko would be more apparent at the ballot on Wednesday.

He also denied that Prabowo had been able to catch up so fast because of a relentless smear campaign against Joko.

“If Joko says the increase [in Prabowo’s popularity] is due to smear campaigns, we want to emphasize that we have nothing to do with those campaigns,” Fadli said.

He did, however, say that his camp had conducted what he called “negative campaigning” against their rival.

“We convey that based on facts. For instance, when I say Joko lies a lot. I can’t be sued for that because there are facts and data to support that statement,” he said.

Ira Soekirman, the Roy Morgan Research Indonesia director, said that while her organization’s survey still had Joko leading, it also highlighted that up to 9 percent of eligible voters were still undecided — a significant figure, given the tight margin.

One thing remains clear: undecided voters who made up a sizable portion of polling respondents up to now, will play an instrumental role in determining the outcome of the 2014 presidential election in Indonesia. For that reason, both camps have desperately tried to court these “undecided” and bank on the hope that they might make up their mind on Wednesday.
Jakarta. Indonesia’s currency and bond markets rose in offshore trade on Wednesday after the political party of reform-minded candidate Joko Widodo, also known as Jokowi, claimed he had won a closely fought presidential election.

Rival candidate Prabowo Subianto, a former special forces general, though, claims victory, based on quick counts.

Indonesia’s domestic markets were closed on Wednesday. But the rupiah rose 2 percent in offshore non-deliverable forwards to levels around 11,525 per dollar.

Analysts anticipated big gains in the Jakarta stock markets on Thursday. Stock investors had in any case been cautiously primed for a change of guard and therefore thinking in Southeast Asia’s largest economy.

“We are in for a euphoric market in the next week,” said Fajar Hidayat, a director at CIMB-Principal Asset Management in Jakarta. “We will start increasing our equity holdings. In the past few months we’ve been on neutral for our equity funds.”

Indonesia’s stock market has risen 2.5 percent since Friday to its highest since mid-May. In the year to date through Tuesday it has gained nearly 18 percent.

The rupiah has risen 3 percent against the dollar since last week in domestic trade and closed on Tuesday at around 11,600 per dollar. Local bonds have rallied, too, despite the threat of an imminent rise in administered fuel prices and in policy rates.

Indonesia’s high-yielding dollar bonds rallied on Wednesday, with bonds due in 2044 trading as much as 2.5 points higher at 118/118.5 cents to a dollar. That took the yields on the bonds, issued in January with a coupon of 6.75 percent, to 5.5 percent.

“Indonesia is on fire,” one trader in Singapore said in a note to clients.

Foreign investors, who own almost 80 percent of the free-floating Indonesian stock market, have been buying, although their investments have slowed to a trickle in the past month.

Data from the stock exchange showed that by Tuesday foreign investors had bought a net Rp 46.5 trillion ($4 billion) so far this year.

Analysts at local brokerage Trimegah Securities said local institutional investors were holding about $2.9 billion in cash after selling out of stocks when the presidential race changed from being marginally in Joko’s favor to a tightly fought one. These investors are preparing to re-enter the market, Trimegah said.
Still, how far the Jakarta stock exchange rallies will depend ultimately on what kind of team Joko picks and how he shapes policies and navigates through a divided legislature.

Hidayat said he would pick stocks in the infrastructure sector, which is set to benefit from the big spending plans both candidates had outlined in their campaigns.

“We are looking at construction companies, cement makers and other companies related to the infrastructure sector,” he said.
Indonesians Go to Polls to Elect New President Facing Many Challenges

Jakarta Globe / 8 July 2014 / 09:20 AM


Jakarta. Indonesians go to the polls on Wednesday, voting in either a former military leader or an ex-furniture salesman to lead the world’s third-largest democracy in a presidential race that’s too close to call.

After weeks of intense campaigning and five presidential debates, Prabowo Subianto, a former special forces commander, faces Joko Widodo, governor of Jakarta. In a nation of more than 250 million people, 190 million registered voters in 34 provinces that span three time zones will elect a new president to replace Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, whose two-term limit ends in October. Voting starts at 7 a.m. and ends at 1 p.m., and quick count begins shortly after.

The winning candidate will face challenges, including dealing with an economy in which growth has stalled, deforestation that is leading to an increase in carbon emissions, educating a growing population that needs to compete globally and continue to lift millions out of poverty. The country is experiencing its third direct presidential election since Suharto stepped down from power 16 years ago, and democracy continues to grow.

“Indonesia is now at a pivotal point with its democracy. The people are to decide which way the country is going,” Ari Dwipayana, a political observer from Gadjahmada University, said.

In Papua, where the time is two hours earlier than in Jakarta, voting at the polls started slowly in light of people watching Germany’s defeat of Brazil in the World Cup.

At the polling station at Waena, in Papua’s capital Jayapura, coordinator Haji Rusia said that by 9 a.m. only a score of voters had cast their ballot.

“There’s been just 20 people who’ve cast their votes out of 253 female voters and 397 male voters registered here,” Rusia said.

The new president also inherits a country that covers about 1.9 million square kilometers, which in combined land mass is larger than Alaska. It’s also a nation rich in natural resources, from coal and copper to crude oil and natural gas, but those resources are diminishing as the country exports and tries to meet growing local demand.

The new government will have to tackle issues with foreign companies such as the mineral ore export ban that went into effect in January, and at the same time continue to encourage investment that will help build new roads and ports. It also must adapt to freer trade with other Southeast Asian nations as the Asean Economic Community begins in 2015.

“This election is definitely the turning point for Indonesia. We’re hoping that the next government will bring in something different to the table,” Destry Damayanti, chief economist at Bank Mandiri, said.
Jakarta. In an election that’s expected in many ways to be largely defined by the younger population, Indonesia’s youth headed to the polls this morning to vote for their future. Thirty percent of the 190 million people registered to vote are under the age of 30.

Robby Wijaya, who voted in his second presidential election today, wasn’t too keen on either candidate, but he opted for Joko Widodo simply because he didn’t like the alternative. “Prabowo definitely is not fit to bear the responsibility of a president, no one wants a tyrant to be their leader. And for Jokowi, he is not ready to compete in this election, since he needs more experience than just managing one or two cities,” says the 23-year-old from West Jakarta.

First-time voter Jasie Widjaja also voted for Jokowi because she believed in his vision. “He is a trustworthy man and if we compare him with his competitor, he is way better,” said the 18-year-old.

Her older sister Nedra added that she was throwing her support behind Jokowi because he had good plans for the country. “Indonesia needs to be fixed with systematic plans, which is perfect for us as I imagine we are like lazy teens with a messy bedroom and Joko and JK [vice presidential candidate Jusuf Kalla] have these plans to make these teens grow up and change,” explained the 23-year-old school teacher, who graduated from Atma Jaya Catholic University last year.

On the other hand, nutrition student Tyagita Shinta voted for Joko’s rival Prabowo Subianto because she thought he had a strong background. “I’m choosing Prabowo because he is firm and he has a military background,” said the 19-year-old, who added that her friends were divided between both candidates. “With an army background and Hatta Rajasa [as vice president], the former economics minister, he will make the country balanced.”

All hail the hashtag

In a campaign that has created a social media storm complete with music videos, quotable graphics and hashtags, the younger generation has been captivated by this new-age election fever.

Enda Nasution, a respected social media commentator, says that social media in this election has been a game changer in a nation which is regarded as one of the top 5 social media markets in the world.

“Both campaigns already understood that the majority of young voters would be on social media … so social media has been used quite heavily in both campaigns,” he said, adding that in the 2009 election social media barely played a role.

Interestingly, Enda said one of the big differences brought about by social media in this campaign was that it allowed the spread of information that wouldn’t typically be considered news by
traditional media outlets — including rumors and provocative smear campaigns — which has heavily influenced an impressionable young audience.

As of noon on Wednesday, four out of ten worldwide trending Twitter topics were related to the Indonesian presidential election.

Engaging the youth

Abdul Qowi Bastian of BeritaSatu’s Ayo Vote, an initiative to encourage young people to participate in the election, says officially there are no statistics on how many young people are expected to vote in today’s election.

A survey conducted by the Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI) following April’s legislative elections estimated that voter turnout among the 17-21 age group was 94%. Actual numbers are likely to be closer to the general turnout of 73%.

However, the participation in today’s presidential election is expected to be higher, says Abdul.

“A challenge of course, especially in the legislative election, was to engage the youth to vote. It’s easier for them to vote in the presidential election because there are only two candidates and most youth have already made up their minds.”

However, for some young voters the campaign has become an overwhelming circus, one where bureaucracy has impacted their decision not to vote.

For Jakarta-based 21-year-old Tiara Chairunnissa Salim, who was leaning toward Prabowo as her pick, the difficulty of traveling to Sumatra where she was born convinced her to abstain. In Indonesia individuals must report to their local polling station at least three days prior to the vote in order to be eligible to participate in a different constituency.

“I’ve actually never registered to vote because I’ve moved around so much in my life and I’m from Sumatra and cannot go all the way back, the administration is just too difficult,” Tiara said.

Admittedly, the University of Indonesia student said, there was an option last week for her to register to vote on campus, but work commitments got in the way as well as a lack of belief in her country’s political system.

“In the end I really was not interested to vote. It’s so confusing which candidate has the best policies — they have no concrete achievements, both seem to be arguing and so are their supporters,” she said.
Joko Declares Victory in Indonesia’s Presidential Election

Febriamy Hutapea, Markus Junianto Sihaloho / 9 July 2014 / 03:11 PM


Jakarta. Joko Widodo declared himself the winner of Indonesia’s presidential election, beating Prabowo Subianto in what had been viewed as a tight race filled with negative campaigning.

Joko had 52.9 percent of the votes, while Prabowo had 47.1 percent, according to preliminary results from pollster Saiful Mujani Research & Consulting. The data were based on 99.1 percent of the vote counted, and the margin of error was 0.62 percent.

Joko thanked the Indonesian people, coalition partners and volunteers, he said, at a press conference at around 2:30 p.m. local time.

“We express the greatest gratitude to all the Indonesian people, from Sabang to Merauke, our volunteers from Sabang to Merauke, the cadres of PDI-P, Nasdem, Hanura, PKPI, all who have worked shoulders to shoulders, day and night,” he said. Joko was referring to his political party the Indonesian Party of Struggle (PDI-P), the National Democratic Party, the People’s Conscience Party, and the Indonesian Justice and Unity Party.

“We are grateful that the quick count result shows Jokowi-JK is the winner,” he said, referring to JK as his vice presidential running mate, Jusuf Kalla.

Joko called on the public to monitor the vote-counting process by the General Election Commission (KPU) so that it would be clean and honest, with no outside intervention.

“No one should spoil what the people want,” he said.

Prabowo, though, declared victory, an hour after Joko made the same claim.

“[The quick counts] show that we, Prabowo-Hatta, have received the support and mandate from the people of Indonesia,” Prabowo said at a political rally, referring to his running mate Hatta Rajasa.

Kalla told Prabowo and Hatta that he still regarded them as “brothers” and asked them to help build the country together “as best we can.”

“We promise to make this nation better,” Kalla said, adding that he was confident that the quick count results would not be overturned.

Kalla offered his appreciation to the young voters, who he believed had played a significant role in the presidential election.

“Thank you to the young generation, the young voters. Without the support from the young generation, it will be hard to win the election,” said Kalla.
He said that based on experience from the legislative election in April, there won’t be a difference between the quick count results and the actual results.

“God willing, it will not be too different from the real count,” Kalla said in Kebagusan, South Jakarta.

Another poll from CSIS-Cyrus Network showed that the Joko-Kalla ticket won 51.9 percent of votes against 48.1 percent for their rivals, according to Tempo.co. CSIS-Cyrus’s data, based on 99.65 percent of votes counted, has a margin of error of 1 percent.
**Jakarta.** The ethics council of a pollsters’ group in Indonesia will begin an investigation into two polling stations that reported results on the presidential election that deviated from the majority.

The Indonesian Survey and Public Opinion Association (Persepi) will ask seven of its members that released preliminary results of the presidential election to publicly announce their methodology. It will also summon two polling institutions, Puskaptis (Center of Policy and Strategic Development) and the Indonesian Voting Network (JSI), both of which had results counter to the majority of pollsters.

“The audit result will be announced to the public in less than a week,” Hamdi Muluk, a member of Persepi’s ethics council, said at a press conference on Wednesday. “This needs to be done to prevent the democratic political process from being tainted by opportunistic polling stations that manipulate data for certain political interests.”

At least 10 pollsters conducted quick counts of the presidential elections. Of those, seven showed that presidential candidate Joko Widodo and his running mate Jusuf Kalla had a lead of 4 to 6 percentage points over rivals Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Rajasa. Three polls, meanwhile, showed that Prabowo and Hatta had a gain of 1 to 4 percentage points over the Joko-Kalla ticket.

Results from the polls have been used by both Joko and Prabowo to declare their victories.

Hamdi said that the result of the audit would be announced in less than a week, to prevent the results of the polling stations from affecting people’s sentiments and further dividing the nation.

“Logically, if there are 10 polling stations, of which seven said A, and three said B, then the majority that said A is right,” Hamdi said.

Of 10 polling institutions that conducted the quick count, seven are members of Persepi. Hamdi said they could not investigate the National Survey Institution (LSN) — which also had results that deviated from the majority — because LSN is not a member.

Yunarto Wijaya, secretary of Persepi, said that the significant difference in the quick count result should be investigated to prevent chaos.

“Puskaptis has twice issued different results — which turned out to be the wrong result — on the gubernatorial election of South Sumatra. It created conflict, and the director was once caught by the police [after being accused of manipulating the results],” Yunarto said.

Andrinof Chaniago, another Persepi member, said that they would summon the two pollsters in order for them to clarify the different results. If anything suspicious is discovered, they would ask the pollsters to provide data for audit, before deciding whether they unintentionally made the mistake, or were intentionally lying to the public.
“We will check their methodology, their data, calling the field coordinators,” Andrinof said. “We will also find out who funded their quick count. If the methodology is right, the result should not have been significantly different [from that of other pollsters].”