

Verbal Violence During Jakarta Election (Pragmatics Study)

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Abstract – Throughout the history of regional elections in Indonesia, Jakarta Election is one of the most excited, phenomenal, and controversial. It is not only fully loaded with political contents, but also has implications for the use of language as its political means. Apparently, the use of language in political discourse in the mass media is not longer bringing the clarity of meaning because it has been manipulated for the interests of political elites and certain groups, resulting in language manipulation and deviation of language functions as a tool of cooperation. This situation is growing rapidly due to the freedom of the press and social media in Indonesia which has become more liberal since the era of reformation and globalization. This is what encourages people to be more open to express their voices, from brilliant arguments, suggestions, and solutions until mockery on the emerging political issues, whether found in newspaper or electronic media until comments or complaints in social media. Thus, this article is a part of the result of the study entitled: “Verbal Violence in Political Discourse During Jakarta Election: A Study of Socio-Pragmatic Discourses”.

Keywords – Verbal Violence, Political Discourse, Jakarta Election, Politeness.

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Background of the Problem

Why Jakarta elections become the most excited, phenomenal and controversial elections in these days? There are several strong reasons behind it. First, Jakarta is not just the administrative capital of Indonesia, but it is also where the heart and soul of Indonesian politics is. Second, Jakarta Election is arguably loaded with the political interests of two major powers; the government and the opposition along with its supporting parties. Third, one of the candidates as well the current governor of Jakarta caught up in blasphemy case that triggered a prolonged polemic, not only in Jakarta but also spreads into greater areas in Indonesian territory. Fourth, based on some observers' estimation, Jakarta election is the benchmark of political temperatures in Indonesia in general.

Regardless of the exactness of these reasons, the phenomenon in the Jakarta elections is not to be taken lightly, at least very important in terms of the use of language contained in the election discourse.

In principle, language serves as a means to communicate and to show identity their speakers. It means, the speakers can convey their actual feelings, ideas, and opinions, through language practice. Pragmatic, as a part of linguistics, in carrying out its function as a communication tool and also as a tool of interaction between human beings, requires three components needed in the process of communicating, i.e. communicating parties (speaker and hearer), information provided (contents and messages) and

tools used (speech and manner of disclosure). In this section, communication will succeed, if it is marked by the reactions given to the speakers as a sign that the contents or messages received in accordance with the speaker's intended meaning or communicative (Agustina, 2017) [130]). Not the other way around, pragmatics will failure along with reaction in the form of complaints against statements or ideas that result in prolonged protests, protests, or polemics. In terms of power and effect of contextual or contextual meaning of the message, language is ultimately effective for creating an influence and at the greater stage, it can be a political tool for seizing the power.

In connection with that reasons, based on temporary monitoring on discourses used in the recent Jakarta Election, it was found that some news were packaged in a particular language style used by political and community elites, who were generally rude, containing lies, and tends to twist the facts. This, potentially causing unrest in the community, can even lead to conflict. In this case, language as a political tool can become superfluous as it falls into a means of cursing, insulting, and exposing others' evil. Language becomes a tool for waging the conflict, hatred, SARA sentiments, and assassinations of political opponents, both on television and in print, even on social media (Agustina, 2017) [131].

In fact, in truth in politics, words have a powerful power to influence and change the paradigm into a better direction. In this regard, politicians are required to communicate ideas and ideas smoothly to various parties clearly. So also journalists, in its function must convey and review the news about activities and political issues that occur in the middle of society objectively and impartially. No exception to the general public, they are also expected to respond and provide a good response in the form of input, criticism, and refutation of the thinking and performance of political elites. In short, all the components involved in political discourse should express their ideas with courtesy and not offend, to hurt the feelings of the partners.

In Indonesia, the largest consumers of newspapers and TV viewers and also the highest users of news on the internet as a social media, are generally political elites or political communities; at least they can be classified as people who are interested and oriented to politics. This is confirmed by Feith (in Hanazaki, 1998) [122] that “political society is the largest reader of newspapers.” Thus, it is almost irrefutable that political content automatically becomes the most selling or interest content on the market. This situation is exacerbated by the freedom of the press in Indonesia which is increasingly leaning towards liberal since the reform era (Ardianto & Erdinaya, 2004) [155]. These facts trigger and encourage free speech and speech culture for the wider community, even almost without

ethical boundaries in various ways, styles, and slogans that often lead to verbal violence. This phenomenon is not only sourced from the political elite, but also imitated by society to the lowest level; this complexity mixed from the competent side on politics to the incompetent one, ranging from the old to the young, all of them mixed and accumulated into a unified political discourse of the Jakarta Election.

Nevertheless, Indonesia as a culturally rich and noble civilized nation, the function and noble role of language in the midst of society cannot be contaminated with such premature reason. Therefore, the results of this discussion are expected to provide feedback to the parties related to the dangers of the use of language that is not polite to the stability of security and public comfort.

B. Goal

Based on the phenomenon described above, the discussion of this research is important because the language as a political tool can be worthless. It falls into a means to cursing, berating, exposing other people's badness so as to potentially waging conflict, hatred, blasphemy case, and character assassination. This discussion is part of the research result being entitled Verbal Violence on the Jakarta Election: Socio-Paragmatic-Wacana Review in which this article is devoted to the pragmatic study. Therefore, it aims to "reveal the level of public politeness in political discourse on Jakarta election," by previously determining (1) the forms of expression of verbal violence used, (2) the types of speech acts used, (4) selected speech strategies, and (3) determine the principles of politeness that are violated in the discourse of Jakarta elections.

C. Theoretical Frameworks

This discussion is based on theories on (1) the style of language, as the expression of verbal violence, and (2) the language and speech act. Of the many language styles and figures of speech associated with verbal violence, the satire language styles are more closely related than others. There are four types of figure of speech that are included in the satire language style. (1) Sarcasm, the rudest, harshest, sarcastic, mocking, insulting, derisive without parable so it hurts for those who receive it. (2) Cynicism, one of the rudest figures of speech. (3) Irony, the most subtle kind of satire, the listener usually does not feel it directly because it uses the opposite expression. (4) Alusio, this one generally uses the familiar proverbs /phrases in the process (Keraf, 2007).

Politeness is a procedure or custom that prevails in society in the form of social behavior that is determined and agreed upon by a particular society. Modesty is an interpersonal relationship system designed to facilitate interaction by minimizing the potential for conflict and the constant confrontation in human relationships (Lakoff, 1975). Politeness also as a property associated in the speech that the speaker believes that the speaker does not transcend or deny his rights in fulfilling his obligations in speaking (Frasser, 1980). In addition, courtesy is an attempt to render the beliefs and disrespectful opinions as small as possible by adhering to the principle or maxim of politeness principle (Leech 1993) [206-207] in six categories. (1) The principle of wisdom (tact maxim) or the sense-weighting

principle, whereby the speaker attempts to minimize the doubts of others, or maximizes the profit of others. (2) The principle of acceptance (generosity maxim), or the principle of generosity, in which speakers maximize self-doubt and minimize self-gain. (3) Principle of mercy (praise maxim) or praise or reward principle, whereby speakers maximize respect for others and minimize disrespect for others. (4) The principle of humility (modesty maxim), in which speakers maximize self-disregard and minimize respect for oneself. (5) The principle maximization or agreement principle, whereby speakers maximize compatibility or agreement with others and minimize discrepancies or disagreements with others. (6) The principle of sympathy (sympathy maxim), in which speakers maximize sympathy and minimize antipathy.

In addition, creating a polite speech in communicating is closely related to the type of speech acts used. Searle (1975) [11-12] classifies acts of illocution in 5 types of speech acts. (1) Assertive speech act, involves the speaker to the truth of what he says, such as: stating, reporting, indicating, and mentioning. In this speech acts, the level of vulnerability of the "face" of the speaker is eminent because it is related to the truth of the expressed utterance. (2) Directive speech act is used by the speaker to ask the hearer to do something mentioned in the utterance, in the form of ordering, dictating, demanding, pleading, suggesting, appealing, and advising. This speech has the potential to threaten face to the form of ordering, because it commonly can be softened by using false sentences, solicitation, and prohibitions. (3) Expressive speech acts, conducted with the intent of an evaluation of the things mentioned in the utterance, such as: praise, criticize, criticize, say thank you, and complain. A somewhat competitive one is the criticism of speech, so it is advisable to use a bid imperative and a solicitation in interrogative construction. (4) Commissive speech acts, binds its speakers to carry out what is mentioned in their utterances, such as pledge, swear, and threaten, and tend to be pleasant and less competitive because they do not refer to the interests of speakers but to the interests of the speaker. (5) Declarative speech act, the speaker is committed with the intention of creating new things (status, circumstances, etc.), such as deciding, canceling, permitting, prohibiting and forgiving, which is usually done by an authorized person in a terms of reference institutional.

Referring to the politeness strategy, ecoding to Brown dan Levinson (1983) [38-42] every speaker before speaking should consider whether his/her speech will hurt the feelings of his/her hearer. (1) If the speaker is willing to keep his speaker's face, the speaker must try to speak politely. (2) If the speaker is willing to violate the positive face of the speaker (for his acceptance and acknowledgment of his/her good reputation), then the speaker uses a positive politeness strategy. (3) If the speaker is willing to violate the negative face of the speaker, (violates the speaker's desire not to be disturbed or diminished by his/her rights), then the speaker uses a negative propriety strategy (see Yule, 2006) [107]. In its implementation, the strategy of telling is formulated in five strategies by Brown and Levinson (1987) [92], with the aim of reducing the disappointment of the speaker (speech partner) for the acts

performed by the speaker: (1) a plain-straightforward strategy. (2) Strategies with positive courtesies, (3) strategies related to courtesy of negative politeness, (4) vague speech strategies, and (5) silent or talk-to-yourself strategies.

To determine the level of politeness, it can be based on some degree of politeness. For this discussion, the parameters used are the scale of the continuity of speech delivery according to Blum-Kulka (1985) [5-6], the strategy of speech (1) is called straightforward, ie speaking without using the way or directly express the intended purpose by using only the inner structure (deep structure) While strategy 2-5 is called an indirect strategy because the inner structure is replaced by the birth structure according to the context and the speech situation. Direct-talking strategies are more likely to threaten the face so that they are more likely to produce discourteous or less polite speech; Otherwise the indirect strategy further reduces the threat of the face so that gave birth to polite or slightly more polite.

II. METHODOLOGY

This discussion is the result of the qualitative research as it is oriented to natural objects (Moleong, 2010) [11]; and is descriptive which to prioritize the depth of appreciation to interaction of the among concepts in which being studied empirically (Semi, 1993) [24]. The subject of this discussion is expressions of verbal violence contained in news, reviews, opinions and comments about Jakarta election in: (1) print media Rakyat Merdeka, (2) electronic media Kompas.com, Liputan6com, and (3) social media likes Instagram and Facebook. All data was downloaded in a period of January -April 2017, during the campaign until the winner's determination.

The selection of data sources is done randomly without any particular tendency and the inclusion of social media as a source of data because it can be accessed by anyone so it is the same as the mass media and already in the realm of public speaking. Analyzing data through content analysis method is done to reveal, understand, and capture messages in data, and make conclusions obtained through identification and interpretation of data (Endaswara, 2011) [160].

III. DATA ANALYSIS

A. Verbal Violence during Jakarta Election Discourse in print Media

The printed media as a source of data for this discussion is the newspaper entitled "Rakyat Merdeka". This newspaper is national-level newspapers and representative for Jakarta society in particular and the people of Indonesia in general. The data were focused on the "twittpolitik" column on the first page observed for four months (January to April 2017) and were taken randomly for 20 days with the acquisition of 39 data containing the expression of violence. Here is some data as an example.

- Jagad politik sudah mulai ramai. Tidak apa-apa saling silang pendapat, asal jangan berkutut di *kubangan fitnah*. Yuk, kita bangun negeri kita. (M, RM:11/1/17) 'The political universe

- is starting to rumble. It does not matter if it's different, as long do not get trapped in a *slander pool*. Let us build our country together'.
- Kalau penguin berkepala bodong/Lalu apa ada suara/ Kalau pemimpin berkata bohong/ Lalu apa kata dunia. (TS, RM:11/1/2017) 'If the head of the penguin is empty / Then what is the voice/ *If the leader lies / Then what will the world say*'.
- Jangan habisi lawan-lawanmu sehingga jadi ampas*. Hadapi dengan fair & perlakukan mereka dengan respek... (BS, RM:27/1/17) 'Do not *destroy* your opponent until it becomes *dregs*. Deal with the fair & treat them with respect...'
- Menuju PILKADA DKI 15 Feb 2017, *fitnah, penjegalan, dan pembunuhan karakter makin tak beretika*. Saudara-saudaraku, *sadarlah* kita semua sebangsa. (M.R, RM:31/1/17) '*Calumny, smear-campaign, and character assassination* in the elections of DKI 2017 become increasingly *uncivilized*. My brothers, *be aware*, we are all one nation'. (M.R, RM: 31/1/17).
- Memilih pemimpin kafir itu "sesat"*, tetapi *memilih pemimpin yang suka "meng-kafirkan"* orang, itu juga *sesat*... Ya Allah *mohon* petunjuk Mu. (LE, RM:20/2/17) 'Choosing a *non-Islamic leader* is '*mis-guided*,' but choosing a *leader who likes to 'arraign'* people, is equally *misguided*. Oh God, *I beg* for your guidance'.
- Ingin tahu *seseorang korup/tidak*, beri dia *kekuasaan*. Ingin tahu *seseorang cendekiawan/anggota gerombolan*, beri dia *PILKADA*. (S, RM:20/2/17) 'Want to know someone is *corrupt or not*, give him a *power*. Want to know someone a *scholar or member of a gangster*, offer him an *election*'.
- Pilkada DKI membuktikan sisi gelap agama*. Betapa *jahatnya agama yang dipolitisasi*. Betapa *jahatnya orang-orang beragama*. (@, RM: 14/3/17) 'The Jakarta Election shows the *dark side of a religion*. How wicked if *religious teachings have been politicized*. How wicked these people are.'
- Dari Senayan sampai Istana, berjejer Tukang Orba*. Sambung menyambung menjadi satu, itulah *kemunafikan*. (RG, RM: 16/03/17) '*From Senayan to the Palace, those are New Order's actors*. If connected together, that is *hypocrisy*'.
- DEBAT* itu *adu program terbaik* bukan *adu omong kosong*. (FR, RM: 3/4/17) '*DEBATE* is the show of the *best programs, not a mutual nonsense*'.
- IBLIS* juga bisa beri *kekuasaan*. Tapi bedanya *kekuasaan yang datang dari TUHAN* membawa keberkahan sedang yang dari *IBLIS* membawa *kerusakan*. (AM, RM: 6/4/17). '*SATAN can be a ruler*. However, the difference of power coming from the *LORD* brings a blessing, while *SATAN* leads to a *total destruction*'.

Based on 39 data that has been identified, it can be classified as follows.

Table 1. Data Classification of Verbal Violence Usage on Jakarta Election Discourse in Print Media

Figure of Speech	Total	Type of Speech	Total	Speech Strategy	Total	Politeness Principle	Total
Sarcasm	6	Assertive	11	Bald on the record	9	Obey	12
Cynicism	20	Directive	9	Negative politeness	5		
Irony	13	Expressive	19	Positive politeness	8	Violate	18
Alusio	1	Commisive	-	Indirect	7		

Based on the classification of data, some of the discussion can be put forward as follows. First, in terms of diction or phrase used, it turns out the most dominant masters appear

is a form of cynicism as it is found in data (3, 6, 8, 9), irony (1, 2, 4), and sarcasm (5, 7, 10). That is, the use of verbal violence focuses on the rather coarse innuendo. Second, in terms of the use of the type of speech, it turns out that the most dominant is the type of expressive (2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10), which in the data has the potential to threaten politeness because it is expressed in a way to criticize (3, 9), insinuate (1, 2, 10), blame (5), and regrets (7); although some of them use assertiveness by way of stating and mentioning (6), and directive by way of inviting (4) and counseling (5). Third, in terms of strategy speak, it turns out frank conversation without dominance is very dominant use (4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10) than negative politeness (3, 5), positive (1), and vague (2). That is, facial vulnerability is higher because that is used is a direct strategy. Fourth, in terms of the principle of politeness used, the fact that the violating (4-10) is more dominant than those who obey (1-3). Thus it can be concluded the verbal violence of politically discouraged people in the column "twittpolitik" Rakyat Merdeka 'quite threatening the face' partners said.

B. Verbal Violence During Jakarta Election Discourse in Electronic Media

Objects of discussion taken from electronic media is the Jakarta Election's news published on Liputan6.com and Kompas.com and the citizens' comments on the new their facebook account. After random data, there was a verbal abuse of 40 data as follows.

1. Pilkada itu ada tiga faktor yaitu figur, mesin politik, dan segi pengelolaan isu. Siapa yang paling jago memainkan sisi pengelolaan isu itu, *Anies-Sandi jago memainkan isu,*" ujar Masinton. (MP, L6: 22/4/17).
 'Three important factors in the Jakarta Election are figures, political machines, and aspects of issues management. Who is the most skillful side in managing issues, *Anies-Sandi team is the smartest one,*" says Masinton'.
2. Yaaa CUMA BEDA antara INTELEK & PREMAN. Santri nDESO dg Santri AKADEMI...! Tingkat SYARI'AT. & tingkat HAKIKAT. (FBJB, L6: 25/4/2017).
 'They are only distinguished between intellectuals and thugs. Between orthodox students and academic students. Between Shari'a and Substantial level'.
3. Itulah bedanya pendukung ahok yg pintar dan berpendidikan ama pendukung anies yg suka demo demi nasi bungkus. (FBNN, L6: 25/4/2017).
 'There is a big difference between *Ahok's supporter which is smart and well-educated* while *Anies's supporters are pursuers of wrapped rice*'.
4. Kalo anis menang, koruptor bahagia senang karna merasa aman, kl sama ahok korupsi dan kerja gk bener langsung di pecat. (FBR, L6: 25/4/2017).
 'If Anis wins, corruptors will be happy and joyful because it is guaranteed, if still Ahok in power, *the corruptors and lazybones will be eliminated*'.
5. "Yang paling penting adalah wujud kemenangan akal sehat. Gagasan yang kami berikan gagasan akal sehat. Jadi tidak benar kalau kemenangan ini bukan karena akal sehat," ujar Bambang di Posko Cicurug Jakarta, Selasa. (BW, L6:25/4/2017).
 'The most important thing is a victory over *the manifestation of common sense*. The idea we give is a *rational opinion*. So it is not true that this victory is not caused by common sense, "said Bambang at Posko-Cicurug Jakarta, Tuesday'.
6. Fadli Zon Sebut Karangan Bunga Ahok Bisa Jadi Pencitraan Murahahan. ... Nanti malahan efek negatif yang didapat, bukan

- positif*. Apalagi kalau ketahuan sumbernya itu-itu juga. Jadi *pencitraan yang murahan,*" ujar (FBFZ, L6c:26/4/207)
 'Fadli Zon mentions the wreaths for Ahok can be a *cheesy imagery* ... This will eventually cause negative effects, *not positive at all*. Moreover it comes from a suspicious source. So, this is a *low imagery,*" said ...'
7. Ahok sudah kalah. Gak perlu pencitraan. Hanya mulutmu aja yg nyinyir, lower...nyunyut...kayak emak2... (FBKS, L6:26/4/207)
 'Ahok has lost. No need to pretend. *Your mouth just keeps talking, lower... freaks... like a grandmother* ...'.
 8. Disini lah diuji karakter seorang tokoh.mn seorang negarawan mn seorang garong negara...semua hatinya hanya diisi kecurigaan dan fitnah, suatu masa jgn terjadi hal demikian pada dirimu dan keluarga yg kau cintai fadli zon. (FBSN, L6:26/4/207)
 'This is a *test of character for a figure*... that will put him as a statesman and a robber state ... *all of their hearts filled with suspicion and hate*.. for the future, do not let those things happen to you and your beloved family, Fadli Zon'.
 9. Iri sama yg kalah.....apakah pantas kau begitu zon sbg anggota dewan, bgs kau urus aja DPR biar lbh bagus lagi tau kau, kampret kau zon. . (FBHM, L6:26/4/207)
 'Why are you still jealous ... *such a shame to do that Zon* because you are a member of the board, it would be good you take care of the House, *damn you Zon*'.
 10. Pihaknya meyakini penemuan sembako yang diduga terkait politik uang, bersifat terstruktur, sistematis, dan masif (TSM) sehingga Ahok- Djarot harus didiskualifikasi meski sudah kalah. (ACTA, K: 28/4/17)
 'They believe that the discovery of the package related to *money politics is a structural, systematic and massive* way so Ahok-Djarot *must be disqualified* despite the defeat'.

Based on 40 data that has been identified, it can be classified as follows.

Table 2. Data Classification of Verbal Violence Usage on Jakarta Election Discourse in Electronic Media

Figure of Speech	Total	Type of Speech	Total	Speech Strategy	Total	Politeness Principle	Total
Sarcasm	15	Assertive	21	Bald on the record	30	Obey	9
Cynicism	15	Directive	8	Negative politeness	3		
Irony	10	Expressive	10	Positive politeness	2	Violate	31
Alusio	0	Commissive	1	Indirect	5		

First, based on the selection of expressions contained in the news and public commentaries on news content, three most dominant types are sarcasm, cynicism and irony. In this case, the intended news is not the result of reporter's reviews but the expressions of the source being interviewed. Aside from the conflict between the parties concerned, verbal violence is also conducted by political elites in the news. This phenomenon in some way encourages the public to participate in harsh and vulgar comments. Second, the use of assertive speech acts is more widely used by news sources and commentators, especially in open statements in wide community;, the expressive speech acts are used in the form of blasphemy (4), criticism (1), and, abomination; the directive speech acts are delivered in a demanding (10) and coercive manner (5); the commissive speech acts are used with censure utterance (6, 7, 8). Third, the dominant use of

the dominant figure of speech in sarcasm and cynicism is in line with the use of the expression strategy, which is delivered directly to the intended purpose. Fourth, it is also in line with the politeness principle where only a small number of speakers adhere to these principles, while other speakers generally commit offenses. Thus, this result indicates that the verbal abuse that people use in political discourse in the Jakarta Election on electronic media is at “high level of facial threatening.”

C. Verbal Violence on the Discourse of Jakarta Election in Social Media

The object of discussion of verbal violence on the discourse of Jakarta Election taken in social media is on instagram account of each governor candidate supporter, among others are @trolali.id, @dpp.fpi, @potretpolitik, @gembonk.politik, and @politikampus. From several randomly selected expressions (from February to April 2017), thirty seven utterances were classified as verbal violence. Here are some examples.

1. *Ahok: Surga Dunia* Bukan di Telapak Ibu, tapi *Lantai 7 Alexis*. (TL11:15/1/17)
'Ahok: The Heaven of the World is not at the bottom of Mother's feet, but on *the 7th floor of Alexis*'.
2. *Kaki tangan Gurita Cikeas* pamer duit. *Persiapan serangan fajar?* (PP16:12/2/17)
'Cikeas Octopus' right hand shows off their money. Is that attack at dawn?'
3. *AHY* bilang jangan salah pilih Gubernur nyeselnya 5 tahun. *Gue mau kasih tau gue udah ketipu sama bapaknya (SBY) selama 10 tahun.* (PP15: 13/2/17)
'AHY said that do not vote for wrong Governor because its regrets last for five years. For your information, *I have been fooled by your father (SBY) for the last ten years*'.
4. Pekerjaan yang paling sulit adalah menasehati saudara muslim yang: 1. *Jatuh cinta*, 2. *Mendukung Ahok*. (TL4: 14/2/17)
'The hardest tasks in the world are to advice your muslim brother which: 1. fall in love, 2. Support Ahok'.
5. Pendukung ahok rata-rata adalah LGBT, pemuja setan, penjudi, pemabok, bangke, pelacur, pengidap HIV AIDS, anti Islam, sipilis, kafir, kaum munafik. (DF11:28/3/17)
'Ahok supporters are dominated by LGBT, Satanists, gamblers, drunkards, carrion, prostitutes, HIV-infected, anti-Islam, syphilis, apostate, hypocrites'.
6. *Otak sama bacot udah gak nyambung, malu dong sebagai menteri pendidikan apkiran* #ANIESCAGUBBANYAKBACOT. (PP5:28/3/17)
'That brain and mouth is inconsequential. You should be ashamed as rejected minister of education. #ANIESTHEBRAGGER'.
7. Ane kagak usah kerja Ane jual ayat aja udah *Kaya* (Anti Wahhabi). (PK1: 16/4/17)
'I do not need to work; selling verses (of Quran) will make me a billionaire (Anti-Wahhabi)'.
8. A: *Aduuh, berat banget ini mayat* kebanyakan demo sih. B: *Siapa bro yang mati?* C: *si Rizieq* yang mati berat banget mayatnya. D: *Kebanyakan selingkuh dan nyebar fitnah.* (GP10:16/4/17)
'A: Ouch, this scandal-monger corps is annoyingly heavy. B: Who died? C: This is Rizieq-guy, the troublesome. D: Maybe too much betrayals and hoaxes'.
9. *Konsultan politik Anies akui politisasi masjid* memang untuk menangkan pilkada #janganpercayaanies. (GP: 17/4/17)
'Anies' politics consultant admitted that there are mosques misused, aims for winning the election. #donotbelieveinAnies'.

10. *Paslon 3* ibarat *pengepul rongsokan*. Ada *koruptor, ormas radikal, kaum sumbu pendek*, bahkan *mantan bos prostitusi kalijodoh*. (GP2:18/4/17)
'Candidate no. 3 is look alike a scavenger. There are corruptors, radical groups, hot-headed, and also ex-leader of Kalijodoh prostitution'.

Based on 37 data that has been identified, it can be classified as follows.

Table 3. Data Classification of Verbal Violence Usage on Jakarta Election Discourse in Social Media

Figure of Speech	Total	Type of Speech	Total	Speech Strategy	Total	Politeness Principle	Total
Sarcasm	18	Assertive	10	Bald on the record	16	Obeys	1
Cynicism	14	Directive	9	Negative politeness	15	Violates	36
Irony	4	Expressive	18	Positive politeness	0		
Alusio	1	Commissive	0	Indirect	6		

Based on the above classification table, several points can be abstracted on the analysis of verbal violence expression on the discourse of the Jakarta Election. First, the form of violent speech is most prevalent in sarcasm (1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10) and cynicism (2, 4, 7). It means, news about Jakarta Election commented by society roughly, spicy, open, and massive without filter. Secondly, speech is dominated by expressive and commissive types in the form of scorn (4), insults (6), blasphemies (5, 10), demands (3), ridicule (2, 7), and censure (1, 8) so it is very offensive to those who are insinuated. Third, the most commonly spoken strategies are bald on the record (straightforward) (1, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10) and bald on the record with negative politeness (2, 3, 4, 7). Both strategies are potentially very large to threaten the face of the recipient, because it is said or expressed directly without regard to the vulnerability of the recipient's face. Fourth, the combination of ill-mannered dictionary selection, unsafe types of speech, and direct politeness strategy finally leads to a total violation of the politeness principle that is encouraged in communicating, especially in the area of public discussion. At the end, the writer concludes that the verbal violence committed by the public in the political discourse of the Jakarta elections in the social media above is in the category of “high potential to threaten” the recipient's face.

IV. DISCUSSION

Referring to the previous analysis, it is clear that from the three media used as the source of the data in this discussion, there is a varying representation of the use of verbal violence resulting in different degrees of politeness. In the discourse of “twittpolitik” in print media, even though the speakers come from among the most reliable political elite, including state officials, legislators, humanists, artists and influential people around the country, their political issues are expressed in the form of cynicism along with criticism. Thus, the level of public politeness in the discourse of “twittpolitik” (Rakyat Merdeka) is generally at a “moderate” level, with the criterion ‘quite polite’. In this

case, the above-mentioned speech function in general tends to lead to a convivial function in which the purpose of the illusion is in line with the social objective. It means politeness is more positive and aims to create opportunities to discuss and share opinions (Leech, 1993) [162]. Nevertheless, it is still found that data contains the scathing criticism and sarcasm in line with what sated by Leech (1993) [161] that courtesy is an attempt to render the beliefs and disrespectful opinions as small as possible by adhering to the principle or maxim of politeness principle. This is not yet fully fulfilled in this context.

In the electronic media, where the dominant speakers consist of political elites, however the level of use of verbal violence is in the level of high potential of face-losing with the criteria of "less polite." This is most likely due to the dominant pattern of the two conflicting parties, as well the community as the supporting commentators. Thus, the function of the speech falls on the competitive function in which the purpose of the illocution is to compete with the social objective (Leech, 1993) [163]. In this event, the speech is negative and aims to reduce the implied disharmony in the competition between what the speaker, as conflicting parties wants to achieve and what is required in norms and ethics. In this case, according to Lakoff, (1975), Modesty is an interpersonal relationship system designed to facilitate interaction by minimizing the potential for conflict and the constant confrontation in human relationships.

The impact of the phenomenon is still feared by many. In Baranews.co (5/8/2017), Indro Nugroho (Atmajawa Political Psychologist) is concerned that a political elite statement containing verbal violence in the form of a strong no-base accusation will lead to social conflict in the society. The same thing is also voiced by Inayah Wahid (Gus Dur's daughter, former president of Indonesia) that the attitude of political elites who easily convey verbal violence is potentially thickening prejudice in the society in general, it is therefore the political elite being expected to be self-conscious to prioritize the nation's social cohesion rather than to achieve short-term political gain with political capitalization through allegations to others or mutual accusations among political elites; thereafter Prof. Azyumardi Azra (State Islamic University, Jakarta) appeals to "political elites in order to stop verbal abuse statements that have no evidence as to trigger and strengthen the escalation of hatred in society as well as to create very dangerous situation".

On social media platforms that are more dominated by younger groups such as students, pupils, young employees and its kind are generally split into two group patterns. They voiced their support through several communities. From the results of data analysis, some types of speech act are not in related to other aspects of the discussion. However, the expression of verbal violence used remains at a high-level of face threatening with the criteria "moderately disrespectful." In this case, their utterance has a conflictive function in which the purpose of the illocution contradicts the social purpose. It means that the speakers are less concerned with manners because this function is basically aimed at causing anger.

Thus, what is written by Frasser (1980) that politeness also as a property associated in the speech that the speaker believes that the speaker does not transcend or deny his rights in fulfilling his obligations in speaking, is highly ignored in the social media. Therefore, S. Yunus (Kompasiana.com, 12/2/17) calls for the chaotic expression of language that is full of blasphemy, hatred and insult in the era of campaign of Jakarta election must be returned to its main function as an effective and polite communication tool; because of how much broken social relations and cultural values are marginalized as well as the dirty words conveyed to the public sphere.

As the result of the research, in fact the cases are still relevant to the research conducted by F.X. Rahyono (2005) [54] that is the main characteristic of information delivery in the New Order Post media, was "straightforward news followed by a hyperbolic and abusive language, such as censure, complaints, anger, ridicule, and humiliation." Even though the research has long been conducted, however, the fact still occurred on Jakarta election discourse, either in the mass media or in the social media. At the meantime, according to F.X. Rahyono, verbal violence occurred in consequence of 'non-productive discernment', then S. Sandarupa (Kompas.com, 12/04/2013) called it 'political sadism' as a result of the use of political language in the Era of Democracy, while the M.D. Purnomo (Waspada.com, 03/12/2011) called it 'symbolic violence' as an effect of the Culture Violence that occurred in the society.

V. CONCLUSION

Based on the data phenomenon found from a number of media platforms (print, electronic and social) above, it can be concluded that the level of politeness of political discourse in Jakarta Election is generally in the criteria of "less polite." This is due to the violation of the use of the politeness rules, among others are (1) forms of expression used are more dominant in sarcasm and cynicism so that to cause anger and irritation, (2) the type of speech that is used tends to be assertive and expressive so that it has the high potential threatening the face of the speaker partner, (3) the selected speech strategy is more dominant in direct speech without courtesy and negative politeness so that it is more cornering the speaker partner. 4) the principle of politeness is almost not applied so that it has potential for creating conflict and confrontation in the community. Thus politeness is a procedure or social behavior that is determined or agreed upon together by a certain particular society being ignored by the actors of speaking on Jakarta election discourse.

In spite of the fact that the results of this discussion do not generalize the media used as the source of data in this discussion, however this can be used as feedback (autocriticism) for the parties concerned.

The political elites should give examples to the public how to communicate well by establishing a polite language tradition in politics and in governing because language is the breath of communication based on the logic of truth. Likewise for the society, 'freedom of expression' in the rapid advancement of information and technology is indeed

a blessing in disguise. However, this is then fouled by the actions of 'freedom without control'. The act of freedom of expression in this case has violated the concept of 'free but limited' by ethical, religious, and language values. This act becomes undeniably significant if it is attributed to the language position in the public sphere as "a reflection of one's character" and "the identity of a nation."

In this context it is necessary to review what Wittgenstein has stated in the theory of his Language Game that humans treat language as a game (there are players, spectators, and referees), having rules to be agreed upon; so also the language of nobody can arbitrarily and anarchically give meaning and understand the word, moreover impose the meaning as desired without going through the convention process which is the fundamental character of the language (Purnomo, Waspada online 3/12/2011).

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