

POLITENESS STRATEGIES USED BY THE PRESIDENT CANDIDATES OF INDONESIA IN 2009 PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE

**By
Kartika Elvandari**



**FACULTY OF CULTURE STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF BRAWIJAYA
FEBRUARY 2012**

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THESIS

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THESIS

Presented to
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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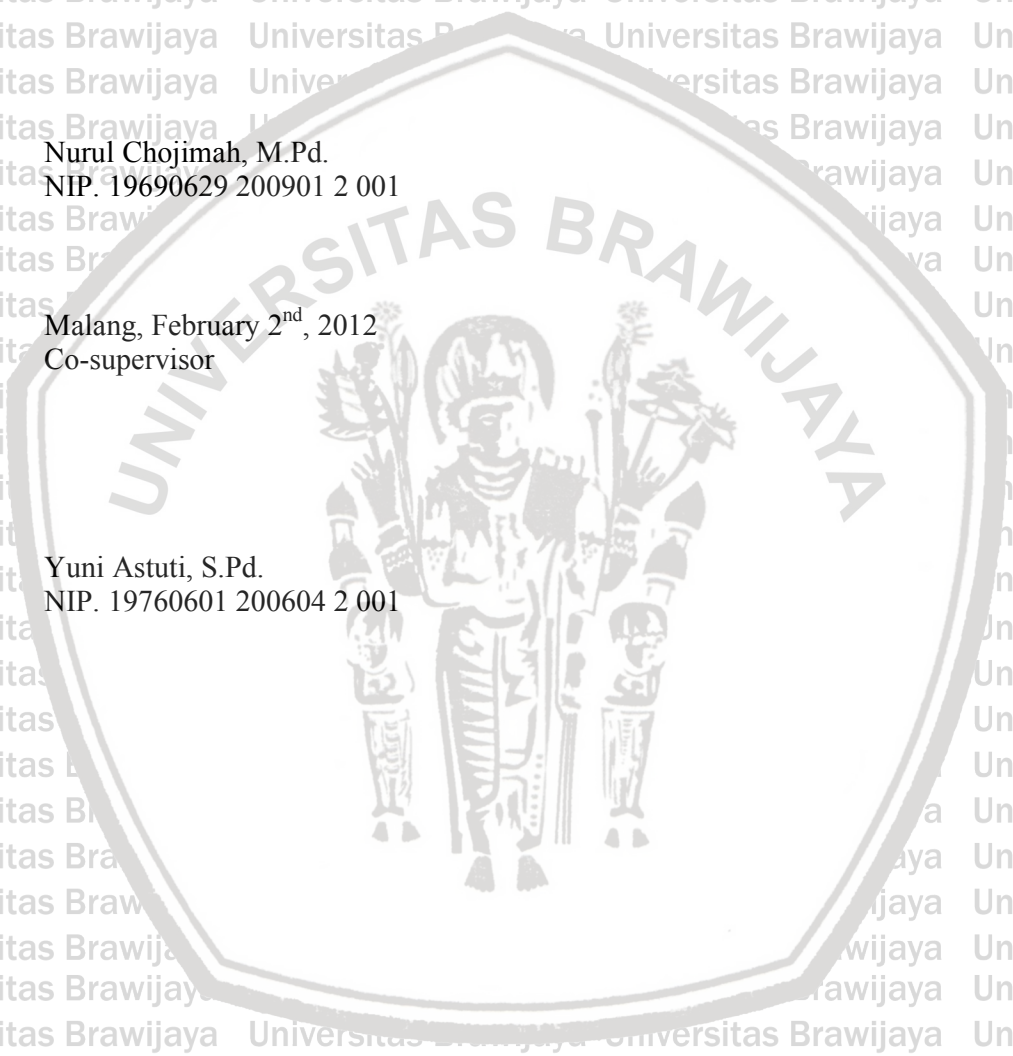
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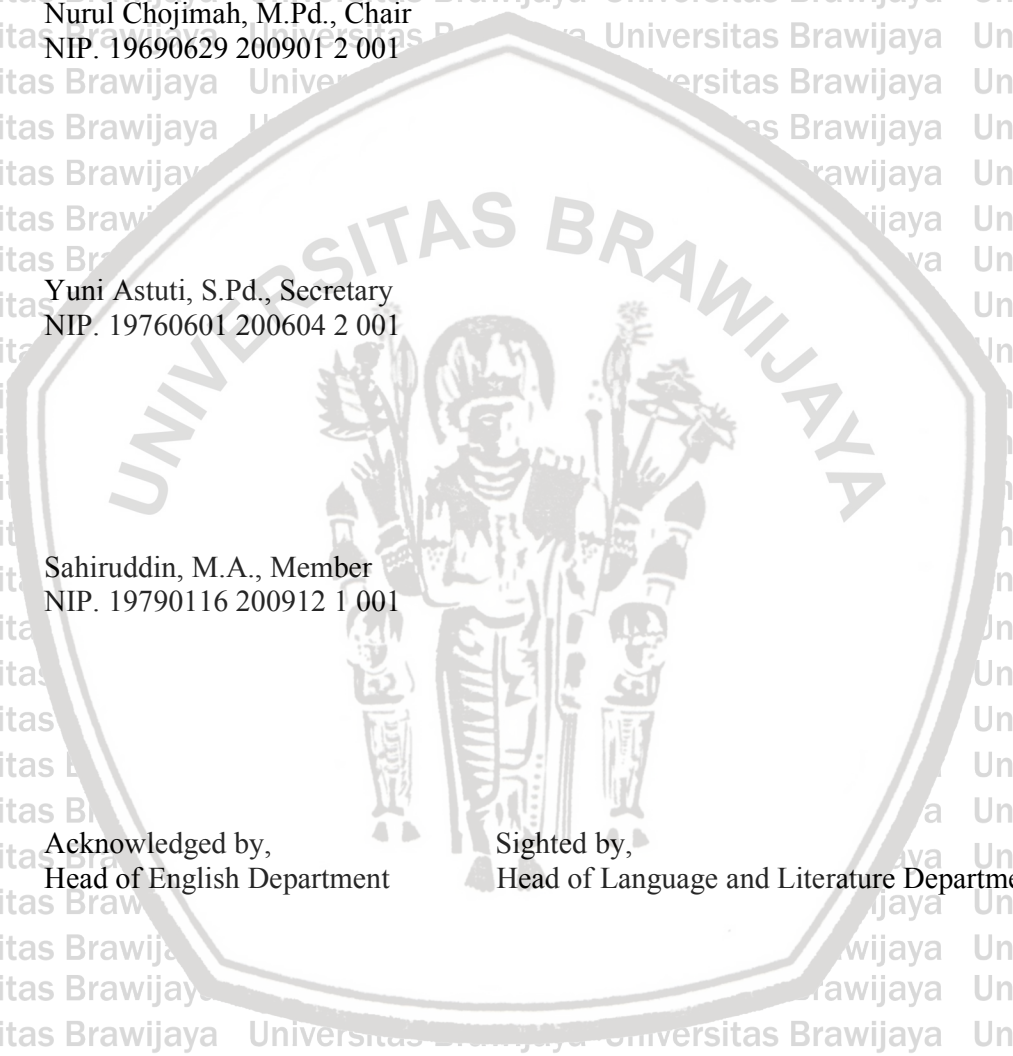
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ABSTRACT

Elvandari, Kartika. 2012., **Politeness Strategies Used by the President Candidates of Indonesia in 2009 Presidential Debate**. Study Program of English, University of Brawijaya. Supervisor: Nurul Chojimah; Co-supervisor: Yuni Astuti.

Keywords: Face Threatening Act (FTA), Politeness Strategies, Presidential Debate.

The way a political candidate creates his political image becomes crucial in getting his political party to stand out as well as to secure voters from the opposing parties. Debate is the example of the situation involving some people having various opinions. Thus, the candidates need to share their opinions in more less-attacking way through the use of Politeness Strategies. The researcher conducted a research about politeness strategies used by the President Candidates of Indonesia in 2009 Presidential Debate. There are two problems in this research: (1) what face threatened by each candidate in the 2009 Presidential debate; (2) what politeness strategies performed by the president candidates of Indonesia in performing FTA.

This research is classified as a qualitative one as it refers to meaning, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things. Its type is document analysis as the researcher analyzed the candidates' utterances obtained from the transcription of the 2009 Presidential Debate of Indonesia.

This research reveals that the candidates did 13 FTAs and also applied 13 politeness strategies in the third segment of the debate which discussed the main issue in Indonesia which was almost found in daily social life. It appeared that one of the president candidates, Megawati, did most of the FTAs and another candidate, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono applied most of the politeness strategies. From the analysis result, it was found out that the candidates attacked mostly each other's negative face as they often agreed and appreciated their rival's opinion. Moreover, they applied more often positive politeness strategies than the others. The strategies were: the 5th strategy (seek agreement) of claiming common ground and 11th strategy (be optimistic) of conveying that S and H are cooperators.

The researcher suggests that this thesis ideally can be used as another starting point to another researcher on the way how the debate are conducted and analyze how the atmosphere of the debate occurs. It is also recommended the future researchers use these finding as an additional reference and as comparative pragmatics research.

ABSTRAK

Elvandari, Kartika. 2012., **Strategi Kesantunan yang Digunakan oleh Calon Presiden Indonesia dalam Debat Presiden Tahun 2009**. Program Studi Sastra Inggris, Universitas Brawijaya. Pembimbing: (I) Nurul Chojimah (II) Yuni Astuti.

Kata kunci: Aksi (tindakan) yang menyinggung perasaan (FTA), Strategi Kesantunan, Debat Presiden.

Cara seorang kandidat politik dalam menciptakan citra politik mereka menjadi sangat penting dalam menggaet partai politiknya untuk bertahan sama halnya dengan upaya mengamankan suara dari partai oposisi. Debat adalah salah satu contoh dari situasi yang melibatkan beberapa orang dengan pendapat masing-masing. Disitu, para calon perlu mengungkapkan pendapat mereka dengan cara yang lebih kooperatif menggunakan strategi kesantunan. Peneliti menerapkan penelitian tentang strategi kesantunan yang digunakan oleh para calon presiden Indonesia dalam Debat Presiden tahun 2009. Ada dua rumusan masalah dalam penelitian ini: (1) Apa saja perasaan yang disinggung oleh setiap calon dalam Debat Presiden tahun 2009; (2) Apa saja strategi kesantunan yang dilakukan oleh para calon dalam Debat Presiden tahun 2009 dalam melakukan FTA.

Penelitian ini dikelompokkan sebagai penelitian kualitatif sebagaimana dengan makna, konsep, definisi, karakteristik, metafor, simbol, dan deskripsi dari segala sesuatunya. Tipe dari penelitian ini adalah analisa dokumen dimana peneliti menganalisa kata-kata dari para calon yang diperoleh dari transkripsi Debat Kepresidenan Indonesia 2009.

Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa para calon melakukan 13 FTA dan juga 13 Strategi Kesantunan pada bagian ketiga debat yang mendiskusikan isu utama di Indonesia yang banyak ditemukan di keseharian masyarakat. Ini terlihat ketika salah satu calon presiden, Megawati, melakukan lebih banyak FTA daripada calon yang lain sedangkan Susilo Bambang Yudoyono menerapkan lebih banyak strategi kesantunan. Dari hasil analisa, ditemukan bahwa para calon paling banyak menyerang masing-masing perasaan negatif para calon seperti ketika mereka sering setuju dan menghargai pendapat lawan. Lebih dari itu, mereka lebih sering menerapkan strategi kesantunan positif daripada strategi kesantunan yang lain. Strategi kesantunan yang dilakukan antara lain: strategi ke-5 (mencari persetujuan) dan strategi ke-11 (Optimis).

Peneliti menyarankan bahwa skripsi ini bisa digunakan sebagai langkah awal untuk peneliti yang lain dalam menerapkan dan menganalisa debat dari sudut pandang suasana dimana debat itu berlangsung. Peneliti juga menyarankan para peneliti yang selanjutnya untuk menggunakan temuan ini sebagai referensi tambahan sebagai penelitian pragmatik pembanding.

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Malang, February 2nd, 2012

The Writer

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the background of the study, the problems and the objectives of the study, the significance of the study, the scope of the study, and the definition of key terms.

1.1 Background of the Study

Images, which merely thought as a simple conception, have been accused of holding unimaginable power over human minds. In politics, however, Jon (2006, para.1) states that, the power of image makes style matters more than substance and personalities more than policies. On this basis, the way a political candidate creates his political image becomes largely crucial in getting his political party to stand out as well as to secure voters from the opposing parties.

Therefore, the candidate must have a well-polished image to present to voters and campaign supporters. As to polishing image, language surely has an important role in defining a winning political image. Often, the art of using words as ultimate political weapon is not considered unordinary to some extents. In political campaigns, candidates must be able to map out strategies that will bring them and their fellow party to what the voters perceive as 'good candidate' and therefore is worth voting.

In regards to political campaigns, usually there will be a part when the candidates must face each other in a debate. Debates are common in both political and educational environments. Debate is the example of the situation involving

some people having various opinions. Cyprus (2003) states that a debate is a verbal argument conducted within a set framework. People can disagree with opposing views in a structured setting that gives all participants a chance to present and defend their arguments as well as reach conclusions about the arguments of their opponents.

Based on the definition above, it is very possible that the candidates will have to deal with face-threatening act. Yule (1996, p.61) states that if a speaker says something that represents a threat to another individual's expectations regarding self-image, it is described as a face threatening act. Thus, in order to get away from such situation, they need to communicate their minds in a more less-attacking way this is a strategy of image polishing. Since a linguistic interaction is necessarily a social interaction, Yule (1996, p.59) states that, choices in language use can help them to show friendly attitude.

For instance, in a discussion talking about which one is more destructive to the world, global economic crisis or global warming, a speaker in this debate says "In my opinion, the global economic crisis is the fastest way to global destruction" and the opponent say "I couldn't agree more except the part which we should not forget that global warming is also a one way ticket to earth devastation or as you said, global destruction".

This example is one of the ways to deliver disapproval opinion that can save the hearer's face through the politeness strategy. Cutting (2002, p.45) states that to be seen to show a friendly attitude is important if one wants to save face and be appreciated in return. It can be seen from the example that the opponent is aware of the other person's face by actually avoiding disagreement. In pragmatics,

Crystal (2003, p.358) states that politeness phenomena characterize linguistic features mediating norms of social behavior, in relation to such notions as courtesy, rapport, deference and distance. Politeness, in an interaction, can be then defined as the means employed to show awareness of another person's face. Face means the public self-image of a person (Yule, 1996, p.60).

In relation to the explanation about political image through debate and its correlation with the application of politeness strategies, the researcher is interested in conducting a research concerning political campaign debate. She conducts a research about politeness strategies used by Megawati, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and Jusuf Kalla in the 2008 first Indonesia presidential debate that is aired in all television stations all over the country. This particular debate is chosen since it mainly discusses the main issue in Indonesia. Dailey et al. (2007), states that candidates in campaign debates are called upon to communicate in ways that reflect appropriate degrees of attack with appropriate degrees of respect. Therefore, the researcher conducts a research titled:

“Politeness Strategies Used by the President Candidates of Indonesia in 2009 Presidential Debate”

1.2 Problems of the Study

Based on the background of the study, the researcher intended to find the answers to these following questions:

1. What face was threatened by each Candidate in the 2009 Presidential Debate?

2. What politeness strategies were performed by Presidential Candidate of Indonesia in performing the FTA?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

In relation to the previous questions, these are the objectives of the study:

1. To find out the face-threatening acts (FTA) done by the President Candidates of Indonesia in 2009 Presidential Debate.
2. To find out the politeness strategies in doing FTA used by the President Candidates of Indonesia in 2009 Presidential Debate.

1.4 Significance of the Study

1. The students of English Department:

This study can provide useful information regarding the use of politeness strategies especially in a political debate. In this study, the example is the politeness strategies used by the President Candidates of Indonesia of 2009 Presidential Debate.

2. The next researcher:

The next researcher can use this study as a comparison and research background in further study dealing with pragmatics especially politeness strategies applied in politics.

1.5 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The scope of this study is the researcher would like to study and identify face-threatening acts (FTA) and politeness strategies used by president candidates of Indonesia in 2009 Presidential Debate held on Thursday, June 18th, 2009. The study only focuses on the third segment of the debate.

The limitation of this study is that it cannot cover all of the four segments in 2009 first Indonesia Presidential Debates the result cannot be generalized to the whole issues. Since in the first and second segment the candidates are asked one by one without any responses that from the opponents. While in the fourth segment, the candidates just give the conclusion from all of the answer given.

1.6 Definition of Key Terms

This last sub-chapter is aimed to provide the definition of key terms used in the study in order to make the terms clearly understood. The terms are defined in the following explanation:

1. Politeness : Politeness refers to the strategy used to express the concern for the feeling of other. (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

2. Politeness Strategy : A strategy used to avoid or minimize the Face Threatening Acts (FTA) that the speaker makes. (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

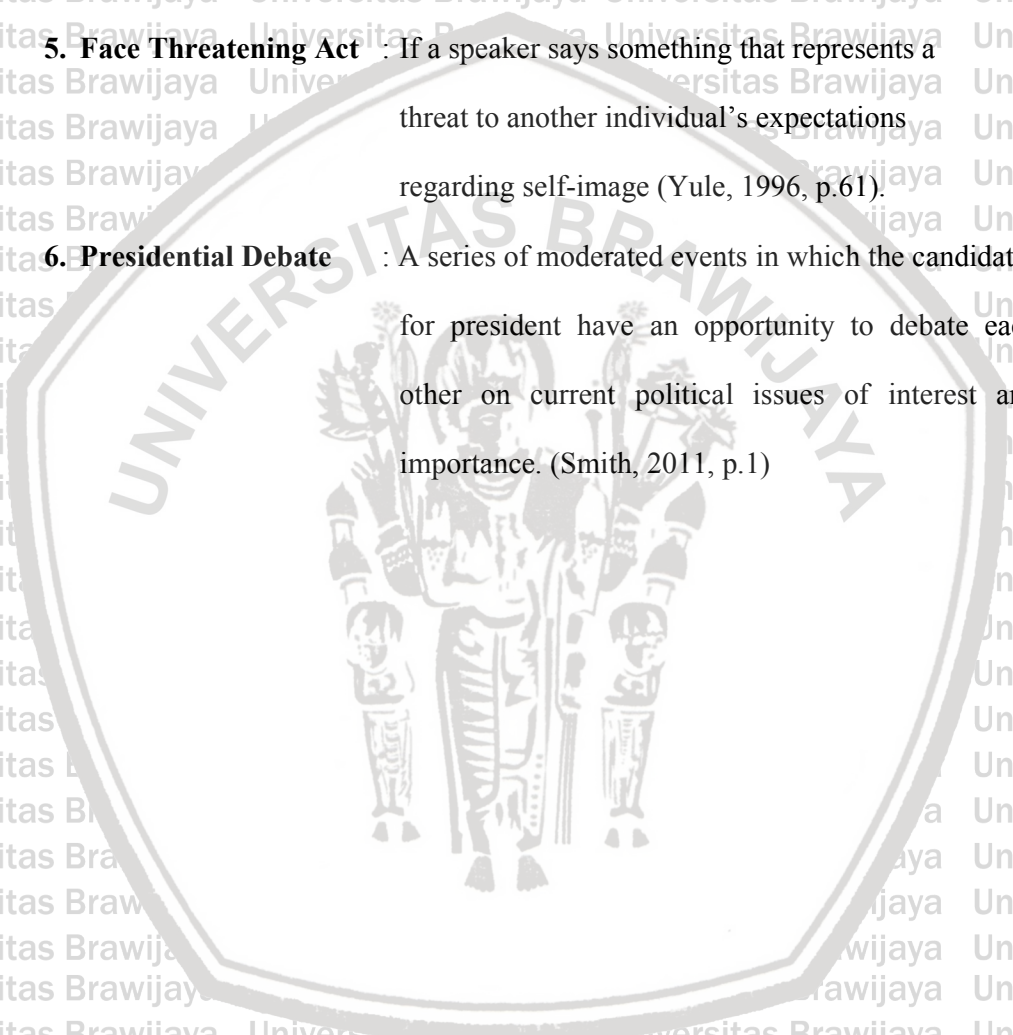
3. Positive Face : The need to be accepted, even liked by others, to be treated as a member of the same group, and to know

that his or her wants are shared by others (Cutting, 2002, p.45).

4. Negative Face : The need to be independent, to have freedom of action, and not to be imposed on by others (Cutting, 2002, p.45).

5. Face Threatening Act : If a speaker says something that represents a threat to another individual's expectations regarding self-image (Yule, 1996, p.61).

6. Presidential Debate : A series of moderated events in which the candidates for president have an opportunity to debate each other on current political issues of interest and importance. (Smith, 2011, p.1)





CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter discusses explanation of the theories related to this study. Those theories include: politeness, face in linguistics concept, face threatening acts (FTA), politeness strategies, presidential debate, the 2009 Indonesia Presidential Debate and previous studies which are similar to this one.

2.1 Politeness

When a person wants to make a communication he has to be polite to the other in order to make the communication run smoothly. Politeness phenomenon occurs when a person is aware of choices in language use as it is important to show friendliness in an interaction with other people. As Grundy (2000, p.145) states, seen as the exercise of language choice to create a context intended to match the addressee's notion of how one should be addressed, politeness phenomena are a paradigm example of pragmatic usage. Politeness phenomena are one manifestation of the wider concept of etiquette, or appropriate behavior.

In interaction, Yule (1996, p.60) states politeness as the means employed to show awareness of another person's face. Brown and Levinson (1987) states that polite behavior is based on assumption of cooperation because all social groups need to minimize conflict among co-members. As for the effects of politeness, in Peter

Grundy's *Doing pragmatics* (2000, p.146), it is stated that being on the receiving end of politeness affects each of us differently because polite utterances encode the relationship between the speaker and ourselves as addressee.

Leech (1993, p.206) states that a politeness principle with conversational maxims. He lists six maxims: tact maxim, generosity maxim, approbation maxim, modesty maxim, agreement maxim and sympathy maxim. In these maxims, the first and the second form a pair as well as the third and the fourth. Coming to the explanation, the tact maxim focuses on the hearer. It says 'minimize cost to other' and 'maximize benefit to other'. Cutting (2002, p.49) states that the first part of this maxim fits in with Brown and Levinson's negative politeness strategy of minimizing imposition while the second part reflects the positive politeness strategy of attending to the hearer's interests, wants and needs. The next is maxim of generosity. It is paired with tact maxim and it says 'minimize benefit to self' and 'maximize cost to self'. Thirdly, maxim of approbation is 'minimize dispraise of other' and 'maximize praise of other. As he explained before, Cutting (2002, p.49) states that the first part of the maxim similar to Brown and Levinson's politeness strategy of avoiding disagreement while the second part fits in with the positive politeness strategy of making other people feel good by showing solidarity. Next, the fourth maxim is modesty which says 'minimize praise of self' and 'maximize dispraise of self'.

Coming to the last two maxims which do not form a pair, Leech (cited in Cutting, 2002, p.50) states that agreement and sympathy maxim less important than the others. The maxim of agreement is 'minimize disagreement between self and

other' and 'maximize agreement between self and other'. This maxim is in line with Brown and Levinson's positive politeness strategies of 'seek agreement' and 'avoid disagreement'. Lastly, sympathy maxim, the maxim that says 'minimize antipathy between self and other' and 'maximize sympathy between self and other', includes polite speech acts such as congratulate, commiserate and express condolences. These speech acts are already taken care of in Brown and Levinson's positive politeness strategy of attending to the hearer's interests, wants and needs.

In other words, people show politeness in their language use to help them preserve the interlocutor's face and avoid endangering the nature of relationship since any linguistic interactions can be potentially face threatening.

2.2 Face in Linguistics Concept

Yule (1996, p.60), states that face means the public self-image of a person. It refers to that emotional and social sense of self that everyone has and expects everyone else to recognize. There are two kinds of face in linguistics concept: positive face and negative face.

Cutting (2002, p.45) states the following:

Positive face is the need to be accepted, even liked, by others, to be treated as member of the same group, and to know that his or her wants are shared by others while *negative face* is the need to be independent, to have freedom of action, and not to be imposed on by others.

Yule (1996, p.61-62) states that, the word 'negative' here does not mean 'bad', it is just the opposite pole from 'positive'. In other words, negative face is the need to be independent and positive face is the need to be connected.

2.3 Face Threatening Act (FTA) and Face Saving Act

A person involves in an interaction would expect his or her self-image to be respected. Yule (1996, p.61) states that if a speaker says something that represents a threat to another individual's expectations regarding self-image, it is described as a face threatening act. Alternatively, given the possibility that some actions might be interpreted as a threat to another's face, the speaker can say something to lessen the possible threat. This is called a face saving act.

For example, a young neighbor is playing his music very loud late at night and older couples are trying to sleep. One of the older couple proposes a face threatening act and the other suggests a face saving act:

Old man : I'm going to tell him to stop that awful noise right now!

Old woman : Perhaps you could just ask him if he is going to stop soon because it's getting a bit late and people need to get to sleep.

Moreover, Brown and Levinson (1987, p.65-67) mention the distinction between acts that threaten addressee's (H's) negative face and those that threaten positive face:

a) The acts that primarily threaten the H's negative-face want by indicating that the speaker (S) does not intend to avoid impeding H's freedom of action:

1. Those acts that predicate some future act of H, and in so doing put some pressures on H to do (or refrain from doing) the act:

a) Orders and requests (S indicates that he wants H to do or refrain from doing some acts)

b) Suggestion, advice (S indicates that he thinks H ought to do some acts)

c) Reminders (S indicates that H should remember to do some acts)

d) Threats, warnings, dares (S indicates that he – or someone (or something) – will instigate sanctions against H unless he does certain act)

2. Those acts that predicate some positive future act of S toward H and in so doing put some pressures on H to accept or reject them, and possibly to incur a debt:

a) Offers (S indicates that he wants H to commit himself to whether or not he wants S to do an act for H, with H thereby incurring a possible debt)

b) Promises (S commits himself to a future act for H's benefit)

3. Those acts that predicate some desire of S toward H or H's goods, giving H reason to think that he may have to take an action to protect the object of S's desire or give it to S:

a) Compliments, expressions of envy or admiration (S indicates that he likes or would like something of H's)

b) Expressions of strong (negative) emotions toward H – e.g. hatred, anger, lust (S indicates possible motivation for harming H or H's goods)

b) The acts that threaten the positive-face want by indicating that the speaker does not care about the addressee's feelings, wants, etc. – that in some important respect he does not want H's wants:

1. Those that show that S has a negative evaluation of some aspects of H's positive face:

- a) Expressions of disapproval, criticism, contempt or ridicule, complaints and reprimands, accusations, insults (S indicates that he does not like/want one or more of H's wants, acts, personal characteristics, goods, beliefs or values)
- b) Contradictions or disagreements, challenges, (S indicates that he thinks H is wrong or misguided or unreasonable about some issue, such wrongness being associated with disapproval)

2. Those that show that S does not care about (or is indifferent to) H's positive face:

- a) Expressions of violent (out-of-control) emotions (S gives H possible reason to fear him or to be embarrassed by him)
- b) Irreverence, mention of taboo topics, including those that are inappropriate in the context (S indicates that he does not value H's values and does not fear H's fears)
- c) Bringing of bad news about H, or good news (boasting) about S (S indicates that he is willing to cause distress to H, and/or does not care about H's feeling)

d) Raising of dangerously emotional or divisive topics (S raises the possibility or likelihood of face-threatening acts (such as above) occurring; i.e., S creates a dangerous-to-face atmosphere)

e) Blatant non-cooperation in an activity – e.g. disruptively interrupting H’s talk, making non-sequiturs or showing non-attention (S indicates that he does not care about H’s negative-face or positive-face wants)

f) Use of address terms and other status-marked identifications in initial encounters (S may misidentify H in an offensive or embarrassing way, intentionally or accidentally)

Brown and Levinson (1987, p.67-68) also mention the distinction between acts that threaten Speaker’s (S’s) negative face and those that threaten positive face. FTAs that are threatening to S include:

c) Those that offend S’s negative face:

a) Expressing thanks (S accepts a debt, humbles his own face)

b) Acceptance of H’s thanks or H’s apology (S may feel constrained to minimize H’s debt or transgression, as in ‘It was nothing, don’t mention it’)

c) Excuses (S indicates that he thinks he had good reason to do, or fail to do, an act which H has just criticized; this may constitute

in turn a criticism of H, or at least cause a confrontation between H's view of things and S's view)

d) Acceptance of offers (S is constrained to accept a debt, and to encroach upon H's negative face)

e) Responses to H's *faux pas* (if S visibly notices a prior *faux pas*, he may cause embarrassment to H; if he pretends not to, he may be discomfited himself)

f) Unwilling promises and offers (S commits himself to some future action although he doesn't want to; therefore, if his unwillingness shows, he may also offend H's positive face)

d) Those that directly damage S's positive face:

a) Apologies (S indicates that he regrets doing a prior FTA, thereby damaging his own face to some degree – especially if the apology is at the same time a confession with H learning about the transgression through it, and the FTA thus conveys bad news)

b) Acceptance of a compliment (S may feel constrained to denigrate the object of H's prior compliment, thus damaging his own face; or he may feel constrained to compliment H in turn)

c) Breakdown of physical control over body, bodily leakage, stumbling or falling down, etc.

- d) Self-humiliation, shuffling or cowering, acting stupid, self-contradicting
- e) Confessions, admissions of guilt or responsibility – e.g. for having done or not done an act, or for ignorance of something that S is expected to know
- f) Emotion leakage, non-control of laughter or tears

In conclusion, face-threatening acts (FTA) that might cause conflicts are divided based on the types of face or self-image of a person. Positive face is the need to be liked or accepted by others. Therefore, if a person expresses disagreement towards someone, it means that he/she does not like or accept the other argument and it is considered as a threat to positive face (positive FTA). Otherwise, if a person orders someone to do something it means that he/she imposed the other person's independence and therefore he/she does a negative FTA.

2.4 Brown and Levinson's Politeness Strategies

Since people are generally expected to be aware of others' self-image, they will attempt to perform face saving acts through many ways. In relation to this, Brown and Levinson (1987, p.101-210) provide two politeness strategies namely

Positive Politeness and Negative Politeness.

2.4.1 Positive politeness

According to Cutting (2002, p.48), positive politeness strategies aim to save positive face by demonstrating closeness and solidarity, appealing to friendship, making other people feel good and emphasizing that both speakers are a common goal. Moreover, Brown and Levinson (1987, p.101-129) provide the following types of positive politeness strategies:

1. **Claim common ground:** This type of method indicates that S and H both belong to some sets of persons who share specific wants, including goals and values.

These are the eight strategies used in 'claiming common ground' method:

- a) Strategy 1: Notice, attend, to H (his interests, wants, needs, goods)

S should take notice of aspects of H's condition (noticeable changes, remarkable possession, etc).

For example: *"Goodness, you cut your hair! By the way, I came to borrow some flour."*

- b) Strategy 2: Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H)

This strategy is often done with exaggerated intonations, stress and other aspects of prosodic, as well as with intensifying modifiers.

For example: *"What a fantastic garden you have!"*

- c) Strategy 3: Intensify interest to H

Another way for S to communicate to H that he shares some of his wants to intensify the interest of his own (S's) contribution to the conversation by making a good story which can be done through the

use of vivid present. The other feature of this strategy is the use of directly quoted speech rather than indirect one and the use of tag questions or expressions that include H as a participant in the conversation, such as ‘you know?’, ‘see what I mean?’ and ‘Isn’t it?’. Lastly, to exaggerate facts or to overstate is also a related technique of this strategy.

For example: *“I’ve never seen such a row!”*

d) Strategy 4: Use in-group identity markers

By using any of the innumerable ways to convey in-group membership, S can implicitly claim common ground with H by using certain terms of address form, of language or dialect, of jargon or slang and of ellipsis.

For example: *“Help me with this bag, will you pal?”*

e) Strategy 5: Seek agreement

Another characteristic way of claiming common ground with H is to seek ways in which it is possible to agree with him. By choosing ‘safe topics’ or doing repetition of what the preceding speaker has said in a conversation, S can stress agreement with H. S can also use particles that function to indicate emphatic agreement such as ‘yes’, ‘uhuh’ and ‘really!’ in this strategy.

For example: Man A: *“I had a flat tyre on the way home.”*

Man B: *“Oh God, a flat tyre!”*

f) Strategy 6: Avoid disagreement

By twisting his utterances, S can hide disagreement from H.

For example: Girl A: *“You hate your Mom and Dad.”*

Girl B: *“Oh, sometimes.”*

g) Strategy 7: Presuppose/raise/assert common ground

The value of S’s spending time and effort on being with H gives rise to the strategy of redressing an FTA by talking for a while about unrelated topics to show that S is interested in H and does not come only to impose him/her.

For example: *“Look, you know I’ve got this test coming up, well how about lending me your Encyclopedia Britannica ?”*

h) Strategy 8: Joke

Joke is a basic positive politeness technique for putting H ‘at ease’.

In other words, it may minimize an FTA.

For example: *“How about lending me this old heap of junk?”*
(H’s new Cadillac)

2. Convey that S and H are cooperators: This second type of positive politeness shows that the S and the addressees are cooperatively involved in the relevant activity. If S and H are cooperating, then they share the goals in some domain, and thus to convey that they are cooperators can redress H’s positive face. This method is divided into six strategies:

a) Strategy 9: Assert or presuppose S’s knowledge of and concern for H’s wants. This strategy is to assert or imply knowledge of H’s wants and willingness to fit one’s own wants in with H and S.

For example: *“I know you can’t bear parties, but this one will really be good – do come!”*

b) Strategy 10: Offer, promise

In order to redress the potential threat of some FTAs, S may choose to stress his cooperation with H in another way. Offers and promises are the natural outcome of choosing this strategy; even if they are false. It demonstrates S’s good intention in satisfying H’s positive face wants.

For example: *“I’ll drop by sometimes next week.”*

c) Strategy 11: Be optimistic

In this strategy, S is so presumptuous as to assume that H will cooperate with him may carry a tacit commitment for S to cooperate with H as well or to claim that they share mutual interest.

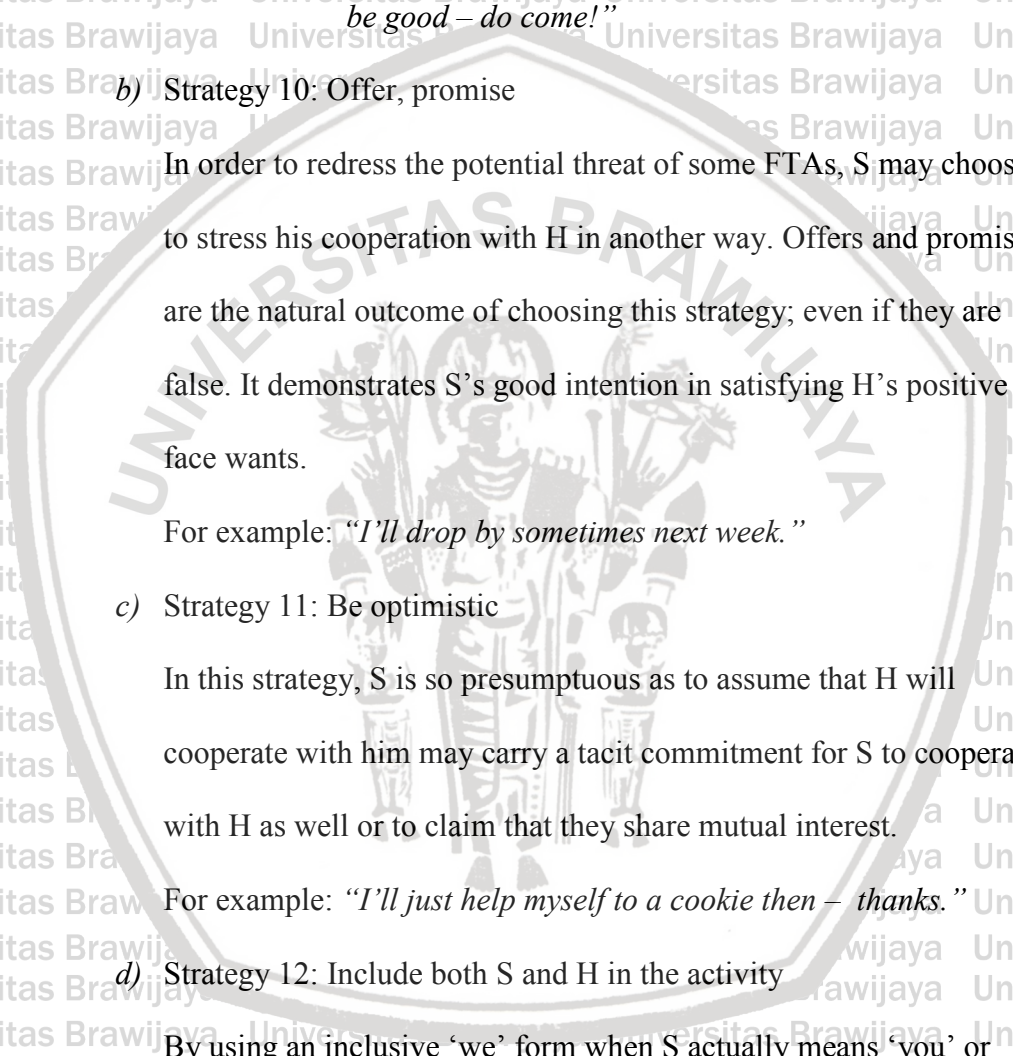
For example: *“I’ll just help myself to a cookie then – thanks.”*

d) Strategy 12: Include both S and H in the activity

By using an inclusive ‘we’ form when S actually means ‘you’ or ‘me’, he can call upon the cooperative assumptions and redress FTA.

For example: *“Let’s have a cookie, then.” (i.e. me)*

e) Strategy 13: Give (or ask for) reasons



By including H in S's reasoning and assuming reflexivity, H thereby led to see the reasonableness of S's FTA.

For example: *"Why don't I help you with the suitcase?"*

f) Strategy 14: Assume or assert reciprocity

S asks H cooperate with him by giving evidence of reciprocal rights or obligations between S and H. Thus, S may say, in effect, 'I'll do X for you if you can do Y for me'.

For example: *"I'll lend you my book if you want to go out with me"*

3. Fulfill H's want for some X : This last type of positive politeness involves S deciding to redress H's face directly by fulfilling some of H's wants, thereby indicating that he (S) wants H's wants for H, in some particular respects. This method provides only one strategy:

a) Strategy 15: Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)

S satisfies H 's positive face want by giving gift, not only tangible gifts, but human-relation wants which are the wants to be liked, admired, cared about, understood, listened to, and so on.

For example: *"I know exactly how you feel right now."*

2.4.2 Negative Politeness

Negative politeness is repressive action addressed to the addressee's negative face: his want to have his freedom of action unhindered and his attention unimpeded.

It means that negative politeness is used as the way to minimize the potential loss of face of the hearer. When we use negative politeness, it means we use speech strategies that emphasize our deference for the hearer. There are some types of negative politeness, and they are presented below (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p.129-210):

1. Be direct: This is the first type of negative politeness that sometimes directs one to minimize the imposition by coming rapidly to the point. The following is the only one strategy of this type:

- a) Strategy 1 : Be conventionally indirect

The S tries talk to H to be indirect and to go on record by using an understandable indirect speech act.

For example: *"Can you please pass the salt?"*

2. Do not presume/assume: This is the second type of negative politeness which explains that by carefully avoiding presuming or assuming that anything involved in FTA is desired or believed by H. This will include avoiding presumptions about H, his wants, what is relevant or interesting or worthy of his attention- that is keeping ritual distance from H. There is only one strategy in this type:

- a) Strategy 2: Questions, hedge

This strategy is used to modify the force of a speech act.

For example: *"I rather think it's hopeless."*

3. Do not coerce: This is the third type of negative politeness which explains that Negative-face redress may be made by avoiding coercing H's response, and this may be done on the one hand by explicitly giving him the option not to do the act. This type is divided into three strategies:

a) Strategy 3: Be pessimistic

This strategy gives redress to H's negative face by explicitly expressing doubt that the conditions for the appropriateness of S's speech act obtain.

For example: *"Perhaps you'd care to help me?"*

b) Strategy 4: Minimize the imposition

S redresses the intrinsic seriousness of the FTA to pay H deference.

For example: *"Could I have a taste of that cake?"*

c) Strategy 5: Give deference

S humbles and abases him and another where S raises H to satisfy H's want to be treated as superior.

For example: *"Excuse me, sir, but would you mind if I close the window?"*

4. Communicate S's want to not impinge on H: One way to partially satisfy H's negative-face demands is to indicate that S is aware of them and taking them into account in his decision to communicate the FTA. Thus he communicates that any infringement of H's territory is recognized as such and is not undertaken lightly. This type is divided into four strategies:

a) Strategy 6: Apologize

By apologizing for doing FTA, the speaker can indicate his reluctance to impinge on H's negative face and thereby partially redress that impingement.

For example: *"I hate to intrude, but I don't think that's true"*.

b) Strategy 7: Impersonalize S and H

S does not want to impinge on H is to phrase the FTA as if the agent were other than S, or at least possibly not S or not S alone, and the addressee were other than H only inclusive of H. This results in a variety of ways of avoiding the pronouns "I" and "you".

For example: *"It looks like the window should be closed"*

c) Strategy 8: State the FTA as a general rule

S does not want to impinge but is merely forced to by circumstances. Thus, he states that FTA as an instance of some general social rule, regulation, or obligation.

For example: *"Passengers will please refrain from flushing toilettes on the train."*

d) Strategy 9: Nominalize

This strategy notices that formality which is associated with the noun end of the continuum.

For example: *"We urgently request your cooperation"*

5. Redress other wants of H's: This is the last type of negative politeness that is offering partial compensation the FTA by redressing some particular other wants of H's, there is only one strategy in this type:

a) Strategy 10: Go on record as incurring debts, or as not indebting H. S can redress an FTA by explicitly claiming his indebtedness to H or disclaiming any indebtedness of H.

For example: *“It wouldn't be any trouble; I have to go right by there anyway.”*

2.5 Presidential Debate

Presidential debate is held to give the candidates an opportunity to share their knowledge in order to have an interaction with the audience or even the citizen to choose one of the candidates in the election. At the moment, the candidates are asked about the current issue that happened in the country. Based on the article which is written by Smith (2011, p.1), the presidential debate is a series of moderated events in which the candidates for president have an opportunity to debate each other on current political issues of interest and importance.

The debate is usually broadcast in television and radio, and the result is also written in mass media (e.g. newspaper, magazine). It is typically televised and broadcast on the radio, and extensive coverage is often available in the mainstream media in the days following the presidential debates (Smith, 2011, p.1)

The forms of the presidential debates have been held in Indonesia. Some of debates were broadcast for a public but some were not. Several groups have analyzed for control over the debates, since they are seen as politically and culturally important. The presidential debates have been overseen by the Commission on Presidential Debates, an independent organization which arranges the place, form the questions, and picks moderators.

These debates usually take place in several times directly preceding the presidential election, after the parties have nominated their candidates for presidency.

Three debates are held for the presidential candidates, with at least one additional debate featuring the vice presidential candidates. While the presidential debates are technically open to all president candidates, presidential debate were held based on the nomination of political parties which became the winner in the nominated party.

2.6 The 2009 Presidential Debate

The 2009 Indonesia Presidential Debate included Megawati from PDI, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono from Democrat Party, and Jusuf Kalla from Golkar as the participants chosen as the president candidates of Indonesia. It was held on Thursday, June 18th 2009. It is broadcast in all television sation all over country. It was moderated by Anis Baswedan, Ph.D., the President of Paramadina University in Jakarta and the initiator and chairman of The Indonesia Mengajar.

The debate was divided in four segments. First and second segment the candidates were asked about the same topic. The third segment every candidate were was given a different topic but when but when the one of candidates was asked, the other two candidates had to give their opinion about the answer. After they shared the opinion, the candidate who was asked had a chance to give comments. The last segment was the time for the candidates to give conclusion of the topics that were asked during the debate.

In this Indonesia Presidential Debate, Anis Baswedan as the moderator pointed the questions which had connection to the candidates' vision, mission, and also their slogan during the campaign.

2.7 The Previous Studies

There are two works related to the study of pragmatics especially politeness. For instance, Astuti (2008), in her thesis entitled *Politeness Strategies Used by SIM Card Providers on Advertisements in Jawa Pos*. This study uses two theories. There are Brown and Levinson, and Leech. The results of her study are the politeness which is commonly applied in the advertisement of SIM card providers is negative politeness, by using "be conventionally indirect". From the study, she also finds that the advertisement of SIM card provider that is dedicated for the competitors of business use negative politeness more frequently than positive politeness in order to attract the customers. The use of politeness strategy is seemingly needed in making a slogan in order to appreciate other slogans.

The next study was conducted by Juwita (2006), in her research titled a Study of Politeness used by the Main Characters in 'Dead Poets Society' film. This study also employed Leech's politeness maxims which were related to Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies. The study shows that the most common maxims, agreement and approbation maxims were included in positive politeness. From this result, she concluded that the main characters applied politeness strategies because they recognized the hearer's desire to be respected and to emphasize solidarity between them. Therefore, politeness strategy is appropriate with her research because it is related to the speaker and the hearer in 'Dead Poets Society' film that is the main characters in 'Dead Poets Society' film.

Concerning these previous studies, politeness is applied universally in many situations. It can be seen in linguistic aspect or even in literary work. The study that is conducted by the researcher is rather different from those previous ones as it does not concern on politeness strategies used by characters in a film nor non-politician people, which are considered as ordinary citizens, and they might not use the strategies for political reason. This study shows politeness strategies applied in a political situation such as a Presidential Debate since politicians have to speak politically polite in such circumstance to save their political face before their opponents as well as the citizens.



CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODS

This chapter consists of research design, data sources, data collection, and data analysis.

3.1 Type of Research

This study is classified as qualitative research. According to Berg (1989, p.2), qualitative research refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things. The analysis of qualitative data allows researchers to discuss in detail the various social contours and processes human beings use to create and maintain their social realities.

This study applies qualitative research because of its characteristics. First, its purpose is to explain the real condition in the field in the form of non-numerical data analysis. Second, it uses inductive way of thinking as Ary et al. (2002, p.4) states that to be absolutely certain of an inductive conclusion, the researcher must observe all examples of the data to reach a general conclusion.

Furthermore, the type of this study is document analysis because the data used, are from the transcription of 2009 Indonesia Presidential Debate as a text.

Document analysis is a research method applied in written or visual materials for the purpose of identifying specified characteristics of the material. The materials analyzed can be textbooks, newspaper, speeches, television programs, advertisement, musical compositions, or any of a host of other types of documents (Ary et al., 2002, p.442). It focuses on analyzing and interpreting recorded

material within its own context. In this research, the researcher tries to understand, analyze and interpret the data which have been collected in the form of words.

Moreover, the key instrument of collecting the data of this research is the researcher herself.

3.2 Data Sources

The data of this study are taken from the transcription of 2009 Indonesia Presidential Debate as a text. The transcript is taken from the videos which are retrieved from:

- 1) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cytf2YRA2M>
- 2) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yhowyEqzvsU>
- 3) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9OvVqSh5vUE>

The dialogues from the videos are transcribed by the researcher herself. The researcher uses the third segment of the debate since its topic talks about the main issue in Indonesia which is almost found in daily social life.

In this study, the researcher analyzes the use of politeness strategies from the conversation between Indonesia President candidates, Megawati, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and Jusuf Kalla, in order to achieve deeper understanding about politeness phenomena in language use.

3.3 Data Collection

In this research, the instrument of collecting the data of this research is the researcher herself. The method used to collect the data is through documentary

note taking or document analysis as the data are collected from written document of the transcription of 2009 Indonesia Presidential Debate as a text transcription.

The data in this study is primary one as it is not already available yet so that the researcher has to transcribe the data herself.

3.4 Credibility and Dependability

In order to make the data credible and dependable, the researcher used triangulation technique. According to Berg (1989, p.4), triangulation combines several lines of sight and therefore researchers obtain a better, more substantive picture of reality; a richer, more complete array of symbols and theoretical concepts; and a means of verifying many of these elements.

As for this study, the researcher employs theory triangulation which involves consideration of how the phenomenon under study might be explained by multiple theories (Ary, et al., 2002, p.453). The researcher used theory triangulation by verifying the data collected using of two theories; they are the theory of Brown and Levinson (1987) and the theory of Leech (1993).

3.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis is a process whereby researchers systematically search and arrange the data in order to increase their understanding of the data and to enable them to present what they learned to others (Ary, et al., 2002, p.465). This study analyzes the conversation between Megawati, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and

Jusuf Kalla in 2009 Indonesia Presidential Debate held on Thursday, June 18th, 2009 that was broadcast in all television stations all over the country.

According to Ary, et al. (2002, p.465-470), there are three general steps of analyzing the data. There are organizing, summarizing, and interpreting.

1. Organizing

There are three steps in organizing the data in this study:

- a) Taking the videos of Presidential debate from www.youtube.com.
- b) Classifying the videos based on the performance arrangement.
- c) Transcribing the videos.

2. Summarizing

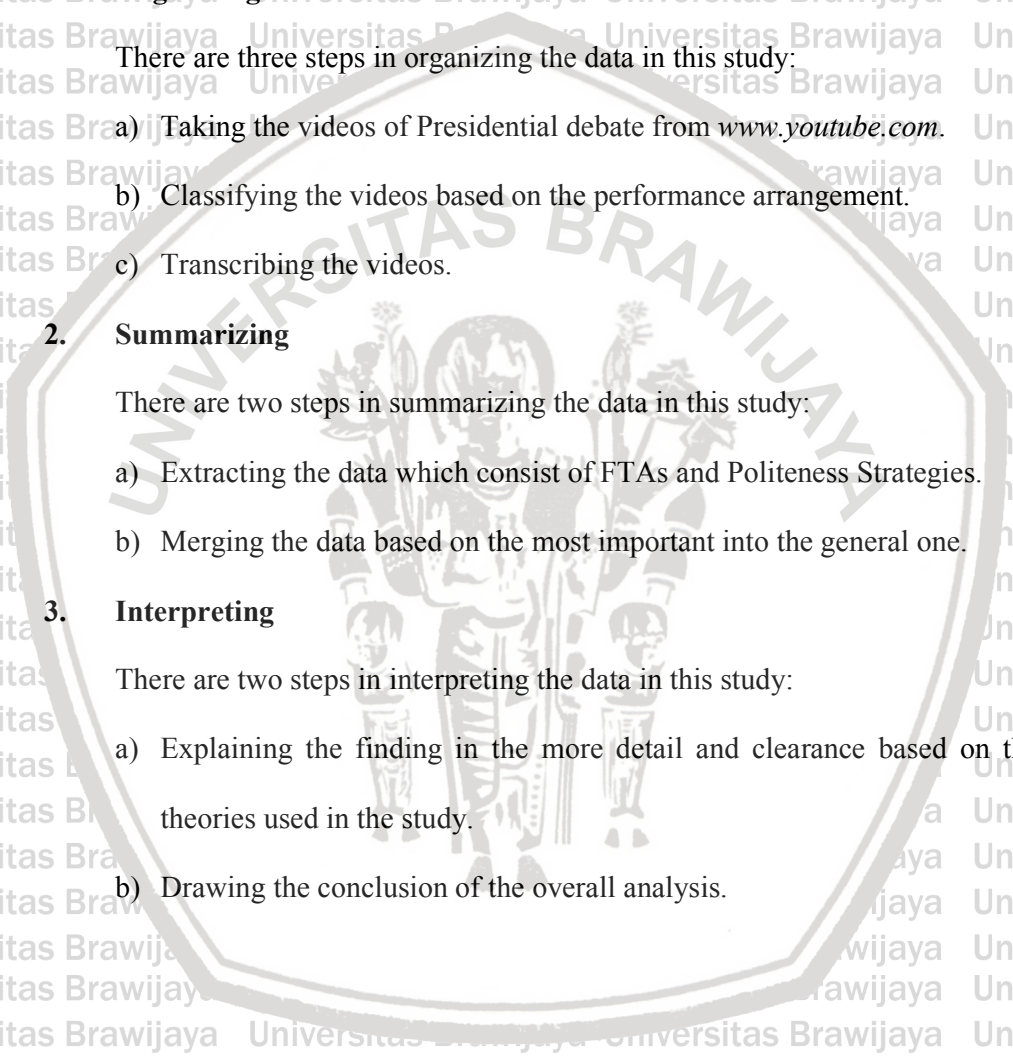
There are two steps in summarizing the data in this study:

- a) Extracting the data which consist of FTAs and Politeness Strategies.
- b) Merging the data based on the most important into the general one.

3. Interpreting

There are two steps in interpreting the data in this study:

- a) Explaining the finding in the more detail and clearance based on the theories used in the study.
- b) Drawing the conclusion of the overall analysis.





CHAPTER IV

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

This chapter includes data description of the research based on the findings which refer to the research problems, analysis and discussion related to the data description and analysis.

4.1 Data Description

The data was taken in the form of live dialogue video from www.youtube.com. Then, the dialogue was transcribed in the form of written text and rearranged into a comprehensive dialogue.

In this sub-chapter the researcher presented the data from the transcription of 2009 first Indonesia Presidential debate which was containing FTAs and Politeness Strategies. The data was presented in a systematic table. It was purposed to make the data easier to be analyzed and more understandable. The whole transcription would be presented on appendix pages. The transcribed data was classified in the following table.

Table 4.1 Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) and Politeness Strategies were done by the President Candidates of 2009 Indonesia Presidential Debate

Note:

Mega : Megawati; SBY : Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono; JK : Jusuf Kalla

H : Hearer; S : Speaker

No.	Turn	Candidate	FTA	Politeness Strategy
			Positive (+)/Negative(-)	Positive (+)/Negative(-)
1	7	JK	<i>(H-) Promises</i> → Bukan yakin akan kami laksanakan dengan baik performance...tingkat-tingkat performance itu sehingga akan menjadikan negri ini jauh lebih trnsparan, jauh lebih akuntabel dan jauh lebih me...murah pelayanannya sehingga tidak me..pungli ini.	<i>Strategy 11: be optimistic</i> → (+) Kalau itu dilaksanakan semuanya saya yakin pungli itu...
2	9	Mega	<i>(H+) Contradiction or disagreement</i> → Menurut saya, apa yang dikatakan o..leh pak Kalla itu karena harus mempertahankan slogannya lebih cepat lebih baik sehingga demikian menurut saya meskipun satu hari kadang-kadang KTP itu kalau tidak diberi uang pungli itu juga tidak selesai pak Anis itu yang banyak saya dengar dari masyarakat di bawah. <i>(H-) Suggestion</i> → Jadi kalau menurut saya, kembali kepada pembangunan mental bangsa kita.	<i>Strategy 11: be optimistic</i> → (+) Nah kalau hal-hal seperti itu dapat kita bangun dan saya rasa sangat bisa dibangun. <i>Strategy 2: hedge</i> → (-) Menurut saya...; Saya rasa... <i>Strategy 3: be pessimistic</i> → (-) Tetapi kalau hal ini tidak dilakukan oleh seluruh masyarakat, saya kira maka apa yang ingin dilakukan oleh pak Kalla masih mungkin berjalannya tidak lebih cepat seperti apa yang pak Kalla inginkan.

Table Continuation...

No.	Turn	Candidate	FTA	Politeness Strategy
			Positive (+)/Negative(-)	Positive (+)/Negative(-)
3	11	SBY	<p><i>(H-) Suggestion</i> → Tapi saya ingin menambahkan sedikit pak JK, satu bagaimanapun sosialisasi kepada masyarakat harus jelas kalau perlunya ada plang bagaimana mengurus itu satu, dua, tiga empat, lima paham jangan dirahasiakan, jangan dibikin rakyat tidak paham mengurus masalah itu. Yang kedua ditempat pengurusan entah SIM, entah KTP, ijin apapun kasih kotak aduan, aduan supaya siapa yang merasa dipermainkan bisa mengadu, PO BOX berapa atau ke bupati, ke walikota sebagian sudah melaksanakan seperti itu.</p>	<p><i>Strategy 5: seek agreement</i> → (+) Saya setuju dengan pak JK tentang perlunya pengawasan, disiplin, hukuman dan penghargaan, reward and punishment untuk mengurangi budaya pungli.</p>
4	13	JK	<p><i>(S-) Expressing thanks</i> → Pertama saya mau terima kasih pada ibu Mega dan pak SBY yang mendukung apa yang saya katakan tadi.</p>	<p><i>Strategy 5: seek agreement</i> → (+) Saya setuju bahwa transparansi itu penting, dan juga adanya control daripada pihak-pihak atasan dan juga tentu es... ekspetorat yang melihat itu sebagai bagian daripada tugas pemerintahan secara keseluruhan jadi ada check and balance daripada pejabat itu sendiri untuk mengetahui apa yang baik, apa yang telah terjadi sebetulnya.</p>

Table Continuation...

No.	Turn	Candidate	FTA		Politeness Strategy	
			Positive (+)/Negative(-)	Positive (+)/Negative(-)	Positive (+)/Negative(-)	Positive (+)/Negative(-)
5	18	Mega	<p><i>(H-) Promise</i> → Tentunya kalau saya terpilih menjadi presiden, maka hal-hal perlindungan itulah yang harus dilaksanakan secara lebih baik, secara lebih ketat.</p> <p><i>(S+) Excuses</i> → Pada waktu saya jadi presiden persoalan itu telah kami coba untuk bisa dilaksanakan tetapi tentunya karena saya paroh waktu, waktu itu tidak cukup sehingga persoalan yang terjadi di luar negeri itu sebenarnya akibat persoalan di dalam negeri perlindungan kalau sudah pergi itu menjadi sangat sulit karena akan melibatkan hubungan bilateral dua negara.</p> <p><i>(H-) Suggestions</i> → 1. Suatu hal yang harus segera dilakukan adalah – memperketat – keluarnya – yang dinamakan TKW maupun yang juga disebut TKW illegal...</p> <p>2. Nah yang berikutnya adalah memberi suatu pengetahuan yang lebih bagi mereka karena biasanya yang tidak mengerti hak-hak itulah yang mengalami hal-hal yang sangat menyedihkan ketika mereka mencari pekerjaan di luar negeri.</p>		<p><i>Strategy 11: be optimistic</i> → (+) Tentunya kalau saya terpilih menjadi presiden, maka hal-hal perlindungan itulah yang harus dilaksanakan secara lebih baik, secara lebih ketat.</p>	

Table Continuation...

No.	Turn	Candidate	FTA	Politeness Strategy
			Positive (+)/Negative(-)	Positive (+)/Negative(-)
6	20	SBY	<p>(H-) <i>Suggestion</i> → Nah kemudian saya tambahkan sedikit, setelah di luar negeri kalau dalam negeri kita baik, terus diperbaiki, seperti sekarang ini kita terus perbaiki, di luar negeri pun harus mulai ada kerjasama yang konkrit antara pemerintah kita dengan negara tuan rumah melalui kedutaan besar maupun konjen.</p>	<p><i>Strategy 5: seek agreement</i> → (+) Iya ibu Mega saya setuju 200% bahwa di dalam negeri itu pangkal dari segalanya. Tentunya, kontraknya harus jelas, transparan, disiapkan dengan baik, dengan demikian waktu dia berangkat tidak ada masalah-masalah yang belum diketahui di dalam negeri. Saya sangat setuju dengan pandangan ibu.</p> <p><i>Strategy 2: hedge</i> → (-) 1. Menurut saya, mata rantai antara di rumah dengan di luar negeri harus kita kerjakan secara serentak, tetapi memang benar harus beres di dalam negeri dulu seperti apa yang disampaikan ibu Mega tadi.</p> <p>2. Saya kira langkah itulah yang kedepan mesti ditingkatkan dengan demikian yang disampaikan bung Anis tadi mereka yang menjadi pahlawan mendapatkan pelayanan yang baik di dalam negeri maupun di luar negeri oleh perwakilan kita di negara-negara tersebut.</p>

Table Continuation...

No.	Turn	Candidate	FTA Positive (+)/Negative(-)	Politeness Strategy Positive (+)/Negative(-)
71	22	JK	<p>(H-) <i>Suggestion</i> → Tapi sebelumnya kita harus mempersiapkan juga, ya sebagai tambahan juga kepada ibu Mega, e...set...kita mempersiapkan kontrak yang baik antara negara tersebut MOUnya kita harus evaluasi dengan baik. Ketiga, yang saya kerjakan dulu sebagai menkokesra dibawah ibu Mega, ialah mewajibkan semua kedutaan khususnya Malaysia dan Saudi, untuk mempersiapkan lawyer-lawyer, pengacara-pengacara di semua kota-kota penting di Malaysia dan juga di Saudi dan sampai sekarang masih jalan, agar semua hal-hal tersebut kita selesaikan hukumnya di Negara tersebut.</p>	<p><i>Strategy 5: seek agreement</i> → (+) Ya...tentu saya sependapat dengan ibu Mega karena hal ini saya kerjakan juga pada waktu saya menkokesra bahwa ibu Mega jadi tentu juga e...sangat penting.</p>

Table Continuation...

No.	Turn	Candidate	FTA	Politeness Strategy
			Positive (+)/Negative(-)	Positive (+)/Negative(-)
8	31	SBY	<i>(S+)</i> Confessions of responsibility → Saya ambil contoh bung Anis, ada masalah kita dengan Timor Timur, mau diangkat oleh Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa, diangkat oleh dunia internasional, saya menolak sejak tahun 2005. Dan akhirnya dengan penyelesaian yang baik, demi persahabatan diantara kedua Negara, Indonesia dan Timor Leste, masalah itu sudah diselesaikan tahun lalu dengan demikian kita tutup lembaran itu kita melihat ke depan dengan yang disebut dengan...e...kebenaran dan persahabatan.	<i>Strategy 11: be optimistic</i> → (+) Saya melihat peluang itu di luar justice yang masih tersedia yaitu truth and reconciliation, komisi kebenaran dan rekonsiliasi atau cara mirip seperti itu bisa kita pikirkan bersama. Saya kira kearifan kita semua untuk menyelesaikan masalah itu yang menjadi pilihan kita nanti.
9	35	Mega	<i>(H-)</i> Reminding → Nah dengan demikian dari sejak dulu, saya seharusnya mengatakan lo Pak Anis, kalo urusan HAM ini saya juga termasuk <i>victim</i> -nya, jadi sebetulnya saya juga bisa minta keadilan	<i>Strategy 5: seek agreement</i> → (+) Karena Pak Yusuf Kalla bilang setuju, saya oposisi juga setuju.
10	37	SBY	<i>(S-)</i> Expressing thanks → Ya... saya mengucapkan terima kasih kepada Pak Jusuf Kalla dan Ibu Mega karena pandangannya ternyata sama dalam hal ini.	<i>Strategy 11: be optimistic</i> → (+) 1. Kita bertiga sepakat, kita melihat kedepan dengan e... solusi yaitu rekonsiliasi dan kebenaran. 2. Dalam kaitan itulah mudah-mudahan kedepan nanti siapapun yang memimpin, komitmen ini kita jalankan dengan benar, kita harus mencegah pelanggaran-pelanggaran HAM itu.

4.2 Analysis

In this sub-chapter, the researcher explained the answer related to the research's problem in the following analysis.

1. (7) JK : "Kalau itu dilaksanakan semuanya saya yakin pungli itu.."

- Politeness Strategy: Convey that S and H are cooperators, Strategy 11: be optimistic

Analysis: In this statement, JK showed positive politeness strategy since he was optimistic that he would make the administration of the country better than ever such as by removing pungli habit which had not been reduced from the society.

"Bukan yakin akan kami laksanakan dengan baik performance..tingkat-tingkat performance itu sehingga akan menjadikan negri ini jauh lebih transparan, jauh lebih akuntabel dan jauh lebih me..murah pelayanannya sehingga tidak me...pungli ini."

- Face-Threatening Act (FTA): (-) Promises

Analysis: In the utterances, JK threatened other candidates' negative face by making promise. Although he did not directly promise to his opponents by saying "...bukan yakin akan kami laksanakan dengan baik performance.." but the statement meant that he promised to all the citizens and the other candidates are included. By saying the statement,

he also placed himself as a superior who could do everything better than others.

2. (9) Mega “Menurut saya, apa yang dikatakan oleh pak Kalla itu karena harus mempertahankan slogannya lebih cepat lebih baik sehingga demikian menurut saya meskipun satu hari kadang-kadang KTP itu kalau tidak diberi uang pungli itu juga tidak selesai pak Anis itu yang banyak saya dengar dari masyarakat di bawah.”

- FTA: (+) Contradiction or disagreements

Analysis: Here, Mega did not agree with her opposition, JK, about the solution of *pungli* because she thought that JK’s opinion was just for struggling his slogan. It meant that Mega was threatening JK’s positive face.

“Jadi kalau menurut saya, kembali kepada pembangunan mental bangsa kita.”

- FTA: (-) Suggestion

Analysis: Here, Mega threatened JK’s negative face by giving a suggestion to make a reformation about educating the citizen for reducing the practice of *pungli*.

“Nah kalau hal-hal seperti itu dapat kita bangun dan saya rasa sangat bisa dibangun.”

- Politeness Strategy: Convey that S and H are cooperators, Strategy 11: be optimistic

Analysis: The utterance showed positive politeness strategy since Mega was sure that she could develop this country better if the citizen could be more discipline and honest in daily activities.

- Politeness Strategy: Do not presume/assume, Strategy 2: Hedge

Analysis: Mega also showed negative politeness because she used quality hedge (**menurut saya...**, **saya rasa...**) to not to take full responsibility for the truth of her utterance. (Negative Politeness)

“Tetapi kalau hal ini tidak dilakukan oleh seluruh masyarakat, saya kira maka apa yang ingin dilakukan oleh pak Kalla masih mungkin berjalannya tidak lebih cepat seperti apa yang pak Kalla inginkan.”

- Politeness Strategy: Do not Coerce, Strategy 3: be pessimistic

Analysis: Mega showed negative politeness strategy because she was not sure that *pungli* would be reduced from the society if the improvement was not started from the lowest level of the society. It could be started from the character education in the family,

3. (11) SBY : “Saya setuju dengan pak JK tentang perlunya pengawasan, disiplin, hukuman dan penghargaan, reward and punishment untuk mengurangi budaya *pungli*.”

- Politeness Strategy: Claim Common Ground, Strategy 5: Seek Agreement

Analysis: In this case, SBY showed the positive politeness strategy since he agreed with JK's opinion in reducing *pungli* habit without any objection.

“Tapi saya ingin menambahkan sedikit pak JK, satu bagaimanapun sosialisasi kepada masyarakat harus jelas kalau perlunya ada plang bagaimana mengurus itu satu, dua, tiga empat, lima paham jangan dirahasiakan, jangan dibikin rakyat tidak paham mengurus masalah itu. Yang kedua ditempat pengurusan entah SIM, entah KTP, ijin apapun kasih kotak aduan, aduan supaya siapa yang merasa dipermainkan bisa mengadu, PO BOX berapa atau ke bupati, ke walikota sebagian sudah melaksanakan seperti itu.”

- FTA : (-) Suggestion

Analysis: As an additional statement, SBY threatened JK's negative face by suggesting some opinion about socialization of the procedures, complain box which was addressed to the official in charge, then the controlling of the activity.

4. (13) JK : “Pertama saya mau terima kasih pada ibu Mega dan pak SBY yang mendukung apa yang saya katakan tadi.”

- FTA Un: (-) Expressing thanks

Analysis: JK said thank you to Mega and SBY because they supported JK's opinion and also gave some additional suggestions. It meant that JK was threatened his own negative face because he had to be humble his own face.

“Saya setuju bahwa transparansi itu penting, dan juga adanya control daripada pihak-pihak atasan dan juga tentu es... ekspetorat yang melihat itu sebagai bagian daripada tugas pemerintahan secara keseluruhan jadi ada check and balance daripada pejabat itu sendiri untuk mengetahui apa yang baik, apa yang telah terjadi sebetulnya.”

- Politeness Strategy: Claim Common Ground, Strategy 5: Seek Agreement

Analysis: JK showed positive politeness strategy by saying that he agreed about the importance of transparency and control from the official in charge.

5. (18) Mega : “Tentunya kalau saya terpilih menjadi presiden, maka hal-hal perlindungan itulah yang harus dilaksanakan secara lebih baik, secara lebih ketat.”

- FTA : (-) Promise

Analysis: Mega threatened all the H's negative face by giving a promise. She promised if she became a president, she would apply tidier and better regulation.

- Politeness Strategy: Convey that S and H are Cooperators, Strategy 11: Be Optimistic

Analysis: Mega was sure that she would be able to reach the achievement in protecting TKI. It meant that Mega used the application of positive politeness strategy.

“Pada waktu saya jadi presiden persoalan itu telah kami coba untuk bisa dilaksanakan tetapi tentunya karena saya parah waktu, waktu itu tidak cukup sehingga persoalan yang terjadi di luar negeri itu sebenarnya akibat persoalan di dalam negeri perlindungan kalau sudah pergi itu menjadi sangat sulit karena akan melibatkan hubungan bilateral dua negara.”

- FTA : (+) Confessions of guilt or responsibility

Analysis: In this case, Mega was giving her confession that she failed in finishing the problem about the protection to TKW abroad because the time was not enough. It meant that Mega was threatened her own positive face.

1. “Suatu hal yang harus segera dilakukan adalah – memperketat – keluarnya – yang dinamakan TKW maupun yang juga disebut TKW illegal.”

2. “Nah yang berikutnya adalah memberi suatu pengetahuan yang lebih bagi mereka karena biasanya yang tidak mengerti hak-hak itulah yang mengalami hal-hal yang sangat menyedihkan ketika mereka mencari pekerjaan di luar negeri.”

• FTA: (-) Suggestions

Analysis: In the two statements above, Mega threatened the government negative face by giving her suggestion to the institution that was handling about TKW and gave more knowledge to TKW candidates.

6. (20) SBY : “Iya ibu Mega saya setuju 200% bahwa di dalam negeri itu pangkal dari segalanya. Tentunya, kontraknya harus jelas, transparan, disiapkan dengan baik, dengan demikian waktu dia berangkat tidak ada masalah-masalah yang belum diketahui di dalam negeri. Saya sangat setuju dengan pandangan ibu.”

• Politeness Strategy: Claim Common Ground, Strategy 5: Seek Agreement

Analysis: SBY truly agreed with Mega statements about the importance of TKI’s preparation before they went abroad in order not to have any problems for the next time. It meant that SBY used the application of positive politeness strategy.

“Nah kemudian saya tambahkan sedikit, setelah di luar negeri kalau dalam negeri kita baik, terus diperbaiki, seperti sekarang ini kita terus perbaiki, di luar negeri pun harus mulai ada kerjasama yang konkrit antara pemerintah kita dengan negara tuan rumah melalui kedutaan besar maupun konjen.”

- FTA : (-) Suggestions

Analysis: SBY threatened Mega’s negative face by giving suggestion toward Mega’s statement before. He suggested that Indonesia had to make concrete cooperation with destinations countries of TKW.

“**Menurut saya**, mata rantai antara di rumah dengan di luar negeri harus kita kerjakan secara serentak, tetapi memang benar harus beres di dalam negeri dulu seperti apa yang disampaikan ibu Mega tadi”

“**Saya kira** langkah itulah yang kedepan mesti ditingkatkan dengan demikian yang disampaikan bung Anis tadi mereka yang menjadi pahlawan mendapatkan pelayanan yang baik di dalam negeri maupun di luar negeri oleh perwakilan kita di negara-negara tersebut.”

- Do not presume/assume, Strategy 2: Hedge

Analysis: The hedge “**menurut saya**” was used to show the contradictory statement between the first and the second opinion. Then Mega also used quality hedge “**saya kira**” to not to take full

responsibility for the truth of his utterance. It meant that SBY used negative politeness strategy.

7. (22) JK “Ya...tentu saya sependapat dengan ibu Mega karena hal ini saya kerjakan juga pada waktu saya menkokesra bahwa ibu Mega jadi tentu juga e...sangat penting”

- Politeness Strategy: Claim Common Ground, Strategy 5: Seek Agreement

Analysis: JK showed the positive politeness strategy in agreeing with Mega statements about TKW protection in the country and abroad because JK also did it.

“Tapi sebelumnya kita harus mempersiapkan juga, ya sebagai tambahan juga kepada ibu Mega, e...set...kita mempersiapkan kontrak yang baik antara negara tersebut MOUnya kita harus evaluasi dengan baik. Ketiga, yang saya kerjakan dulu sebagai menkokesra dibawah ibu Mega, ialah mewajibkan semua kedutaan khususnya Malaysia dan Saudi, untuk mempersiapkan lawyer-lawyer, pengacara-pengacara di semua kota-kota penting di Malaysia dan juga di Saudi dan sampai sekarang masih jalan, agar semua hal-hal tersebut kita selesaikan hukumnya di Negara tersebut.”

- FTA : (-) Suggestion

Analysis: JK suggested that government had to prepare the MOU, lawyers in destination countries of TKW so if there was a law problem, it could be finish quickly. And as JK said “ya sebagai tambahan juga kepada ibu Mega,” meant that he threatened Mega’s negative face because explicitly the suggestion was addressed to her.

8. (31) SBY : “Saya ambil contoh bung Anis, ada masalah kita dengan Timor Timur, mau diangkat oleh Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa, diangkat oleh dunia internasional, saya menolak sejak tahun 2005. Dan akhirnya dengan penyelesaian yang baik, demi persahabatan diantara kedua Negara, Indonesia dan Timor Leste, masalah itu sudah diselesaikan tahun lalu dengan demikian kita tutup lembaran itu kita melihat ke depan dengan yang disebut dengan...e...kebenaran dan persahabatan.”

- FTA : (+) Confessions of responsibility

Analysis: In the statement, SBY threatened his own positive face. Here, the statement showed that SBY confessed about a problem which was had by Indonesia and Timor Timur which had been finished under SBY’s government.

“Saya melihat peluang itu di luar justice yang masih tersedia yaitu truth and reconciliation, komisi kebenaran dan rekonsiliasi atau cara mirip seperti itu bisa kita pikirkan bersama. Saya kira kearifan kita semua untuk menyelesaikan masalah itu yang menjadi pilihan kita nanti.”

- Politeness Strategy: Convey that S and H are Cooperators, Strategy 11: Be Optimistic

Analysis: SBY was sure that truth and reconciliation were the other way to solve problem if the problem could not be solved by the justice.

It meant that the utterances showed positive politeness strategy.

9. (35) Mega : “Karena Pak Yusuf Kalla bilang setuju, saya oposisi juga setuju”

- Politeness Strategy: Claim Common Ground, Strategy 5: Seek Agreement

Analysis: In this case, Mega had the same opinion with her opposition, SBY and JK about the problem of human rights. They had the same perception that problem of human rights here was not individually but as a nation. Mega used application of positive politeness strategy in agreeing the oppositions’ opinions.

“Nah dengan demikian dari sejak dulu, saya seharusnya mengatakan lo Pak Anis, kalo urusan HAM ini saya juga termasuk *victim*-nya, jadi sebetulnya saya juga bisa minta keadilan”

- FTA : (-) Reminding

Analysis: in the utterances, Mega threatened her opposition’s negative face. The statement above meant Mega reminded that she was the

victim of the unjust human rights and she deserved to acquire the justice.

10. (37) SBY “Ya...saya mengucapkan terima kasih kepada Pak Jusuf Kalla dan Ibu Mega karena pandangannya ternyata sama dalam hal ini.”

- FTA :(-) Expressing thanks

Analysis: SBY was expressing thanks to his oppositions, JK and Mega, because they supported SBY’s statement in the problem of human rights. It meant that SBY threatened his own negative face because he had to be humble his own face.

1. “Kita bertiga sepakat, kita melihat kedepan dengan e...solusi yaitu rekonsiliasi dan kebenaran.”
2. “Dalam kaitan itulah mudah-mudahan kedepan nanti siapapun yang memimpin, komitmen ini kita jalankan dengan benar, kita harus mencegah pelanggaran-pelanggaran HAM itu.”

- Politeness Strategy: Convey that S and H are Cooperators, Strategy 11: Be Optimistic

Analysis: SBY showed the application of positive politeness strategy since he was optimistic that truth and reconciliation was one of better solution in solve some problems in this country. He and his opposition

would make the problem of human rights violation could be prohibited.

4.3 Discussion

After obtaining the data and analyzing them based on the objectives of this study, the next part was the discussion of the whole data to answer the problems proposed in the previous chapter. Two important points that had to be explained there are FTA's and Politeness Strategies used by the President Candidates of Indonesia (Megawati, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Jusuf Kalla) in 2009 Presidential Debate. This sub-chapter discusses further result of the analysis.

From the result which was obtained based on the analysis before, the researcher found that Jusuf Kalla did three face-threatening acts. First, he threatened the oppositions' positive face by doing a promise; second, he threatened his negative face by expressing thanks to the oppositions; third, he threatened the oppositions' negative face by giving a suggestion. Since he did face-threatening acts, the researcher could find the politeness strategies were done by Jusuf Kalla in his some statements. He used positive politeness three times. There were: strategy 11: be optimistic and strategy 5: seek agreement two times.

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono threatened his oppositions' positive face by doing confessions of responsibility, and negative face three times. There were: giving suggestion two times and threatening negative face of himself by expressing thanks to

his opponents. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono also applied four kinds of positive politeness strategies. There were: strategy 5: seek agreement two times and also strategy 11: be optimistic two times. For the negative politeness, he used strategy 2: Hedge.

And for the last, Megawati threatened her opponents' positive face two times.

First, she was expressing her contradiction or disagreement, second was confessing guilt or responsibility. She also threatened her opponents' negative face by giving suggestions two times, making a promise, and reminding. In order to save her opponents' face, Megawati also performed some politeness strategies. There were, positive politeness, strategy 11: be optimistic and strategy 5: seek agreement. And negative politeness, strategy 2: hedge and strategy 3: be pessimistic.

From this result, it seemed that Megawati attacked more than her opponents, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Jusuf Kalla did, it could be seen from based on how many times Megawati did face-threatening act more than others did. Furthermore, the three candidates, in their own statements, threatened more the opponents' negative face. As written in the chapter two, negative face meant the need to be independent and positive face meant the need to be connected. It meant that if the speaker threatened negative face more than the hearer's positive face the speaker wanted to make a good relationship with the hearer. It indicated that every candidate still appreciate another candidate's opinion without criticized and had the same opinion in common. It could be seen on the politeness strategies which were applied by each of them to save other candidate's face. They used positive politeness strategy more often

especially claim common ground, strategy 5: seek an agreement and convey that S and H are cooperators, strategy 11: be optimistic to support the answer from the proposed questions to each candidate that supposed in debating there were many critics, and even disagreement occurred, but in this case they even agreed with the opinions from each candidate and more cooperative between each other.

Brown and Levinson (as cited in Leech, 1995, p.176) say that positive and negative politeness are mutually exclusive. But in the next statement, Leech (1995, p.176) claims that in practice, a single utterance can be oriented to both positive and negative face simultaneously. In line with the research which was resulted in this debate, each candidate not always used positive politeness to save other candidates' positive face and on the other way around. In some cases, the candidate threatened other opponents' negative face but he used positive politeness strategy to save the opponents' negative face.

Leech (1995, p.180) says, I would prefer terminology which does not give even the appearance of committing the analyze to any view of the psychological disposition of the speaker, but instead relates pragmatic choice to discourse goals.

Each candidate still considered that they avoid to offense each other candidates feeling. It could be seen that all candidates tried to maintain their language when they delivered their opinion as natural as possible so that the candidates did not have a negative judgment to each at once. The cultural background often took part in this case.



CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter concludes the finding resulted from this study and presents the researcher's suggestion.

5.1 Conclusion

Based on the analysis result and discussion from the previous chapter, the researcher found that Jusuf Kalla threatened his oppositions' positive face once; he also threatened his own negative face once; and he threatened the oppositions' negative face once. Since he did face-threatening acts, the researcher could find the politeness strategies are done by Jusuf Kalla in his some statements. He used positive politeness three times.

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono threatened his oppositions' positive face once and also threatened negative face three times. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono also applied four kinds of positive politeness strategies. He used the negative politeness once.

At last, Megawati threatened her opponents' positive face twice. She also threatened her opponents' negative face four times. Megawati used positive politeness two times and negative politeness two times too.

In conclusion, in the debate, it was appeared that in average each candidate threatens other candidates' negative face more than positive face. They were more often using the positive politeness strategies to save the opponents' face. It meant that all the candidates wanted to make a good relationship during the campaign and they were appreciating in each others' opinions. Actually from the aspect of politeness strategy the researcher could understand that the choice of language to make a competition as in this debate during the campaign was truly important in order to give a good image from the candidates to the voters and also gave influence of the voters to vote the best one.

5.2 Suggestion

This thesis ideally can be used as starting point to another researcher on the way how the debate are conducted and analyze how the atmosphere of the debate occurs. It is also recommended the future researchers use this study as an additional reference and as comparative pragmatics research. Hopefully, the next researchers can study deeper about the FTAs and politeness strategies and know the reasons or factors why the speaker in choosing the utterances being used.



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UNIVERSITAS BRAWIJAYA

APPENDICES



Appendix 1: The Transcription of the Third Segment of 2009 Presidential Debate

1. Helmy Yahya : Pemirsa masih dalam Debat Capres Putaran Pertama. Dan untuk anda yang baru bergabung tema kita kali ini adalah “Strategi Mewujudkan Tata Kelola yang Bersih dan Penegakan Supremasi Hukum”. Saya katakan putaran pertama karena setelah ini masih ada dua putaran e..debat capres e..dan debat cawapres dengan tema yang berbeda-beda. Dan hadirin pemirsa Bung Anis — segmen ini akan -- agak kita rubah sedikit aturan mainannya ni.

2. Anis Baswedan : Iya..jadi..pada segmen yang ketiga, ini bagian ketiga saya akan menanyakan sebuah persoalan kepada seorang capres lalu dua capres yang lain mengomentari. Jadi yang ditanya menjawab dua menit, mengomentari juga dua menit lalu apabila yang menjawab pertama menganggap perlu me..ngkomentari balik punya waktu satu menit. Jdi nah..karena ini yang segmen ketiga, ini bagian ketigs jadi mulainya dari capres nomer tiga. Jadi mulai dari pak JK yah..

3. Jusuf Kalla

: Nomer tiga yah..

4. Anis Baswedan

: Nomer tiga..nomer tiga (laughing)...

5. Jusuf Kalla

: Nomer tiga.

6. Anis Baswedan

: Begini pak, bapak ini slogannya “Lebih Cepat, Lebih Baik”. Saya rasa tidak ada presiden yang tidak ingin lebih cepat dan lebih baik semuanya saya rasa ingin lebih cepat dan lebih baik. Pertanyaannya kemudian bagaimana bapak bisa menjadi berbeda disbanding dua yang lain dalam arti lebih cepat lebih baik dalam hal mengurus masalah pungli, ini masih terkait dengan tata kelola pemerintahan.

Pungli di Indonesia, suap, itu merupakan problem yang merata – merata pak jadi kalau tadi kita bicara korupsi yang skala besar dimana kita membutuhkan TIPIKOR, disisi lain masyarakat sehari-hari berhadapan dengan pungutan-pungutan liar. Dan ini bukan terjadi satu dua tahun saja ini sudah terjadi lama sekali harus ada sebuah terobosan yang bisa menyelesaikan ini dengan baik – sehingga masyarakat bisa merasakan pemerintah dan lembaga-lembaga pemerintah bukan institusi pemungut tetapi institusi pelayan yang tadi disampaikan dalam visi, Pak JK, dengan mengatakan ini dengan lebih cepat dan lebih baik silahkan pak JK – bapak harus tunjukkan bahwa berbeda dari yang lain. Dua..dua menit pak waktunya.

7. Jusuf Kalla

: Terima kasih. Pungli..bagian dari suatu sisi negatif daripada pelayanan masyarakat yang harus kita selesaikan artinya kita harus hindari, harus kita hentikan. Umumnya disebabkan karena – suatu kewenangan yang tidak jelas dia punya target waktu dan juga tentu performasi yang baik untuk pejabat itu. Ijin umpamanya, kita harus jelaskan bahwa untuk mengeluarkan KTP membutuhkan waktu tidak lebih daripada satu minggu atau dua hari malah. Kemudian berapa biayanya secara terbuka karena itulah maka apabila melanggar maka akan ketahuan melanggarnya. Kedua, tentu juga – hal itu tentu harus – pegawai negeri kita tahu tentu direformasi dengan kesejahteraannya sehingga dia tidak perlu pungli pada akhirnya – ya namun tentunya semua juga jadi harus ada ukuran-ukuran performance pegawai negeri atau pejabat sehingga performance itu harus diikutinya sehingga tidak perlu ada pelanggaran performance caranya, kapannya, biayanya, dari situ tentu disiplinnya dan apapun pelanggaran itu harus ada hukumannya, harus ada

pelanggaranya kalau seseorang ketahuan melakukan pungli harus ada hukumannya administrasikah yang paling ringan, hukuman pidanakah yang e..be..ataupun pemecatan tentunya apabila melaksanakan itu. **Kalau itu dilaksanakan semuanya saya yakin pungli itu..bukan yakin akan kami laksanakan dengan baik performance..tingkat-tingkat performace itu sehingga akan menjadikan negri ini jauh lebih transparan, jauh lebih akuntabel dan jauh lebih me..murah pelayanannya sehingga tidak me...pungli ini. Makasih.**

8. Anis Baswedan : Maaf pak waktunya habis. Ibu Mega bagaimana tanggapan ibu atas komentar pak JK tadi? Apakah ibu sepaham dengan apa yang disampaikan pak JK?

9. Megawati : **Menurut saya, apa yang dikatakan o..leh pak Kalla itu karena harus mempertahankan slogannya lebih cepat lebih baik sehingga demikian menurut saya meskipun satu hari kadang-kadang KTP itu kalau tidak diberi uang pungli itu juga tidak selesai pak Anis itu yang banyak saya dengar dari masyarakat di bawah. Jadi kalau menurut saya, kembali kepada pembangunan mental bangsa kita. Banyak bangsa-bangsa di dunia ini mengapa mereka mempunyai disiplin yang baik, mereka justru merasa khawatir kalau melihat ada uang berlebih. Mereka berupaya untuk menghitung kembali dan mengembalikan uang itu kepada yang berhak atau kalau uang itu mungkin dilakukan dalam bentuk secara korupsi suatusaat akan dikembalikan ke kas Negara. Nah kalau hal-hal seperti itu dapat kita bangun dan saya rasa sangat bisa dibangun.**

Persoalannya hanya pendidikan sekarang tidak begitu ketat memberlakukan suatu pendidikan budi pekerti yang

bisa mengatakan kepada anak-anak kita dan biasanya di rumah ibu-ibu melakukan hal itu harus bersikap jujur, jangan berbohong, kalau ada uang berlebih tolong dikembalikan, kalau mengerjakan sesuatu bisa dilaksanakan dengan cepat. **Tetapi kalau hal ini tidak dilakukan oleh seluruh masyarakat, saya kira maka apa yang ingin dilakukan oleh pak Kalla masih mungkin berjalannya tidak lebih cepat seperti apa yang pak Kalla inginkan.**

10. Anis Baswedan : Iya (laughing)..iya terima kasih ibu. Pak SBY bagaimana pak SBY menurut pak SBY, sependapat tidak pak?

11. Susilo Bambang Y. : **Saya setuju dengan pak JK tentang perlunya pengawasan, disiplin, hukuman dan penghargaan, reward and punishment untuk mengurangi budaya pungli. Tapi saya ingin menambahkan sedikit pak JK, satu bagaimanapun sosialisasi kepada masyarakat harus jelas kalau perlunya ada plang bagaimana mengurus itu satu, dua, tiga empat, lima paham jangan dirahasiakan, jangan dibikin rakyat tidak paham mengurus masalah itu. Yang kedua ditempat pengurusan entah SIM, entah KTP, ijin apapun kasih kotak aduan, aduan supaya siapa yang merasa dipermainkan bisa mengadu, PO BOX berapa atau ke bupati, ke walikota sebagian sudah melaksanakan seperti itu. Kemudian pengawasan perlu, pemimpin harus sering turun, satu sering turun ke lapangan melihat ada masalah meskipun ada kemajuan-kemajuan, tahun-tahun terakhir saya pun juga belum puas karena masih ada e... komplain ataupun keluhan dari masyarakat luas dan satu lagi kita punya e... informasi e... teknologi. Makin menjadi online system pengurusanentah KTP, entah SIM,**

atau perijinan yang lain itu bisa dicek kecepatannya apakah ada yang main-main, apakah ada yang bawah meja dan sebagainya. Oleh karena itu disamping yang telah disampaikan pak JK tadi. Menyangkut mentalitas, pengawasan, administrasi ya kembali pada tata pemerintahan yang baik, ada intervensi yang lain, yang praktis, yang sederhana di pos-pos perijinan itu dengan demikian makin gambling rakyat mengurusnya, makin tahu kalau itu dipersulit. Dan kemudian bagi petugaspun tidak akan main-main karena ada kartu-kartu yang dia bisa adukan kepada pemimpinnya. Saya juga menerima pengaduan 9949 dan ternyata banyak sekali setelah kita cek di lapangan benar adanya, meskipun sudah ada pengajuan masih jauh upaya kita untuk bikin (waktu habis) kita bagus dan makin baik begitu.

12. Anis Baswedan : Waktunya habis pak..maaf terima kasih. Pak JK, mm...mau menanggapi pak JK? Satu menit silahkan. Ibu Mega tadi ada yang berbeda dengan bapak.

13. Jusuf Kalla : **Pertama saya mau terima kasih pada ibu Mega dan pak SBY yang mendukung apa yang saya katakan tadi...sekaligus menambah sebab penting jadi kita sependapat bahwa disamping apa yang saya katakan tadi, faktor e...mental yang tadi dikemukakan ibu mega memang sangat penting itu harus dikasi mengerti kepada seluruh aparat bahwa kita al hadis mengatakan semua kita adalah pemimpin dan semua pemimpin harus bertanggung jawab a... pada pimpin a... artinya a... pungi itu walaupun tidak diketahui KPK tapi diketahui oleh Tuhan artinya itu kan karena itu.. karena itu harus dipahami seperti itu juga tentu apa yang telah disampaikan oleh pak SBY bahwa perlu transparansi lebih**

baik, transparansi yang dikemukakan dan saya setuju bahwa trnsparansi itu penting, dan juga adanya control daripada pihak-pihak atasan dan juga tentu es... ekspetorat yang melihat itu sebagai bagian daripada tugas pemerintahan secara keseluruhan jadi ada check and balance daripada pejabat itu sendiri untuk mengetahui apa yang baik, apa yan telah terjadi sebetulnya.

14. Anis Baswedan : Waktunya habis pak. E..bapak ibu capres, para hadirin sekalian kita mudah-mudahan, periode ini bisa ada ek...e...usaha yang sistematis serius agar masyarakat melihat lembaga-lembaga yang mereka harus berurusan sebagai lembaga yang bebas pungli. Insya Allah itu akan bisa tercapai. Ini pertanyaan pertama kita bebentar lagi akan ke pertanyaan kedua. Silahkan bung Helmy.

15. Helmy Yahya : Terima kasih bung Anis dan hadirin di studio sepatatkalau segmen ini menjadi lebih menarik. Tepuk tangan untuk ketiga capres (laughing) dan hadirin yang di rumah jangan kemana-mana karena kita akan segera kembali dalam acara debat capres putaran pertama setelah yang berikut ini.

(JEDA IKLAN)

16. Helmy Yahya : Yak...masih dalam acara debat capres putaran pertama. Hadirin di studio dan pemirsa di rumahnkalau pada segmen sebelumnya pak Jusuf Kalla yang di...Tanya oleh rekan saya, bung Anis, dan kemudian ibu Mega, pak SBY mengomentari...ya...! Dalam segmen ini kita akan lihat siapa yang akan dilemparkan pertanyaan oleh bung Anis dan bagaimana komentar dari capres yang lain. Silahkan bung Anis.

17. Anis Baswedan : terima kasih. Jadi ehem...sekarang giliran e... pertanyaan diajukan kepada ibu Mega. Ini masih meyangkut slogan juga bu. Jadi slogan ibu itu “Mega Pro Rakyat” jadi e...Mega pro rakyat, Mega-Prabowo pro Rakyat. Tentunya semua presiden akan me...rasa pro rakyat tidak hanya ibu, saya rasa akan begitu. Tetapi pertanyaannya kemudian bagaimana ibu menterjemahkan slogan Mega pro rakyat di dalam persoalan tenaga kerja Indonesia di luar negeri lebih dari empat juta, ada empat setengah sampai lima juta orang Indonesia bekerja di luar negeri. Mereka mengirimkan dana ke dalam negeri yang luar biasa besar sekitar 90 triliun kira-kira, hamper mendekati 10% dari anggaran belanja kita. Dengan skala begitu besra, maka perlindungan negara kepada mereka sering menjadi satu-satunya perlindungan yang mereka andalkan. Apa yang akan ibu kerjakan apabila ibu terpilih, langkah pertama apa yang akan ibu kerjakan untuk melindungi warga negara Indonesia yang bekerja di luar negeri? 10 menit...2 menit waktunya bu...maaf. Panjang bun nanti dua menit silahkan bu.

18. Megawati : Baik pak Anis...Jadi yang pertama sebetulnya perlindungan itu harus diberikan oleh kita di dalam negeri. Banyak persoalan sebetulnya kejadiannya itu karena masalah di dalam negeri. **Tentunya kalau saya terpilih menjadi presiden, maka hal-hal perlindungan itulah yang harus dilaksanakan secara lebih baik, secara lebih ketat. Pada waktu saya jadi presiden persoalan itu telah kami coba untuk bisa dilaksanakan tetapi tentunya karena saya paroh waktu, waktu itu tidak cukup sehingga persoalan yang terjadi di luar negeri itu sebenarnya akibat persoalan di dalam negeri perlindungan kalau sudah pergi itu menjadi sangat**

sulit karena akan melibatkan hubungan bilateral dua negara. Seperti kejadian beberapa kali yang kita lihat, yang ditayangkan di tv sehingga kita sepertinya selalu berada dipihak yang defensif. Suatu hal yang harus segera dilakukan adalah – memperketat – keluarnya – yang dinamakan TKW maupun yang juga disebut TKW ilegal. Karena itu justru TKW-TKW ilegal inilah yang sangat sulit untuk bisa dilindungi ketika mereka sudah bekerja di luar negeri. Nah yang berikutnya adalah member suatu pengetahuan yang lebih bagi mereka karena biasanya yang tidak mengerti hak-hak itulah yang mengalami hal-hal yang sangat menyedihkan ketika mereka mencari pekerjaan di luar negeri. Banyak hal yang saya jumpai di kedutaan-kedutaan, tempat penampungan mereka melarikan diri maupun juga mengalami penyiksaan tapi ini karena sudah ada di luar negeri itulah menjadi masalah kedutaan kita harus berhubungan dengan kedutaan yang lainnya atau pemerintah setempat.

19. Anis Baswedan : Terima kasih – terima kasih ibu Mega. Pak SBY...pak...bapk setuju pak dengan apa yang disampaikan oleh e...ibu Mega tadi.

20. Susilo Bambang Y. : **Iya ibu Mega saya setuju 200% bahwa di dalam negeri itu pangkal dari segalanya. Tentunya, kontraknya harus jelas, transparan, disiapkan dengan baik, dengan demikian waktu dia berangkat tidak ada masalah-masalah yang belum diketahui di dalam negeri. Saya sangat setuju dengan pandangan ibu. Nah kemudian saya tambahkan sedikit, setelah di luar negeri kalau dalam negeri kita baik, terus diperbaiki, seperti sekarang ini kita terus perbaiki, di luar negeri**

pun harus mulai ada kerjasama yang konkrit antara pemerintah kita dengan negara tuan rumah melalui kedutaan besar maupun konjen. Di Malaysia, dulu 40 hari untuk ngurus sekarang tinggal 3 jam setelah melalui masa 14 hari buktinya bisa. Addan...ulangi, atase tenaga kerja telah kita install di banyak kedutaan besar juga relatif membantu. Kemudian kalau ada masalah masak...masalah kita perlu berikan perlindungan hukum ternyata juga membantu. **Menurut saya, mata rantai antara di rumah dengan di luar negeri harus kita kerjakan secara serentak, tetapi memang benar harus beres di dalam negeri dulu seperti apa yang disampaikan ibu Mega tadi.** Kemudian kita pastikan setelah di luar negeri pun mereka mendapatkan perlindungan haknya, kemudian bisa berkomunikasi kedutaannya besar, ulangi, kedubesnya juga lebih aktif untuk mengetahui kalau ada apa-apa dengan tenaga kerja kita. **Saya kira langkah itulah yang kedepan mesti ditingkatkan dengan demikian yang disampaikan bung Anis tadi mereka yang menjadi pahlawan mendapatkan pelayanan yang baik di dalam negeri maupun di luar negeri oleh perwikan kita di negara-negara tersebut. Demikian pandangan saya.**

21. Anis Baswedan

: (applause) Terima kasih pak SBY. Pak JK, bagaimana p...pandangan pak JK, sependapat tidak pak JK dengan apa yang dikatakan ibu Mega tadi? Silahkan pak...

22. Jusuf Kalla

: **Ya...tentu saya sependapat dengan ibu Mega karena hal ini saya kerjakan juga pada waktu saya menkokesra bahwa ibu Mega jadi tentu juga e...sangat penting.. ibu masih ingat waktu ada Nunukan dulu bu ya? waktu e...a...e...(laughing)** Jadi memang masalahnya

pertama dalam negeri ialah persiapan-persiapannya terhadap kerja tersebut. Pelatihannya dan pengetahuannya tentang hukum-hukum yang ada di Negara tersebut. **Tapi sebelumnya kita harus mempersiapkan juga, ya sebagai tambahan juga kepada ibu Mega, e...set...kita mempersiapkan kontrak yang baik antara negara tersebut MOUnya kita harus evaluasi dengan baik. Ketiga, yang saya kerjakan dulu sebagai menkokesra dibawah ibu Mega, ialah mewajibkan kedutaan khususnya Malaysia dan Saudi, untuk mempersiapkan lawyer-lawyer, pengacara-pengacara di semu kota-kota penting di Malaysia dan juga di Saudi dan sampai sekarang masih jalan, agar semua hal-hal tersebut kita selesaikan hukumnya di Negara tersebut. Jangan nanti pulang baru kit marah-marah, diselesaikan pada waktunya dan itu sudah berjalan buk...karena masalahnya TKP bukan di Indonesia, TKPnya ada di Malaysia, ada di Saudi jd disitulah kita selesaikan.kalau tidak bayar gaji disiksa dan sebagainya maka kedutaan-kedutaan kita, dengan pengacara-pengacara lokal yang pemerintah bayar. Kita harus katakanlah menuntut e...siapa yang bertanggung jawab di Malaysia itu, di Johor kah, di Kuala Lumpur kh, di Seurawak kah, atau di Riyadh dan sebagainya. Jangan nanti pulang baru bermasalah. Itulah hal yang harus kita persiapan terlebih dahulu. Tapi benar bahwa masalahnya tentu persiapan-persiapan sebelum berangkat itu harus lebih baik. Semua TKW, TKI harus dipersiapkan buku-buku manual dimana dia, apa yang harus dikerjakan, dimana melapor, berap nomer handphone dimana melapor.**

23. Anis Baswedan : Pak Jusuf, habis waktunya pak makasih. Jadi bu... Mega tadi sudah dikomentari pak SBY, pak JK. Ada komentar balik dari ibu Mega?

24. Megawati : Ya semua ngikut saya (laughing)

25. Anis Baswedan : Jadi itu komentarnya bu ya? Semua ikut ibu gitu? Ad tambahan lagi?

26. Megawati : Ndak, sudah cukup.

27. Anis Baswedan : Cukup, oke.. (applause) Jadi hadirin sekalian, bapak, ibu, saudara pendengar di seluruh tanah air, saya rasa ada puluhan jutaan orang Indonesia yang saat ini mendengar kata TKI...TKW...punya keluarga, sanak saudara yang sedang jauh. Dan komitmen-komitmen yang malam ini disampaikan, merupakan komitmen yang mereka akan dengar dan mereka akan perhatikan dalam lima tahun ke depan. Silahkan Bung..

28. Helmy Yahya : Yak dengan demikian di segmen terakhir e...pak SBY yang akan ditanya, pak JK dan ibu Megawati yang akan mengomentari. Ya...jangan kemana-mana masih dalam acara ini, Debat Capres Putaran Pertama.

(JEDA IKLAN)

29. Helmy Yahya : Yak hadirin dan pemirsa kembali dalam Debat Capres Putaran Pertama. Dan ini adalah segmen terakhir tanpa terasa ya...dan...seperti saya katakana, akan dilanjutkan ke pertanyaan selanjutnya ke pak SBY. Langsung bung Anis silahkan.

30. Anis Baswedan : Jadi ini pertanyaan terakhir e...dari bagian ke e...empat...ke tiga dalam diskusi ini. Saya akan menanyakan kepada pak SBY. Masih slogan juga pak, slogan pak SBY ini kan "Lanjutkan!" yang sekrang kita e...banyak dengar dan lihat di jalan-jalan,di televise. Disisi lainpak, ada problem-problem di bangsa Indonesia yang terkait masa lalu yang harus diselesaikan dan tidak

bisa ditinggalkan. Jadi kita ingin maju ke depan tapi ada problem yang harus diselesaikan terutama menyangkut permasalahan HAM. Problem-problem HAM si masa lalu ini akan menjadi ganjalan apabila tidak ada solusi yang tuntas dan dirasakan adil oleh warga masyarakat yang dahulu berada dalam posisi korban. Situasi ini tentu ketika bicara lanjutan ke depan ini harus diselesaikan. Nah, bagaimana langkah yang akan pak SBY kerjakan apabila bapak terpilih lagi mejadi presiden, problem-problem HAM ini solusinya apa? Langkah strategisnya bagaimana? Sehingga rasa keadilan itu bisa muncul. Pak SBY dua menit silahkan.

31. Susilo Bambang Y. : Baik...sebenarnya bangsa kita dulu pernah berpikir untuk melihat masa lalu, masa kini, masa depan secara tepat, konstruktif, dan adil. Itulah dulu muncul gagasan untuk membentuk komisi e...kebenaran dan rekonsiliasi. Dikandung maksud, karena sudah jauh kebelakang, tidak mudah untuk menyelesaikan semuanya itu melalui justice atau hukum maka dipilahlah e...cara seperti itu. Tapi ketika itu di...apa namanya di...e...batalkan oleh mahkamah konstitusi maka mesti ada pilihan lain. Ini adalah persoalan bangsa, persoalan Negara, bukan persoalan pemerintah semata. Oleh karena itu menurut saya ke depan, kalau itu masih menjadi permasalahan, kita bisa duduk bersama, kita bisa membangun consensus apakah nanti harus ketingkat Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat yang mewakili rakyat kita, tetapi bagaimanapun memang perlu ada solusi, tapi solusinya harus konstruktif, harus melihat ke depan dengan e...pendekatan itu saya masih optimis ada solusi yang lebih bijak untuk mengatasi masalah-masalah itu. **Saya ambil contoh bung Anis, ada masalah kita dengan Timor Timur, mau diangkat oleh**

Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa, diangkat oleh dunia internasional, saya menolak sejak tahun 2005. Dan akhirnya dengan penyelesaian yang baik, demi persahabatan diantara kedua Negara, Indonesia dan Timor Leste, masalah itu sudah diselesaikan tahun lalu dengan demikian kita tutup lembaran itu kita melihat ke depan dengan yang disebut dengan...e...kebenaran dan persahabatan. Saya melihat peluang itu di luar justice yang masih tersedia yaitu truth and reconciliation, komisi kebenaran dan rekonsiliasi atau cara mirip seperti itu bisa kita pikirkan bersama. Saya kira kearifan kita semua untuk menyelesaikan masalah itu yang menjadi pilihan kita nanti. Terima kasih.

32. Anis Baswedan : Terima kasih. Pak JK, apakah bapak setuju dengan apa yang disampaikan oleh pak SBY?

33. Jusuf Kalla : Ya, tentu saya setuju karena saya masih wapres juga (laughing). Bahwa kita harus melihat ke depan, karena apabila kita selalu melihat ke belakang saja, lihat kaca spion biasanya kita tidak bisa maju. Itu harus lihat ke depan. Hukum juga begitu, karna hak asasi manusia tentu landasan hukum, hukum berlakunya tidak berlaku surut ke depan, karena itu kita harus bertindak seperti itu. Namun, tentu hal-hal yang betul-betul ada masalah-masalah sangat berat, yang mencederai rasa keadilan, dan juga hak asasi manusia, yang dapat dibuktikan tentu tetap dapat menjadi ranah hukum seperti itu. Kita masih teringat, apa yang dikemukakan Mandela, *forgive but not forget*, artinya maafkan tapi tidak melupakannya sebagai pelajaran. Karena itu sangat penting untuk bangsa ini pada waktu tertentu kita harus ada rekonsiliasi. Masalah-

masalah yang pidana betul tentu kita harus masukkan kuan bangsa, keranah hukum, selama dapat dibuktikan dengan benar. Tapi pada dasarnya ialah mari kita semua bangsa ini, melihat kemajuan bangsa, kebersatuan bangsa, ke depan tentu mempelajari masalah-masalah supaya jangan terjadi. Dengan mempelajari masalah susah yang terjadi saya bersyukur jangan seperti ap...pel... dikemukakan oleh Pak SBY bahwa sekarang ini masalah-masalah HAM itu yang besar tidak terjadi lagi dalam negri. Dengan falsafah tadi itu mem...jangan lagi kita berbuat yang berat yang mencederai keadilan ma...masyarakat dan hak-hak asasi manusia. Jadi 2 hal yang penting sdikemuka dikemukakan tadi lihat kedepan dan tentu menjadi pelajaran jangan terjadi lagi dan laksanakan hokum dengan baik itu.

34. Anis Baswedan

: Terima kasih(applause) bagaimana dengan Ibu Mega, Bu Mega Setuju dengan apa yang dikemukakan oleh Pak SBY tadi?

35. Megawati

: **Karena Pak Yusuf Kalla bilang setuju, saya oposisi juga setuju.** Karena kepentingan masalah HAM seperti tadi yang saya jelaskan di dalam statemen awal saya itu bukan masalah hak asasi manusia secara individu, tetapi hak asasi manusia sebagai bangsa juga. **Nah dengan demikian dari sejak dulu, saya seharusnya mengatakan lo Pak Anis, kalo urusan HAM ini saya juga termasuk *victim*-nya, jadi sebetulnya saya juga bisa minta keadilan.** Tetapi dengan berbangsa dan bernegara kita, saya selalu mengatakan, saya orang yang optimis selalu melihat masa depan bangsa dan negara untuk persatuan dan kesatuan bangsa. **Saya tidak pernah melakukan tindak kekerasan meskipun kadang-kadang saya dikerasi juga sehingga dengan demikian,**

hal-hal seperti ini harus dijadikan contoh dikemudian hari bagi generasi muda bangsa kita, bahwa apa yang kita lakukan kedepan sebenarnya itu untuk kepentingan bangsa dan negara bukan untuk kepentingan orang perorang. Saya kira itu yang saya sampaikan.

36. Anis Baswedan : Terima kasih Bu Mega. Pak SBY ada tanggapan balik Pak SBY? Ada satu menit Pak silahkan.

37. Susilo Bambang Y : Ya... saya mengucapkan terima kasih kepada Pak Jusuf Kalla dan Ibu Mega karena pandangannya ternyata sama dalam hal ini. Dan benar e...banyak masalah-masalah masa lampau yang oleh hukum bisa diselesaikan manakala itu tidak selesai karena rumitnya, karena kompleksnya permasalahan itu maka kita bertiga sepakat, kita melihat kedepan dengan e...solusi yaitu rekonsiliasi dan kebenaran. Karena memang justice tidak bisa menyelesaikan semuanya itu bagi kasus-kasus tertentu. Dalam kaitan itulah mudah-mudahan kedepan nanti siapapun yang memimpin, komitmen ini kita jalankan dengan benar, kita harus mencegah pelanggaran-pelanggaran HAM itu. Kita makin belajar dari masa lalu kita, makin berpengalaman. InsyaAllah makin depan masa depan kita. Terima kasih Bung.

38. Anis Baswedan : Terima kasih Pak SBY. Jadi ... sudah kita... selesaikan tadi babak ketiga diskusi antara calon presiden. Dan dalam diskusi yang terakhir kita melihat ada komitmen untuk menyelesaikan masa lalu, kita akan melihat ke masa depan dengan potret yang lebih baik. Komitmen ini InsyaAllah akan dijalankan. Nah, sekarang kita akan memasuki bagian ke-4.

Appendix 2: Berita Acara Bimbingan Skripsi

BERITA ACARA BIMBINGAN SKRIPSI

1. Nama Mahasiswa : Kartika Elvandari
2. NIM : 0510330043
3. Program Studi : Sastra Inggris
4. Topik Skripsi : Pragmatics
5. Judul Skripsi : Politeness Strategies Used by the President Candidates of Indonesia in 2009 Presidential Debate
6. Tanggal Mengajukan : 5 Juni 2011
7. Tanggal Selesai : 9 Februari 2012
8. Nama Pembimbing : I. Nurul Chojimah, M.Pd
II. Yuni Astuti, S.Pd.
9. Keterangan Konsultasi:

No	Tanggal	Materi	Pembimbing	Paraf
1	8 Juni 2011	Konsultasi judul dan draft	Pembimbing I	
2	7 Juni 2011	Konsultasi draft Bab I, II, III	Pembimbing I	
3	22 Juni 2011	Revisi Bab I, II, III	Pembimbing I	
4	20 Juli 2011	Revisi Bab I, II, III	Pembimbing I	
5	22 Juli 2011	Konsultasi Revisi Bab I, II, III, IV, V	Pembimbing I	
6	3 Agustus 2011	Konsultasi Bab I, II, III, IV	Pembimbing I	
7	20 Desember 2011	Konsultasi Bab I, II, III, IV	Pembimbing I	
8	24 Desember 2011	Konsultasi Revisi Bab I, II, III, IV	Pembimbing I	
9	6 Januari 2012	Konsultasi Bab, IV, V	Pembimbing I	
10	11 Januari 2012	Konsultasi Revisi Bab I, II, III, IV, V	Pembimbing I	
11	17 Januari 2011	Konsultasi Format seluruh isi skripsi	Pembimbing II	
12	24 Januari 2012	Konsultasi Revisi Seminar Hasil	Pembimbing I	
13	25 Januari 2012	Konsultasi Revisi Seminar Hasil	Pembimbing II	
14	7 Februari 2012	Konsultasi Revisi Ujian Skripsi	Pembimbing I	
15	8 Februari 2012	Konsultasi Revisi Ujian Skripsi	Pembimbing II	
16	8 Februari 2012	Konsultasi Revisi Ujian Skripsi	Penguji	

17	9 Februari 2012	ACC skripsi	Penguji	
18	9 Februari 2012	ACC skripsi	Pembimbing II	
19	9 Februari 2012	ACC skripsi	Pembimbing I	

10. Telah dievaluasi dan diuji dengan nilai:

Malang, 9 Februari 2012

Dosen Pembimbing I

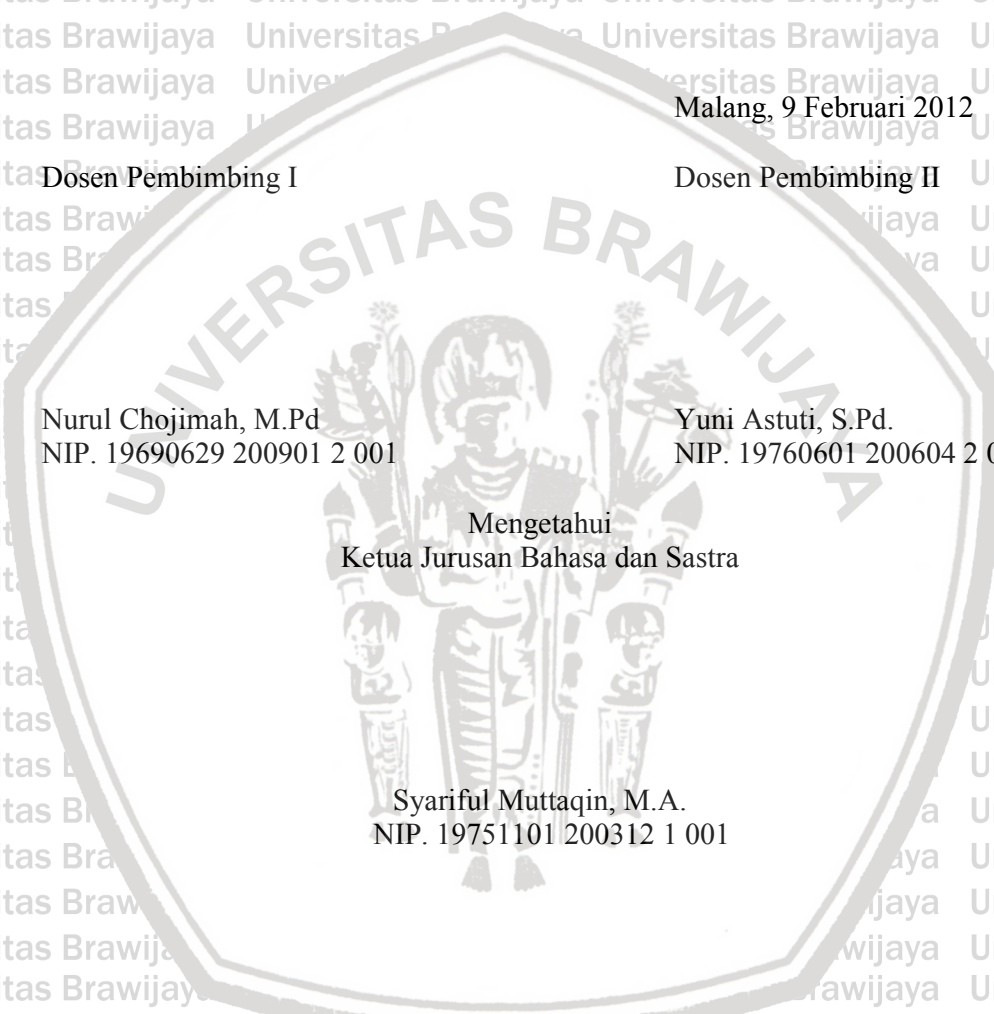
Dosen Pembimbing II

Nurul Chojimah, M.Pd
NIP. 19690629 200901 2 001

Yuni Astuti, S.Pd.
NIP. 19760601 200604 2 001

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Syariful Muttaqin, M.A.
NIP. 19751101 200312 1 001



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1. Jurusan S1 Sastra Inggris Universitas Brawijaya 2005-2012
2. SMA Shalahuddin Malang 2002-2005
3. SMP Negeri 9 Malang 1999-2002
4. SDN Kauman II Malang 1997-1999
5. SDN Kartoharjo 1 Madiun 1993-1997