

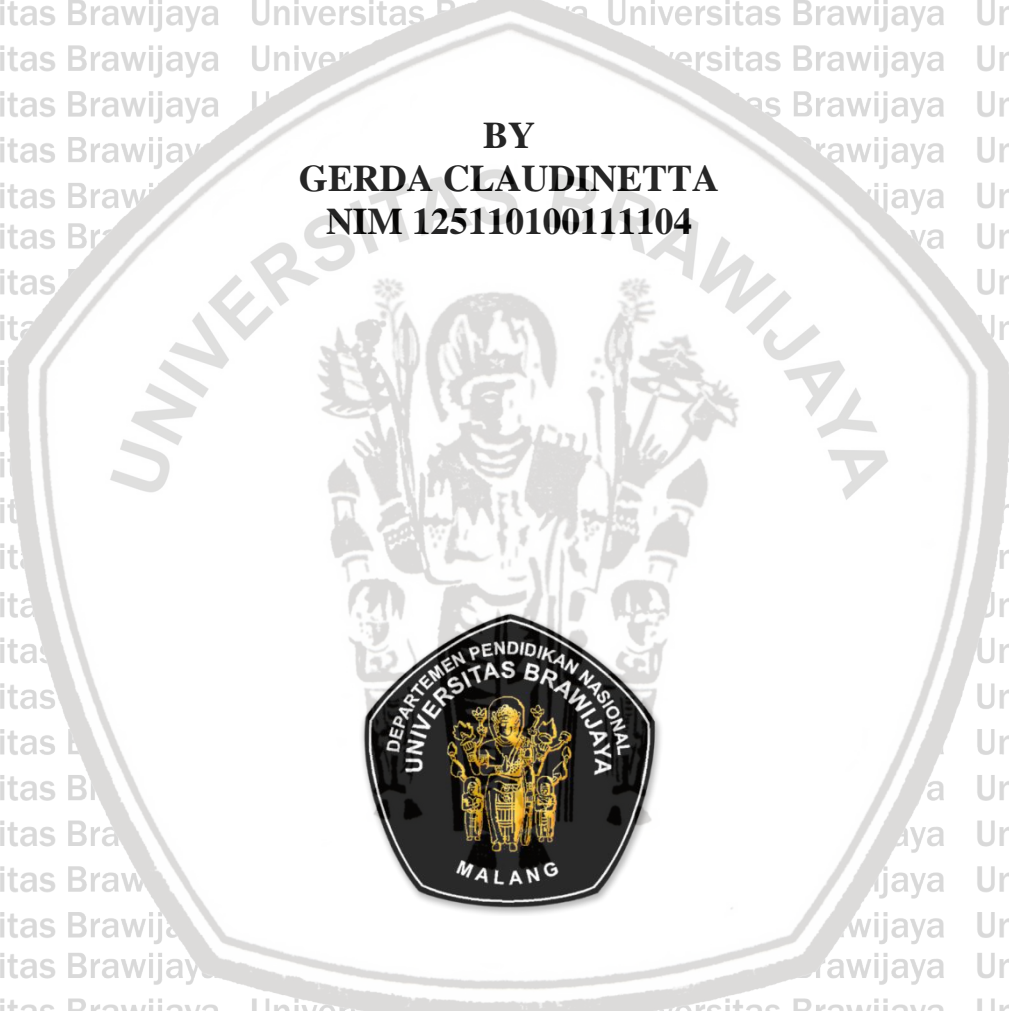
**FACE THREATENING ACT FOUND IN JOKOWI AND  
PRABOWO PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE**

**UNDERGRADUATE THESIS**

**BY**

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**STUDY PROGRAM OF ENGLISH  
DEPARTEMEN OF LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE  
FACULTY OF CULTURAL STUDIES  
UNIVERSITAS BRAWIJAYA**

**2016**

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PRABOWO PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE**

**UNDERGRADUATE THESIS**

Presented to  
**Universitas Brawijaya**  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra*

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## ABSTRACT

Claudinetta, Gerda. 2016. **Face Threatening Act Found in Jokowi and Prabowo Presidential Debate**. Study Program of English, Universitas Brawijaya. Supervisor: Isti Purwaningtyas.

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

In interaction, there is a situation where someone's face is likely to be threatened which is called Face Threatening Acts (FTAs). Therefore, people need politeness strategies to minimize the risk of damaging speaker or hearer's face. The writer conduct a study about face threatening act found in Jokowi and Prabowo Presidential Debate. There are two problems of the study that are proposed by the writer: (1) What are the utterances containing FTA in Jokowi and Prabowo Presidential Debate; (2) What are the FTA strategies found in Jokowi and Prabowo Presidential Debate.

This study used qualitative approach to describe the phenomena that were studied completely and systematically. Since the research design is document analysis so the writer analyzed the data from transcript of the utterances that were performed by Jokowi and Prabowo in Presidential Debate.

From the result of the analysis, there were 43 utterances from the candidates that contain Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) and 40 utterances that contain politeness strategies. It could be seen that the candidates did acts that threatened addressee's negative face more than the acts that threatened addressee's positive face. It indicates that the candidate want to save the opposition's feeling by does not criticizing or arguing the opposition's opinion. Then, it could be seen also that the candidate applied positive politeness strategies more than negative politeness strategies. It indicates that each candidate wanted to still maintain a good relation to each other and creating good image in front of the voters or viewers. By analyzing FTA and FTA strategies the writer concludes that politeness strategies may vary depending on participant, culture, and context.

The writer suggests the reader and the next researchers who conduct similar study to analyze further about face threatening act and politeness strategy with other media such as live talk show or campaign.

## ABSTRAK

Claudinetta, Gerda. 2016. **Tindakan Mengancam Wajah yang Ditemukan pada Debat Calon Presiden Jokowi dan Prabowo**. Program Studi Sastra Inggris, Universitas Brawijaya.  
Pembimbing: Isti Purwaningtyas.

**Kata Kunci:** Tindakan yang Mengancam Wajah, Kesantunan, Strategi Kesantunan, Debat Calon Presiden.

Dalam interaksi, ada situasi dimana wajah seseorang kemungkinan akan terancam yang disebut Face Threatening Acts (FTAs). Maka dari itu manusia memerlukan strategi kesantunan untuk meminimalisir risiko merusak muka pembicara atau pendengar. Penulis melakukan sebuah penelitian tentang tindakan mengancam muka yang ditemukan pada debat calon presiden Jokowi dan Prabowo. Ada dua masalah penelitian yang diajukan oleh penulis: (1) Ucapan-ucapan apa saja yang berisi tindakan mengancam reputasi dalam debat calon presiden Jokowi dan Prabowo; (2) Apa saja strategi-strategi kesantunan yang ditemukan pada debat calon presiden Jokowi dan Prabowo.

Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif untuk menjelaskan fenomena yang dipelajari dengan lengkap dan sistematis. Karena desain penelitian adalah analisis dokumen maka penulis menganalisis data dari naskah berisi ungkapan-ungkapan Jokowi dan Prabowo dalam debat capres.

Dari hasil analisis, terdapat 43 ungkapan-ungkapan dari para calon presiden yang berisi tindakan mengancam reputasi dan 40 ungkapan-ungkapan berisi strategi-strategi kesantunan. Hal ini dapat dilihat bahwa para calon presiden melakukan tindakan yang mengancam muka negatif lebih sering daripada melakukan tindakan mengancam muka positif. Hal ini mengindikasikan bahwa para calon presiden ingin menyelamatkan perasaan oposisi dengan cara tidak mengkritik dan menyanggah opini oposisi. Kemudian, dapat dilihat juga bahwa para calon presiden mengaplikasikan strategi kesantunan positif lebih sering daripada strategi kesantunan negatif. Hal ini mengindikasikan bahwa setiap calon presiden ingin tetap mempertahankan hubungan yang baik satu sama lain dan menciptakan kesan yang baik di depan pemilih atau pemirsa. Dengan menganalisis FTA dan FTA strategies penulis menyimpulkan bahwa strategi kesantunan dapat bervariasi tergantung pada peserta, budaya dan konteks.

Penulis menyarankan pembaca dan peneliti selanjutnya yang melakukan penelitian serupa untuk menganalisis lebih lanjut tentang tindakan mengancam reputasi dan strategi kesantunan dengan media lainnya seperti acara talkshow dan kampanye.



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The writer realizes that this research is far from being perfect. Therefore, any constructive criticism and suggestion will be gladly accepted.

Malang, 08 March 2016

The writer



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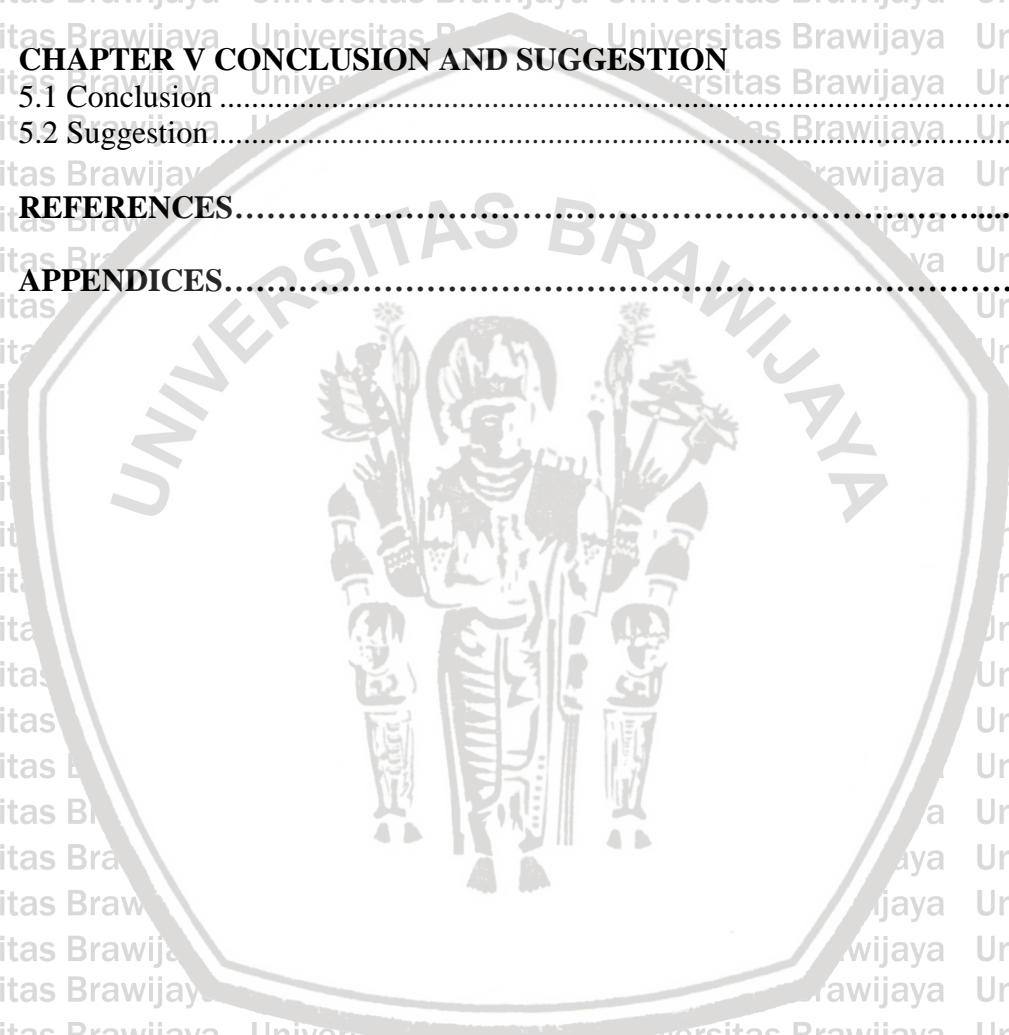
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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents background of the study, problems of the study, objective of the study and definition of key terms.

### 1.1 Background of the Study

As a social creature, human always communicate to exchange information and express the feeling through language. Language can also affect the speaker and the hearer which is used to encourage or discourage others, enhance good relation or even cause conflict therefore, it is important to understand how language is used.

Then, it is not always easy to do so, because sometimes, what the hearer understands from the speaker is different from what the speaker intends to communicate. This kind of meaning may be difficult to analyze grammatically or semantically. Pragmatics is then used when dealing with the effort in understanding how language is used in a particular context or situation. One of the aspects discussed in pragmatics is politeness.

Politeness is one of significant part of social interaction. According to Yule (1996, p. 60), it is possible to treat politeness as a fixed concept, as in the idea of 'polite social behavior', or etiquette, within a culture. Politeness also is

very valuable for people because politeness can lead us to being polite with others.

Talking about politeness, there is theory by Goffman (1956) who introduces the theory of politeness related to the concept of "Face." He states that every participant in the social process has the need to be appreciated by others and the need to be free and not interfered with. In this sense, he calls the need to be appreciated "Positive Face" and the need to not be disturbed "Negative Face."

As technical term, 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. So related with the previous statement, politeness can be defined as the means employed to show awareness for another person's face.

Refusing a request or reproaching someone is actions which can form a threat to the other's positive or negative face. When people delivers an imperative utterance through polite way and avoid in making face threatening acts, it shows that the speaker has good attitude and respects others, or the goal of having better communication is achieved.

Related to the concept of face, in social interactions, face-threatening acts (FTAs) are not to be ignored based on the terms of the conversation. According to Miki Murakami (2011), a face threatening act is a verbal act that could cause damage to the face of the hearer or the speaker by acting in opposition to the wants and desires of the other. However, they can also be conveyed in the characteristics of speech such as tone, inflection, etc. or in non-verbal forms of



communication. In addition, FTA is classified into negative face-threatening acts and positive face-threatening acts.

In this sense, performing FTAs strategies are important to minimize the risk of damaging speaker or hearer's face and to formulate messages in order to save the hearer's face when face-threatening acts are inevitable or desired. Brown and Levinson (1987) describe four main types of the strategies: bald on-record, negative politeness, positive politeness, and off-record (indirect).

Nowadays, the representative of how people performing politeness can be seen everywhere. The example is when people perform debate in forum.

According to Simpson and Weiner (2010), debate is a formal discussion between people in which they express different opinions about something. Because debate is formal discussion so when people want to refute or interrupt the opposite, it is important to do that in polite way, so that the writer interested to investigated the politeness in debate forum. One of the known debates is presidential debate which is the media to influence public opinion. It is very important so that the candidates will try to create the best image for themselves in society. In here, the candidates discuss viewpoints differ from one another on all sorts of issues: education, the military, the environment, taxes, the death penalty, etc. The writer

interested to investigate Indonesia's presidential debate held in June, 9<sup>th</sup> 2014 which is between Jokowi and Prabowo because some important people like them will use politeness to create image. As already known that presidential debate between Jokowi and Prabowo is the most important and influential debate that discuss about future of Indonesia so that the reason why writer chose presidential

debate as the object. In this research the writer focused on face threatening act that will occur in presidential debate. In presidential debate, there are different viewpoints or arguments from both candidates when discussing about several topics, so the acting in opposition to the wants and desires of the other is possible to occur. That is why the writer proposed face threatening acts (FTAs) as the topic.

In this research, the writer investigated the object through video documentation. There are six segments in presidential debate held in June, 9<sup>th</sup>, 2014 about The Development of Democracy, Good Governance and Rule of Law but here the writer focused on only two segments which are segment four and segment five because they consisted of the important argument talking about crucial things about human rights (HAM), the candidate's vision and mission related to the future of Indonesia which means that those segments are the credible data to investigate further. Another reason because those segments contain face threatening acts than the other which is appropriate to become the data source for the writer. In addition, FTA is like "our social face" and can as a mask is lost in some social situations. These potentially face threatening utterances can be dealt with in many different ways such as in debate. Because of that reason, the writer interested to analyze FTA in debate forum.

By choosing face threatening act between Jokowi and Prabowo presidential debate as the topic, the writer assumed that this research would give a reference to know how people performed FTA and FTA strategies in debate such as presidential debate. Second, this research is expected to add new references on



the analysis of FTA and FTA strategies in the form of conversation on television program. Therefore, the writer conducted a research entitled “Face Threatening Act Found between Jokowi and Prabowo Presidential Debate.

## 1.2 Problems of the Study

Based on the background, this study investigated these following problems:

1. What are the sentences containing FTA in Jokowi and Prabowo Presidential Debate?
2. What kinds of FTA strategies found in Jokowi and Prabowo Presidential Debate?

## 1.3 Objectives of the study

The objectives of the study are set to answer the problems of the study.

Here are the following objectives:

1. To find out the sentences containing FTA in Jokowi and Prabowo Presidential Debate.
2. To identify kinds of FTA strategies found in Jokowi and Prabowo Presidential Debate.

#### 1.4 Definitions of Key Terms

Definitions of key terms are described to help the readers avoid misunderstanding in giving meaning. The key terms are as follows:

1. **Face Threatening Act (FTA)** is something that is said by the speaker that represents a threat to another individual's expectation regarding self image (Yule, 1996)
2. **FTA strategies** are the ways how to minimize the threat by also taking into consideration the relatives weightings (Brown and Levinson, 1988)
3. **Jokowi and Prabowo Presidential Debate** is formal discussions among presidential candidates, in this case between Jokowi and Prabowo which discuss the viewpoint about the vision, mission and all sorts of issues. ([www.campaigning for the presidency.com](http://www.campaigningforthe presidency.com))



## **CHAPTER II**

### **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

This chapter consists of theories that help the writer analyzing the data and previous studies related to politeness will be reviewed.

#### **2.1 Theoretical Framework**

Theoretical framework consist of the discussion which covers the theories related to the pragmatics, politeness, concept of face, Face Threatening Act (FTA), strategies for doing FTA and debate which are reviewed from different sources.

##### **2.1.1 Pragmatics**

According to Grundy (2000, p. 275) pragmatics is the study of language used in contextualized communication and the usage principles associated with it.

Whereas Kreidler (1998, p. 302) defines pragmatics as the study of language in use, including the ways in which derive meanings of what is said. In addition, Yule (1996, p. 127) states that pragmatics is the study of intended meaning.

Yule (1996, p. 3) gives four opinions about pragmatics as follows:

*First*, pragmatics concern with the study of meaning as communicated by a speaker (or writer) and interpreted by a listener (or reader). It has, consequently, more to do with the analysis of what people mean by their utterances might mean by themselves. Pragmatics is the study of speaker meaning. *Second*, this type of study necessarily involves the interpretation of what people mean in a particular context and how the context influences what is said. It requires a consideration of how speaker organize what they want to say in accordance with who they are talking to, where, when, and

under what circumstances. Pragmatics is the study of contextual meaning. *Third*, this approach also necessarily explores how listeners can make inferences about what is said in order to arrive at an interpretation of the speaker's intended meaning. This type of study explores how a great deal of what is unsaid is recognized as part of what is communicated. We might say that it is the investigation of invisible meaning. Pragmatics is the study of how more gets communicated than is said. *Fourth*, this perspective then raises the question of what determines the choice between said and unsaid. The basic answer is tied to the notion of distance. Closeness, whether it is assumption of how close or distant the listener is, speaker determine how much needs to be said. Pragmatics is the study of the expression of relative distance.

Based on several definitions above, the writer concluded that pragmatics is the study of using languages in communication and the study to reveal the intended meaning of a speaker by context.

### 2.1.2 Politeness

Pragmatics is used when dealing with the effort in understanding how language is used in a particular context or situation. One of the aspects discussed in pragmatics is politeness. Based on Leech (1983), politeness is manifested not only in the context or conversation, but also in the way conversation is managed and structured by its participants.

In addition, Brown and Levinson (1988) state that politeness phenomena by their nature are reflected in language. Therefore, people might know whether one is being polite or impolite through the way he or she speaks. Besides, someone can be considered as a polite person depending on how, to whom and when he or she applies those polite manners. In conclusion as for the effects of politeness, Grundy (2000, p. 146) explains that being on the receiving end of



politeness affect each of people differently because polite utterances encode the relationship between the speaker and people itself as addressee.

### 2.1.3 The Concept of Face

The concept of 'face' has come to play an important role in politeness theory since it is needed as consideration for being polite to other people. It shapes the character of a speaker as well as how someone is perceived by others.

According to Yule (1996, p. 60), face is the public self -image of a person.

In general, a person has to pay attention to his or her interlocutor's face. In other words, the speaker and the hearer must cooperate in maintaining each other's face in interaction based on mutual vulnerability of face.

Furthermore, Brown and Levinson (1988), the definition of face into something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, and must be constantly attended to in interaction. Furthermore, Brown and Levinson (1988) said that in general, people cooperate in maintaining face in interaction because face is liable to be damaged. To not be lost or humiliated, normally everyone's face depends on everyone else is being maintained. Since people defend their face if threatened and defend their own to threaten other face, generally every participant maintains each other's face by being heedful of the face given in communications. In other words, if someone wants his face to be maintained by other participants, he should maintain others' face first. Brown and Levinson (1988) comprise two related aspect of face; they are positive face and negative face.

### 2.1.3.1 Positive Face

According to Brown and Levinson (1988), positive face refers to a person's public self image of personality to a want to be desirable. It means everybody wants his wants to be liked or affirmed by others while the communication is going on. Brown and Levinson (1988) also argue that in interaction, there are expected personalities required from interlocutor, including the desire to be ratified, understood, approved of, liked or admired. The next step is to represent this desire as the want to have one's goals thought of as desirable.

In other words, to wish someone fulfills his positive face, he will assure other interlocutor that his want is adorable. For example, when someone shows his painting proudly to other interlocutor, it is hoped that his painting is adored by others.

In addition, Grundy (2000) defines positive face as the desire to have what we admired by others, the desire to be understood by others, and the desire to be treated as a friend and confidant. Similarly, Crystal (2003) also explains the positive face as the desire to show involvement with others.

From those explanations about positive face, it can be concluded that everyone who is in a group wants his want to be liked or affirmed by others and treated as a member of group.

### 2.1.3.2 Negative Face

According to Brown and Levinson (1988), negative face is a derivative politeness of non-imposition, personal preserves, and rights to non-distraction.

Furthermore, Grundy (2000) defines negative face as a wish not to be imposed on



by others and to be allowed to go with the business unimpeded with the rights to free and self-determined action intact. Moreover, Crystal (2003) said that negative face as the desire not to be offended by others.

In short, it can be concluded that negative face is the desire to be allowed to do the business freely and not to be imposed by others. So if someone distracts the other's business like postponing appointment or asking favor, it means threatening negative face. For example, the doctor cannot meet the patients at the time of their appointment.

#### **2.1.4 Face Threatening Act (FTA)**

Brown and Levinson (1988) defines face threatening act (FTA) as the case that certain kinds of acts intrinsically threaten face, i.e. those acts that run contrary to the face wants of the addressee or hearer of the speaker. In verbal communication, of social interaction, the participant should not violate one another's face and should not make actions that can causes a threat to other positive face and negative face. In other words, when the act to threaten face happens, it means the wants of the addressee of the speaker is not fulfilled and it can lose the face. Thus, by 'act' (utterances) people have in mind what is intended to be done by a verbal or non verbal communication. Face can be threatened by certain kinds of acts (utterances) which by nature convey to the face of the addressee (H) and of the speaker (S).

Further, Brown and Levinson (1987, pp. 65-67) make a first distinction between acts that threaten the addressee's negative face and those that threaten the addressee's positive face as follow:

#### 2.1.4.1 Acts that Threaten the Addressee's (H's) Negative Face Wants

Those acts that primarily threaten the addressee's (H's) negative face want, by indicating (potentially) that the speaker (S) does not intend to avoid impending H's freedom of action, include:

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

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

(b) Suggestions, advice (S indicates that he thinks H ought to (perhaps) do some act A)

(c) Reminding (S indicates that H should remember to do some A)

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

(ii) Those acts that predicate some positive future act of S toward H, and in so doing put some pressure 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 some act for H, with H hereby incurring a possible debt)

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

(iii) 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 action to protect the object of S's desire, or give it to S:



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

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

#### 2.1.4.2 Acts that Threaten the Addressee's (H's) Positive Face Want

Those acts that threaten the positive face want, by indicating (potentially) that the speaker does not care about the addressee's feeling, wants, etc. – that in some important respect he does not want H's wants – include:

(i) Those that show S has a negative evaluation of some aspects of H's positive face:

(a) Expression of disapproval, criticism, contempt or ridicule, complaints and reprimands, accusations, insult (S indicates that he does not like or want one more of H's wants, acts, personal characteristic, goods, beliefs or values)

(b) Contradiction or disagreements, challenge (S indicates that he thinks it is wrong or misguided or unreasonable about some issue, such wrongness being associated with disapproval)

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

(a) Expression of violent (out-of-control) emotions (S gives H possible reason to fear him or be embarrassed by him)

(b) Irreverence, mention or 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, e.g. politics, race, religion, women's liberation (S raises the possibility or likelihood of face threatening acts (such as the 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 or positive face wants)

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

### 2.1.5 Strategies for Doing Face Threatening Act (FTA)

In the case of face threatening act (FTA), the strategies to prevent the damage caused by FTA is needed. According to Yule (1996), strategies for doing FTA usually called politeness strategies are strategies used in order to lessen the possible threat to another's face. Strategies of doing FTA consist of four main



types of the strategies: bald on-record, negative politeness, positive politeness, and off-record (indirect).

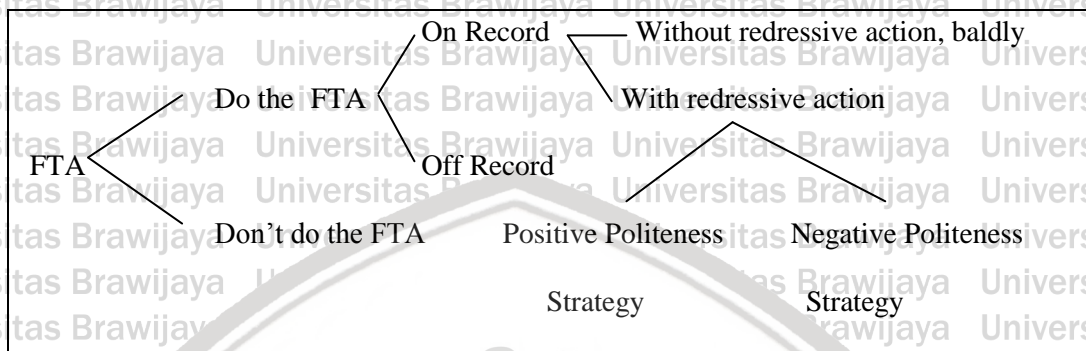


Figure 2.1 Politeness Strategies (adapted from Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 69)

### 2.1.5.1 Bald On-Record

According to Brown and Levinson (1987) this strategy does not intend to mitigate the threat to the hearer's face. This strategy can be found in some conditions. Firstly, it happens when both S and H realize that the relevance of the face demands suspend to the interest of urgency or efficiency. Secondly, it happens when the face threat to H is not incisive, as in offering, requesting, suggesting, and so on. Thirdly, it happens when the power of S is higher, for example a teacher to his student, a boss to his employee, etc. Then, this strategy is divided into two classification, those are cases of non-minimization of the face threat and cases of FTA-oriented bald-on record usage.

#### 1. Cases of non-minimization of the face threaten

In this type, S utters something to H directly. Here, S does not care about H's face and feeling, and S does not afraid about the response that might be given by the addressee.

Example: *"Help!"*

## 2. Cases of FTA-oriented bald-on record usage

This strategy illustrates the way to respect the face of the addressee which involves mutual orientation, so each participant tries to foresee what other participant is trying to foresee. This strategy may be accomplished in welcoming (or post-greetings), where S urges that H may impose on his negative face in farewell where S urges that H may transgress on his positive face by taking his leave, and in offers where S urges H may impose on S's negative face (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 99).

Example: *"Come in, don't hesitate, I'm not busy."*

### 2.1.5.2 Positive Politeness

Positive politeness strategies seek to minimize the threat to the hearer's positive face. They are used to make the hearer feel good about him, his interests or possessions, and are most usually used in situations where the audience knows each other fairly well. Positive politeness utterances are used as a kind of metaphorical extension of intimacy, to imply common ground or sharing of wants to a limited extent even between strangers who perceive themselves, for the purposes of interaction, as somehow similar. Positive politeness techniques are used not only for FTA redress, but in general as a kind of social accelerator, where speaker (S), in using them, indicates that he or she wants to 'come closer to hearer (H)'. There are fifteen strategies in accomplishing positive politeness. Each strategy is then divided into three major groups, those are common ground, convey that S and H are cooperators and fulfill H's want for some X.

### 1. Claim common ground



Claim common ground shows that both S and H belong to a horde of people who shares specific wants, including values and goals. Based on Brown and Levinson's theory, there are eight strategies in this group:

A. Strategy 1: Notice, attend to H (his interest, wants, needs, goods)

According to this strategy, the speaker (S) should take notice of aspect of hearer (H)'s condition (noticeable change, remarkable possessions, and so on)

Example: *"You look sad. Can I do anything?"*

*"Goodness, you cut your hair! .... By the way I come here to borrow some flour."*

B. Strategy 2: Exaggerate (Interest, Approval, Sympathy with H)

In this strategy, S shows his interest to H. In expressing it, he exaggerates his words, intonation, stress, and other aspect of prosodies, as well as with intensifying modifiers.

Example: *"What a fantastic garden you have!"*

C. Strategy 3: Intensify interest to H

This strategy shows another way for S to communicate to H that S shares some of his wants to intensify the interest of his (S's) contributions to the conversation.

This strategy can be applied such as in making a good story and using expression which makes the hearer becomes the participant in the conversation or using tag questions.

Example: *"I come down the stairs, and what do you think I see? – a huge mess all over the place, the phones off the hook and the clothes are scattered all over..."*

D. Strategy 4: Use in-group identity markers

In this strategy, S often uses certain terms of address forms, of language or dialect, of jargon or slang, and of ellipsis.

Example: *"Help me with this bag here, will you son?"*

#### E. Strategy 5: Seek agreement

In this strategy, S tries to agree and follow the information from the addressee.

Example: A: *"John went to London this weekend!"*

B: *"To London!"*

#### F. Strategy 6: Avoid disagreement

Another way of claiming common ground with H is pretending to be agree.

Example: A: *"You hate your Mom and Dad"*

B: *"Oh, sometimes."*

#### G. Strategy 7: Presuppose/raise/assert common ground

The values of S to spend his time and effort on being with H, as mark of friendship or interest in him, gives rise to the strategy of redressing an FTA by talking for a while about unrelated topics. Sometimes, a tag question is used with a falling intonation in some local dialects of British English.

Example: *"I had a really hard time learning to drive, didn't I?"*

#### H. Strategy 8: Joke

Joking is a basic positive politeness strategy technique for putting H at ease because joke is based on mutual shared background values and knowledge.

Example: *"Ok if I tackle those cookies now?"*

## 2. Convey that S and H are cooperators.



According to Brown and Levinson (1987), if S and H are interacting, then they share goals in some domain, and thus to lead that they are cooperators can serve to redress H's positive face want. Therefore, it is the want to convey, that S and H are involved in the relevant activity cooperatively.

I. Strategy 9: Assert or presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants.

This strategy makes apperception that S understands the desire of the addressee.

Example: *"Listen to me, I know you want the car back by 5.0, so should I go to the town now?"* (Request)

J. Strategy 10: Offer, promise

Offer and promise strategies are the natural outcome to be chosen; even if they are false, they dominate S's good intentions in satisfying H's positive-face wants.

Example: *"I'll drop by sometime next week"*

K. Strategy 11: Be Optimistic

In this strategy, S assumes surely that H will cooperate with him may give a commitment for S to cooperate with H as well.

Example: *"I've come to borrow a cup of flour"*

L. Strategy 12: Include both S and H in the activity

S can call upon the cooperative assumptions and thereby redress FTA, by using term "we", which means 'you' or 'me', or it means that it involves S and H.

Example: *"Let's have a cookie, then."*

M. Strategy 13: Give (or ask for) reason.

This strategy explains that S gives reasons as to why he wants what he wants, or H is thereby led to know the reasonableness of S's FTA.

Example: *"Why don't we go to the seashore?"*

N. Strategy 14: Assume or assert reciprocity

In this strategy, S may mitigate his threat by negating the debt aspect. Thus, the cooperation between S and H can be claimed by giving evidence or reciprocal rights or obligations obtaining between S and H.

Example: *"I did X for you last week, so you do Y for me this week."*

### 3. Fulfill H's want for some X

This positive politeness strategy attempts to redress H's face directly to fulfill H's desire. Thereby, it indicates that S wants H's wants for H, in some certain respects as explained by Brown and Levinson (1987).

O. Strategy 15: Give sympathy to H (*Goods, Sympathy, Understanding Cooperation*)

This last strategy shows that S attempts to satisfy the hearer's wants. It is related to human-relation wants such as the wants to be liked, admired, cared about, understood, and listened to.

#### 2.1.5.3 Negative Politeness

Negative politeness strategies are oriented towards the hearer's negative face and emphasize avoidance of imposition on the hearer. These strategies presume that the speaker will be imposing on the listener and there is a higher potential for awkwardness or embarrassment than in bald on record strategies and positive politeness strategies. Negative face is the desire to remain autonomous so the speaker is more apt to include an out for the listener, through distancing styles



like apologies (Brown and Levinson, 1987). There are ten strategies in negative politeness, and those strategies are then grouped into five classes as the following:

### 1. Be direct

According to Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 130), negative politeness enjoins both on-record delivery and redress of an FTA. The simplest way to construct on-record messages is to convey it directly, as in bald-on-record usages.

This strategy attempts to minimize the imposition by coming rapidly to the point.

#### A. Strategy 1: Be conventionally indirect

This strategy causes S is faced with two contradicting tensions, those are desire to give H and 'out' by being indirect and the wants to go on record.

Example: *"Can you please pass the salt?"*

### 2. Don't presume/assume

In this second specification, redress I given to the H's negative face. The application of this strategy can be seen in avoiding presuming carefully that anything which is involved in the FTA is believed or wanted by H.

#### B. Strategy 2: Question, hedge

A 'hedge' can be defined as a particle, word, or phrase that modifies the degree of membership of a predicate or noun phrase in a set. This strategy explains the wants no to be presume and not coerce H.

Example: *"Won't you open the door?"* (Could be glossed as "I request that you open the door")

### 3. Don't coerce H

This third group is used when the proposed FTA involves predicating an act of H (Brown and Levinson, 1987). It may be created by avoiding coercing hearer's response, and it is done by giving the option not to do acts explicitly.

#### C. Strategy 3: Be pessimistic

This strategy redresses H's negative face by expressing doubt explicitly that the condition for the appropriateness of S's speech act obtain.

Example: *"Could you jump over that five-foot fence?"*

#### D. Strategy 4: Minimize the imposition, Rx

This strategy indicates that Rx, the intrinsic seriousness of the imposition, is not in itself great, leaving only D (social distance) and P (relative power of S and H) as possible weighty factors. Thus, indirectly S redresses the intrinsic seriousness of the FTA to pay H's deference.

Example: *"I just want to ask you if could lend me a single sheet of paper."*

#### E. Strategy 5: Give deference

In this strategy, S attempts to act humbly and abase him, and another one is where S attempts to treat his addressee as superior.

Example: *"Excuse me, Sir, but would you mind if I close the window?"*

#### 4. Communicate S's want to not impinge on H

A way to satisfy H's negative face demands is to indicate that S is aware of H and taking him into account in his decision to communicate the FTA (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 1870)

#### F. Strategy 6: Apologize



Speaker shows is reluctance to impinge on H's negative face and he, thereby, redresses that the impingement partially.

Example: *"I'm sure you must be busy, but..."*

#### G. Strategy 7: Impersonalize S and H

This strategy aims to indicate that S does not want to impinge on H's negative face by stating 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.

Example: *"It is expected that..."*

#### H. Strategy 8: State the FTA as a general rule

This is a way of communicating that S does not want to impinge H, but it is merely forced to by particular circumstances, as in general social rule.

Example: *"We don't sit on table; we sit on chairs, Johnny."*

#### I. Strategy 9: Normalize

The more someone normalize an expression, the more he/she dissociate from it.

Example: *"You performed well on the examinations, and we are favorably impressed."*

### 5. Redress other wants of H's

The last strategy of negative politeness consist in offering partial redress for the H's face threat by giving compensation of H's particular other wants.

#### J. Strategy 10: Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebteding H

In this strategy S redresses an FTA by claiming his indebtedness explicitly to H, or by disclaiming any indebtedness of H.

Example: *"I'd be eternally grateful if you would..."* (For request)

#### 2.1.5.4 Off Record

Off record strategy is a strategy that is performed indirectly. Therefore H may have same interpretation from what have just been said by S.

##### 1. Invite conversational implicatures

S attempts to give hints to H. It means that S violates the maxims which were proposed by Grice. Thus, H interprets what is really meant by S.

###### A. Strategy 1: Give hints

When S says something that is relevant, but explicitly, it does not seem relevant.

It causes H tries to find out the possible interpretation.

Example: *"It's cold here."* (It means that S wants H to shut the window)

###### B. Strategy 2: Give association clues

This strategy is indicated by mentioning something which is associated with the act required of H, either by precedent in S-H's experience or by mutual knowledge irrespective of their interactional experience.

Example: *"Oh God, I've got a headache again."*

###### C. Strategy 3: Presuppose

This category violates the relevance maxim, in which S's intent is related in a different way to the relevance maxim.

Example: *"I washed the car again today."*

###### D. Strategy 4: Understate

In this strategy, it is considered how the addressee can be invited to make inferences by S's violation of the quantity maxim.

Example: *"That dress is quite nice."*



#### E. Strategy 5: Overstate

In this strategy, the implicature is conveyed by violating the maxim of quantity that is saying something more than is required.

Example: *"I tried to call a hundred times, but there was never any answer."*

#### F. Strategy 6: Use tautologies

This strategy is used to utter patent and necessary truths. By using tautologies, it means that S encourages H to find an informative interpretation of the non-informative utterance.

Example: *"Boys will be boys."*

#### G. Strategy 7: Use contradiction

By stating two things that contradict each other, means that S violates the maxim of quality.

Example: A: *"Are you upset about that?"*

B: *"Well, yes, and no."*

#### H. Strategy 8: Be ironic

S says the opposite of what he really means, thus he conveys his implicit meaning and violates the quantity maxim.

Example: *"John's a real genius."* (John has just done twenty stupid things in a

row)

#### I. Strategy 9: Use metaphors

S can use metaphors to deliver his intended meaning. By using metaphors S violates the maxim of quality.

Example: *"Harry's real fish."* (Harry swims like a fish)

J. Strategy 10: Use rhetorical question

S ask question without any intention to obtain any answer from H.

Example: *"What can I say?"*

**2. Be vague or ambiguous**

In this second type of off record, S may go by being ambiguous or vague,

thus, it violates the manner maxim.

K. Strategy 11: Be ambiguous

In this strategy, S tends to be ambiguous in delivering his message.

Example: *"John's is pretty sharp cookie."* (Could be either a compliment or an insult)

L. Strategy 12: Be vague

S goes off record with an FTA by being vague about what the offence is, or who the object of the FTA is.

Example: *"Looks like someone may have had too much drink."*

M. Strategy 13: Over-generalize

The use of this strategy can be indicated by the use of proverbs, although their implicatures may be conventionalized to the extent of being on record.

Example: *"Mature people sometimes help do the dishes."*

N. Strategy 14: Displace H

In this strategy, S may pretend addressing the FTA to someone else, and he hopes that the real target will realize that the FTA is intended to him.\

Example: *"Pass that stapler please."*

O. Strategy 15: Be incomplete, use ellipsis



This strategy is marked by using incomplete utterance or words because some of them are ellipsed. In other words, S hangs it in the air.

Example: *“Well, I didn’t see you...”*

From the explanation above, it can be seen that they have their own concept about politeness. In spite of having differences, they actually have similarity in their concept of politeness. Therefore, the writer used the theory from Brown and Levinson (1988) because it is understandably that their theories have strong characteristic and explanation of politeness especially in face threatening act.

#### **2.1.6 Debate**

According to Simpson and Weiner (2010), debate is a formal discussion on a particular matter in a public meeting or legislative assembly, in which opposing arguments are put forward and which usually ends with a vote. A debate is performed in a structured setting that gives all participants a chance to present and defend their arguments. In other words, the two debating sides are given a proposition to debate. The affirmative side of the proposition – also called the Proposition which is advocates, supports and upholds the resolution. The negative side of the proposition – also called Opposition which is opposes and refuses the resolution; as such, they deny the stance of the affirmative. Basic debates styles vary widely in terms of their format, time limits for speeches, the order of speeches, and how arguments are presented. In addition, debating formats vary from one institution or organization to another. Despite these differences,

debates also have many features in common. Overall, debates are very common in social, political, religious, and educational environments.

#### 2.1.6.1 Presidential Debate

Presidential debate is formal discussions among presidential candidates which discuss the viewpoint about the vision, mission and all sorts of issues: education, the military, the environment, taxes, the death penalty, etc. A presidential debate, therefore, is a formal, disciplined, and rule-governed contest or competition that is conducted within a set framework. In this case, the presidential debate is between

Jokowi and Prabowo who is the chosen candidate for the next president in election

2014. Presidential debate held on June, 9<sup>th</sup> 2014 and the theme is “Pembangunan

Demokrasi, Pemerintahan yang Bersih, dan Kepastian Hukum”.

([www.campaigningforthe presidency.com](http://www.campaigningforthe presidency.com))

#### 2.2 Previous Studies

Dealing with this study, there are two previous studies that used face threatening acts (FTA) as topic. First is Kunitasari, Erna. 2011. *Face Threatening*

*Act in Email Sent by Prita Mulyasari about OMNI International Hospital Health*

*Service*. This research discussed face threatening act (FTA) in an email of Prita

Mulyasari about Omni International Hospital. The writer used Brown and

Levinson (1988) theory to analyze face threatening act (FTA) and Leech (1983)

theory to analyze politeness principle found in email of Prita Mulyasari about

Omni International Hospital Health Service. Moreover, this study uses qualitative



approach in relation to describe the face threatening act (FTA) and politeness principle found in email of Prita Mulyasari about Omni International Hospital Health Service to answer the problems of study.

This study found fifty sentences in Prita's email containing FTA in which positive face is the most threatened. The FTA strategies of Brown and Levinson (1988) which are occurred include bald on record, positive politeness (avoid disagreement-hedging opinions and presuppose H' values are the same as S's values), negative politeness (give difference), and off record (be ironic, overstate, be vague, presuppose, and over-generalized) which are mostly occurred in email.

Politeness principle (PP) of Leech (1983) occurring in Prita's email includes the approbation maxim and modesty maxim. The possible factors causing Prita used those strategies are Prita and Omni had no close relationship; mostly Omni had more power than Prita; and she was disappointed in the health service of Omni International Hospital. The conclusion of this study is that Prita used more off record strategies because she realized that she threatened big institution such Omni International Hospital. Therefore, she tried to minimize her FTA although she explained all of her complaints to Omni.

Second is Rahayu, Widya. 2015. *Politeness Strategies Used by LuLing and Ruth in Bonesetter's Daughter Novel by Amy Tan*. This research discussed politeness strategies which are used by LuLing and Ruth in "The Bonesetter's Daughter" novel by Amy Tan. This study also used Brown and Levinson's theory to find out the politeness strategies which is used by LuLing and Ruth in *Bonesetter's Daughter Novel by Amy Tan*. Moreover, this study used qualitative

approach because it analyzes FTAs and politeness strategies in the utterance of LuLing and Ruth in *The Bonesetter's Daughter's* novel, in part one, sub-chapters two until seven.

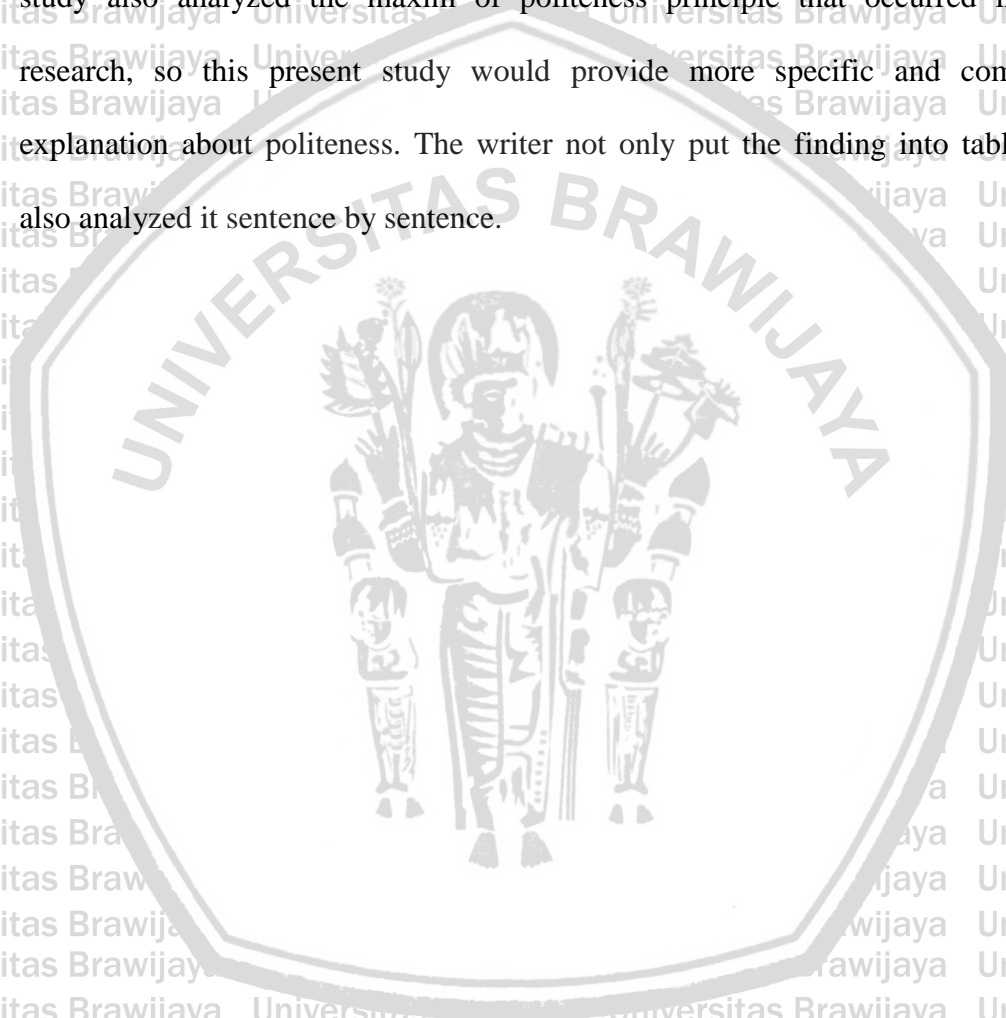
The finding of this research shows that the dominant strategy which is used by both LuLing and Ruth is threatening the negative face of H especially in giving request. The dominant politeness strategy that used by both LuLing and Ruth is positive politeness strategy (presuppose/raise/assert common ground). By applying positive politeness strategy very often, LuLing and Ruth tried to please each other by sharing the same interest. Besides, this strategy is also used by both of them almost in every context. LuLing's and Ruth's conversation which have the same context are classified. As a result, different context does not influence the use of politeness strategies since both of them use positive politeness dominantly in many kinds of situation.

The similarities this study and the first previous study is both used Brown and Levinson's theory to find out face threatening act and politeness strategies. The difference of this study and the first previous study is the object that is used in the research; first previous study analyze the sentence which is wrote by Prita Mulyasari in her email and the present study analyze the utterance from Jokowi and Prabowo in Presidential Debate. In addition, the writer also gave the analysis of each finding so that this study would be more specific in discussing FTA and FTA strategies.

Next, the similarities this study and second previous study is both used Brown and Levinson's theory to answer the research problem. Therefore,



second previous study only analyze the politeness strategy that is used by LuLing and Ruth in *The Bonesetter's Daughter's* novel by Amy Tan while the present study not only analyze politeness strategy but also analyze face threatening act that is used by Jokowi and Prabowo in Presidential Debate. Since second previous study also analyzed the maxim of politeness principle that occurred in the research, so this present study would provide more specific and complete explanation about politeness. The writer not only put the finding into table but also analyzed it sentence by sentence.



## CHAPTER III

### RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter presents the research method which includes the research design, data sources, data collection, and data analysis.

#### 3.1 Research Design

Based on Ary et al (2002, p. 421), qualitative inquiry is a generic term for a variety of educational research approach variously labeled as ethnography, naturalistic inquiry, case studies, fieldwork, field studies and participant observation. Furthermore, qualitative research also inquirer deals with data that are in the form of words, rather than number and statistics (Ary et al, 2002, p. 441-442). In this research the writer used qualitative research as the research design.

Since this study is qualitative, the writer analyzed the Face Threatening Act (FTA) that occurs based on the problems by using video of a presidential debate in 2014.

In brief, by analyzing the transcriptions of the presidential debate, this study is classified into qualitative approach and the research design of this study is document analysis.



### 3.2 Data Source

The type of the data in this study are the sentences that produced by the speaker in debate forum that contain Face Threatening Act (FTA) strategies. In here, the writer focused on the sentences that produced by Jokowi and Prabowo as the candidate in presidential debate 2014.

Moreover, the data of this study which the writer transcribed later would be taken from <http://www.youtube.com>. The data is video of presidential debate video held in June, 9<sup>th</sup> 2014. The theme of this debate is “Pembangunan Demokrasi, Pemerintahan yang Bersih, dan Kepastian Hukum”. There are six segments in presidential debate 2014 but the chosen segment for this study is only two segments which are segment four and segment five. In segment four talks about crucial things like HAM, the development of the nation, and the solution to make “clean” government while segment five talks about the upcoming issues which related to the vision and mission of each candidate so this data is credible to be investigated. In terms of FTA, the content of segment four and five are more debatable than other segments because the topic discussed is related with the background of the candidate in which the candidate is possibly to do self-defense when responding the opposite. In addition, there are some unsolved problems in Indonesia such as violation of human rights, discrimination, and corruption among the government. So, those segments are important to be analyzed because how they give solution is related with the vision and mission for Indonesia.

### 3.3 Data Collection

Data collection method is the method that is used to gather or collect the data. A clear and obvious explanation in data collection is needed so these are the steps of collecting data that the writer conducted systematically:

1. Downloading the videos at <http://www.youtube.com>.
2. Watching the video
3. Transcribing the sentences
4. Reading the whole transcriptions
5. Selecting the sentences which contain Face Threatening Act (FTA) and FTA strategy using Brown and Levinson's theory.

### 3.4 Data Analysis

In analyzing the data used by the main candidates in the presidential debate forum, the writer made and kept notes about each important point in sentences.

Then, the writer would code the data to categorize them into relevant categories which about what are the utterances containing FTA in Jokowi and Prabowo Presidential Debate and what are the FTA strategies found in Jokowi and Prabowo Presidential Debate.

The write analyzed the collected data through several steps as follows:

1. Identifying the data by choosing the sentences that contain Face Threatening Act (FTA) based on Brown and Levinson's theory.
2. Coding the sentences based on the speaker.
3. Categorizing the sentences based on threatened face.



4. Identifying the Face Threatening Act (FTA) strategies found in the sentences.
5. Coding the sentences based on the speaker.
6. Classifying the sentences to find out what kind of strategies used by Jokowi and Prabowo in presidential debate.
7. Putting them into a table below

Table 3.4 The Sentences Containing FTA and FTA Strategies in Jokowi and Prabowo Presidential Debate

No	Code	Sentences	Threatened Face		FTA Strategies	
			Positive	Negative	On Record	Off Record

8. Giving analysis and explanation to each sentence
9. Drawing conclusion based on the result of the discussion.

## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter present data description of the study based on the findings, background of the study, problems of the study, objective of the study and definition of key terms.

#### 4.1 Findings

The findings present to answer the problem of the study of this research.

The data of this research were taken from the transcription of Presidential Debate on June, 9<sup>th</sup> 2014 which is segment four and segment five.

Table 4.1 The Sentences Containing FTA and FTA Strategies in Jokowi and Prabowo Presidential Debate

No	Code	Sentences	Threatened Face		FTA Strategies	
			Positive	Negative	On Record	Off Record
1.	P.ON.4 (+)	Baik Terimakasih, Pak Jokowi yang saya hormati seandainya Anda jadi Presiden ada satu hal yang ingin kami tanya yaitu tentang pemilihan kepala daerah Bupati dan Walikota			√	
2.	P.R1 (-) P.ON.4 (+)	Bagaimana sikap Bapak tentang hal itu? Kemudian bagaimana sikap Bapak tentang tuntutan atau...		√	√	



3.	P.ON.2 (-) J.S/A2 (-)	Sebagai bentuk dari kedaulatan rakyat, <b>saya kira</b> pemilihan langsung kepala daerah baik bupati maupun walikota maupun gubernur tetap dilaksanakan seperti sekarang hanya <b>caranya, teknisnya yang harus mungkin kita perbaiki</b>		√	√	
4.	J.ON.6 (+)	Kemudian yang kedua, mengenai pemekaran, tempat-tempat yang memang sangat diperlukan untuk dimekarkan dalam rangka untuk mengembangkan provinsi atau daerah itu <b>tidak ada masalah tetapi dengan catatan</b> apabila nantinya sudah dimekarkan dan mereka tidak bisa mandiri...			√	
5.	J.S/A2 (-)	Pemberiannya diperketat, pemberiannya <b>dicek</b> betul, dan yang paling penting <b>jangan sampai</b> ada <i>lobby-lobby</i> lagi, <b>jangan sampai</b> ada dengan cara menekan-menekan pusat tetapi dengan perhitungan dan kalkulasi yang betul-betul cermat dan teliti...		√		
6.	JK.S/A 3(-)	Kita <b>harus</b> menjamin sistemnya...		√		
7.	H.SA4 (-)	Iya, saya diberikan kesempatan Saudara Prabowo untuk	√	√	√	

	<b>H.ED4</b> (+)	menanggapi. Walaupun itu tadi <b>belum</b> sepenuhnya dijelaskan seperti apa efisien itu masih kualitatif belum terukur tapi memang <b>saya setuju kita harus</b> melaksanakan...				
<b>8.</b>	<b>H.ON.2</b> (-)	<b>Saya kira</b> keputusan serentak ini akan menghemat biaya yang cukup menekan,...			√	
<b>9.</b>	<b>P.ED5</b> (+)	<b>Mohon saya tadi kurang begitu jelas</b> mengenai pemekaran, kriteria apa ya...	√			
<b>10.</b>	<b>P.R5</b> (-)	Jadi <b>kami mohon</b> ada suatu ketegasan kira-kira...			√	
<b>11.</b>	<b>P.ON.4</b> (+)	Kira-kira dimana yang <b>Bapak kira bisa jadi</b> kriteria...			√	
<b>12.</b>	<b>P.ON.4</b> (+)	Tentu saja <b>Pak</b> banyak yang harus dikalkulasi...			√	
<b>13.</b>	<b>J.ON.6</b> (-)	<b>Saya kira</b> bisa saja tetapi dengan catatan...			√	
<b>14.</b>	<b>JK.ON.5</b> (-)	Pertama terimakasih kepada <b>Saudara Hatta</b> bahwa setuju dengan kami, itu yang pertama. Jadi kita tidak perlu komentari lagi karena langsung <b>setuju</b> . Kedua, menambahkan sedikit tentang pemekaran, jadi apa yang dikatakan Pak Jokowi pemekaran itu <b>seharusnya</b> dilihat tujuannya.	√	√	√	
	<b>JK.ON.5</b> (+)					
	<b>JK.S/A.7</b> (-)					



15.	JK.C/ D7 (+)	Padahal yang penting efektifitasnya apakah itu memberikan dampak lebih baik atau tidak.	√			
16.	JK.ON .4 (+)	Tadi dalam awal pembicaraan ini, Pak Hatta mengungkapkan tentang visi misinya yang saya kutip.				
17.	JK.R8 (-) JK.ON .4(+)	Bagaimana Bapak ingin menyelesaikan pelanggaran hak asasi manusia masa lalu dan menjaga hak asasi dipertahankan di masa yang akan datang?		√	√	
18.	P.S/A9 (-)	Karena itu kewajiban seorang petugas, kewajiban seorang pembela Negara...		√		
19.	P.OFF. 15 P.ON.4 (+) P.R9(-) P.C/D9 (+)	Jadi saya mengerti Pak arah Bapak. Tidak apa-apa... Tidak apa-apa. Saya tidak apa-apa, tetapi saya ada disini, saya sebagai mantan prajurit telah melaksanakan tugas dengan sebaik-baiknya. Selebihnya atasan yang menilai, apakah... Saya kan... Arah bapak kan begitu bahwa saya tidak bisa menjaga HAM karena saya pelanggar HAM. Kira-kira itu kan arah maksud Bapak. Ya kan?	√	√	√	√
20.	P.ON.4 (+)	Jadi Pak Yusuf Kalla saya bertanggung jawab, dan...			√	

21.	J.ON.4 (+) J.OFF. 8	Ya, tadi yang disampaikan oleh Pak <b>Prabowo mungkin sanking semangatnya</b> belum disampaikan hal-hal yang konkret kedepan yang akan dilakukan apa.			√	√
22.	J.R10 (-)	Oleh sebab itu kami <b>memohon</b> agar ini...			√	
23.	P.ED1 1(-) P.ON.4 (+)	<b>Maaf Pak tadi masalah diskriminasi dan ....?</b>			√	√
24.	JK.ON .4 (+)	<b>Pak Prabowo</b> terimakasih tadi atas penjelasannya.				√
25.	P.B13. (+)	(interrupt) <b>Tidak... tidak semua</b>	√			
26.	JK.BB 13 (+) JK.R1 2 (-) JK.R1 2 (-)	Ya.. jadi <b>tidak semua</b> pelanggaran itu pakai bom, jadi <b>tidak semua</b> hal itu dilakukan dengan kekerasan balik. <b>Begitu ya pak ya?</b> Kedua Bapak menyatakan tadi terserah penilaian atasan. <b>Apakah penilaian atasan Bapak waktu itu tentang penyelesaian HAM?</b>	√		√ √	
27.	P.ON.4 (+) P.ON.2 (-)	Jawaban terhadap pertanyaan <b>Pak Jokowi</b> mengenai langkah-langkah konkret. Langkah-langkah konkret <b>menurut saya</b> diujungnya adalah pendidikan.			√	
28.	P.ON.1 3 (+)	<b>Karena apa? Karena</b> sering petugas diberi			√	



		perintah...				
29.	P.ON.2 (-)	Tentang diskriminasi <b>saya kira</b> kita semua sudah sepakat...			√	
30.	P.R14 (-) P.ON.4 (+)	Jadi seluruh urusan itu kembali ke pendidikan. Jadi <b>pak Yusuf Kalla</b> , saya sudah jawab tadi. Kita bertanggung jawab dengan atasan kita, penilaiannya ya dari atasan kita. Kalau <b>Bapak</b> ingin tanya, <b>tanyalah</b> atasan saya waktu itu.		√	√	
31.	H.ON. 4 (+) H.ON. 2 (-)	Ya <b>saya kira</b> yang tadi disampaikan ditanyakan <b>Pak Yusuf Kalla</b> kepada saya soal diskriminatif dan <b>Pak Jokowi</b> juga.			√ √	
32.	H.S/A1 5 (-) H.ON. 5 (+)	Istilahnya jangan tumpul keatas, tajam kebawah, itu diskriminatif. Mereka harus sama di muka umum, siapapun dan tidak boleh. . . apapun latar belakangnya, apapun pendidikannya, apapun agama yang dianutnya tidak boleh ada diskriminatif di Negara pancasila ini. Itu yang ingin saya sampaikan yang terkait dengan diskriminatif, jadi <b>saya mendukung sekali</b> agar dituntaskannya diskriminatif di negeri ini.		√	√	
33.	H.P15 (-)	Oleh sebab itu ini menjadi perhatian kami yang ssangat		√		

		serius <b>apabila</b> mendapatkan mandat dari rakyat.				
34.	P.ON.4 (+)	Kami sadar sepenuhnya bahwa setiap usaha perbaikan, usaha transformasi, pasti akan ada halangan dan kita sudah mengerti halangan tersebut; tumpang tindihnya peraturan kemudian para pemimpin politik yang berasal dari latar belakang yang berbeda dengan kepentingan yang berbeda. <b>Tetapi saya kira</b> ada strategi tertentu untuk menghadapi kondisi ini. Yang pertama adalah <b>kita harus</b> memilih beberapa sektor yang menentukan. Kita tidak bisa memperbaiki keadaan sekaligus di semua sektor.	√		√	
	P.C/D1 (+)				√	
	P.ON.2 (-)					
	P.S/A1 (-)					
35.	P.RE1 (-)	Kemudian kita <b>juga jangan lupa</b> sekarang the power of public opinion			√	
36.	P.S/A1 (-)	... <b>kalau kita</b> memiliki tujuan yang baik, kita ingin <b>perbaiki</b> kehidupan rakyat,...			√	
37.	P.ED1 (+)	Saya <i>kok</i> <b>justru</b> percaya <b>pada</b> gilirannya dukungan rakyat akan mempengaruhi dan pada ujungnya para penguasa yang tadinya mungkin karena tidak	√			



		mengerti, karena kepentingan tertentu <b>bisa</b> diyakinkan untuk kerja sama.			
38.	H.S/A2 (-) H.ON. 4(+) H.ON. 2(-)	Oleh sebab itu <b>Pak menurut kami</b> maka langkah reformasi birokrasi <b>harus</b> kita tuntaskan dengan baik.		√	√
39.	H.S/A2 (-) H.RE2 (-)	Yang pertama arah kebijakannya adalah organisasinya <b>harus efektif dan efisien, jangan sampai</b> mengakibatkan demokrasi yang bertele-tele.		√	√
40.	H.C/D 2(+)	Tidak ada satupun kebijakan-kebijakan yang dijalankan yang <b>tidak bisa</b> kita ukur akuntabilitasnya, <b>harus bisa</b> dipertanggung jawabkan.	√		
41.	H.S/A2 (-)	<b>Jadi kalau ini bisa</b> kita perbaiki salah satu prioritas utama reformasi birokrasi, maka <i>obstacle</i> tersebut insyaAllah bisa kita atasi		√	
42.	J.ED3 (+) J.ON.7 (+)	Dengan <b>politik anggaran.</b> Karena rata-rata 85% anggaran daerah itu berasal dari pusat. Oleh sebab itu dengan <b>politik anggaran</b> kita bisa mengendalikan daerah. Kalau tidak mau beri <i>punishment</i> . Kalau ada prestasi berikan	√		√

		insentif, berikan <i>reward</i> kepada mereka, gampang sekali. Hal sederhana yang <b>seringkali tidak</b> dilakukan.			
43.	J.S/A3 (-) J.ON.2 (-)	Saya kira kalau <b>peraturan lewatnya hanya satu pintu</b> ; di Sekretariat Negara dikembalikan lagi kesana keluarannya akan jelas. Tetapi kalau semua kementerian bisa mengeluarkan aturan-aturan yang tidak jelas pintunya yaitu diluar sekretariat Negara maka <b>saya kira</b> akan terjadi seperti ini.	√	√	
44.	J.C/D3 (+)	Banyak peraturan daerah yang <b>bertentangan</b> dengan pusat, banyak peraturan gubernur juga yang <b>tidak sinkron</b> .	√		
45.	J.E/D3 (+) P.ON.1 1(+)	Kalau saya, Pak JK <b>sangat optimis berorganisasi</b> karena SDM-nya baik-baik, <i>pinter-pinter</i> . Ada doktor, magister, ada master manajemen, ada sarjana, banyak sekali. <b>Kenapa tidak berjalan dengan baik? Karena</b> sistemnya tidak dibangun. Sistem yang baik tidak dibangun disitu.	√	√	
46.	J.ON.7 (+)	Tadi sudah saya sampaikan, dari <b>e-government, e-</b>		√	



		<i>budgeting, e-prokement, e-purchasing, e-catalog, e-audit, cash management system</i> semua harus dibangun. Kalau itu dilakukan, pemerintah pusat akan gampang.				
47.	J.RE3 (+) J.RE3 (+) J.ON.1 1(+)	Artinya <b>jangan pesimis</b> , kita <b>harus optimis</b> , bisa melakukan itu dan <b>memang harus</b> dilaksanakan. Sudah kita buktikan.	√ √		√	
48.	J.S/A3 (-)	Masalah pola rekrutmen yaitu <b>memang harus</b> kita cari yang terbaik dengan seleksi dan promosi terbuka.		√		
49.	JK.RE 4 (-)	Kalau pemimpin tidak sanggup meyakinkan bawahannya <b>memang bukan</b> pemimpin yang baik. <b>Jadi jangan</b> menyalahkan daerahnya, <b>tapi</b> menyalahkan bagaimana cara memimpin itu.		√		
50.	JK.R4 (-) JK.ON .11 (+)	<b>Yakinlah</b> negeri ini akan jauh <b>lebih baik</b> dengan system seperti itu.		√	√	

Notes:

**P** : Prabowo; **J**: Jokowi; **JK**: Jusuf Kalla; **H**: Hatta Rajasa**R** : Request; **S/A**: Suggestions, advice;**ED** : Expression of disapproval, criticism, complaints; **P**: Promise**B** : Blatant non-cooperation in an activity**C/D** : Contradictions or disagreements

**RE** : Reminders; **BB**: Bringing of bad news about H

**1,2,3...**: Data or Utterance

**(-)** : Negative Face

**(+)** : Positive Face

**ON** : On Record

**OFF** : Off Record

**1,2,3...**: Strategy

**(-)** : Negative Politeness Strategy

**(+)** : Positive Politeness Strategy

#### 4.1.1 The Sentences Containing FTA in Jokowi and Prabowo Presidential

##### Debate.

According to Brown and Levinson's theory (1987), the writer put the analysis of face threatening acts found in the finding into two categories as follow:

##### A. Acts that threaten H's negative face

The writer found there are 31 utterances categories as action that threaten hearer's negative face in segment four as follow:

##### 1. Request

1. Prabowo : "Kalau pemilihannya lewat DPRD berarti kita menghemat 13 triliun. **Bagaimana sikap Bapak tentang hal itu?**"

Analysis: Here, by saying "*How you response about it, Sir?*", Prabowo threatened Jokowi's negative face because if Jokowi doesn't response Prabowo's request, Prabowo will lose face. In this case, Prabowo requested Jokowi's response about the regent and mayor direct election which spend a lot of fund.

2. Prabowo : "Kemudian **bagaimana sikap Bapak** tentang tuntutan atau harapan banyak daerah ingin terus menamban pemekaran kabupaten-kabupaten, provinsi-provinsi padahal beban terhadap anggaran nasional sudah sangat berat."

Analysis: In this utterance, Prabowo also threatening Jokowi's negative face by saying "*How your response about . . .*" In here, Prabowo asking the response of



Jokowi facing the demand of district who want expansion to their district. If

Jokowi doesn't response Prabowo's request, he will lose face.

3. Prabowo : “Jadi **kami mohon ada suatu ketegasan** kira-kira **kriterianya apa** mengizinkan pemekaran baru dan tidak mengizinkan pemekaran baru?”

Analysis: In this utterance, Prabowo request his opponent by stating “*So, we asked there is firmness about the criteria to allowing a new expansion. . .*” Since

Prabowo gave request to his opponent, Jokowi to answer his question, it means that he was threatening Jokowi's negative face want because if Jokowi does not answer Prabowo's question, Prabowo will lose face.

4. JK : “**Bagaimana Bapak** ingin menyelesaikan pelanggaran hak asasi manusia masa lalu dan menjaga hak asasi dipertahankan di masa yang akan datang?”

Analysis: Here, Jusuf Kalla threatened Prabowo's negative face by giving request like “*How you want to solve the violations. . .*” The question given by Jusuf Kalla is related with the background of Prabowo in the past about violation of human rights so Prabowo possibly to do self-defense in responding JK's question.

5. Prabowo : “Kira-kira itu kan arah maksud Bapak. **Ya kan?**”

Analysis: In this case, Prabowo threatened Jusuf Kalla's negative face by requesting his presumption that Prabowo couldn't keep the human right because he is a human rights violator. Here, Prabowo using question tags like “*Isn't it?*” to requesting his opponent. Here, if Jusuf Kalla does not answer Prabowo's question, he will lose face.

6. Jokowi : “Oleh sebab itu kami **memohon** agar ini lebih diberikan perhatian lagi mengenai pertanyaan yang diberikan oleh Pak Yusuf Kalla”

Analysis: By saying “ask”, it indicates that Jokowi threatened Prabowo’s negative face because if Prabowo does not answer Jokowi’s question, Jokowi will lose face. It seems that Jokowi was not satisfied with Prabowo’s previous answer so again he asked Prabowo to answer his question.

7. Prabowo : “Maaf Pak tadi masalah diskriminasi dan . . .?”

Analysis: In this utterance, Prabowo suddenly gave request to his opponent by saying “*Sorry Sir, it was about discrimination and . . .?*” So Prabowo want his opponent to repeat his question while Jokowi still responding the last answer from Prabowo, in this case Prabowo threat Jokowi’s negative face because if Jokowi does not want to repeat his question, it means that Prabowo will lose face.

8. JK : “Ya.. jadi tidak semua pelanggaran itu pakai bom, jadi tidak semua hal itu dilakukan dengan kekerasan balik. **Begitu ya pak ya?**”

Analysis: Here Jusuf Kalla give the request to Prabowo to make sure Prabowo’s opinion that not all violations uses bombs by giving question tag like “*Isn’t it, Sir?*” In relation with this, it can be concludes that Jusuf Kalla threat Prabowo’s negative face because if Prabowo does not response Jusuf Kalla’s request, Jusuf Kalla will lose face.

9. JK : “Kedua Bapak menyatakan tadi terserah penilaian atasan. **Apakah penilaian atasan Bapak** waktu itu tentang penyelesaian HAM?”

Analysis: In this utterance, Jusuf Kalla threat his opponent negative face which is Prabowo by giving a question like “*How about your supervisor asseement in that time about. . .*”. If Prabowo does not response JK’s question, JK will lose face.

10. Prabowo : “Kalau Bapak ingin tanya, **tanyalah** atasan saya waktu itu.”



Analysis: Here, Prabowo requested Jokowi by stating “. . . *Ask my supervisor at that time.*” Indirectly, Prabowo refused to answer Jokowi’s question in order to make self-defense related to problem of human rights and discrimination. This utterance shows that Prabowo threat Jokowi’s negative face because if Jokowi does not want to response Prabowo’s statement, Prabowo will lose face.

11. JK : **”Yakinlah** negri ini akan jauh lebih baik dengan sistem seperti itu. Terimakasih.”

Analysis: By saying “Believe it. . .” to his opponent, JK requested them to believe in him that the nation will be better with the bureaucratic reform. It means that he was distracting their freedom since he gave a request that is to believe in him. Then, if the opponent does not want to believe in him so JK will lose face.

## 2. Suggestion/advice

1. Jokowi : “Sebagai bentuk dari kedaulatan rakyat, Saya kira pemilihan langsung kepala daerah baik bupati maupun walikota maupun gubernur tetap dilaksanakan seperti sekarang hanya **caranya, teknisnya yang harus mungkin kita perbaiki**”

Analysis: By stating “*the way, the technical that should be fixed.*” Jokowi threatened other candidate’s negative face want because if the opponent refused to responding Jokowi’s advice, Jokowi will lose face. He gave advice or suggestion to them.

2. JK : **”Kita harus menjamin sistemnya, menjamin demokrasinya dan menjamin kualitas kepala daerah yang dipilih. Itu tujuannya pemilu seperti itu.”**

Analysis: Here, Jusuf Kalla gave advice to his opponent by saying “*We should ensure the system, democracy, the quality of the chosen local head so the election*”

*can go efficiently*” it means that Jusuf Kalla was threatening Prabowo’s negative face because if Prabowo refused to responding JK’s suggestion, JK will lose face

3. Hatta : “Walaupun itu tadi belum dijelaskan seperti apa efisien itu masih kualitatif belum terukur tapi **memang kita harus melaksanakan** sebuah pemilihan yang lebih sehat, yang lebih terukur, yang tidak terlalu boros dengan biaya.”

Analysis: Hatta Rajasa in this statement also gave advice to other candidates by saying “*indeed, we should implement. . .*” In this case, Hatta Rajasa threatened the other candidate’s negative face since he gave suggestion for them to do something because if other candidate refused to doing Hatta’s suggestion, Hatta will lose face.

4. JK : “Kedua, menambahkan sedikit tentang pemekaran, jadi benar bahwa pemekaran itu **seharusnya** dilihat tujuannya.”

Analysis: In this utterance Jusuf Kalla threatened Prabowo’s negative face by saying “*should*” because if Prabowo does not response JK’s advice, JK will lose face. He suggested that they should make sure the purpose of the expansion before allowed the government to do it.

5. Jokowi : “Pemberiannya **diperketat**, pemberiannya **dicek** betul, dan yang paling penting **jangan sampai** ada lobby-lobby lagi, **jangan sampai** ada dengan cara menekan-menekan pusat tetapi dengan perhitungan dan kalkulasi yang betul-betul cermat dan teliti karena **jangan sampai** anggaran kita habiskan untuk pemekaran dan tidak menysar pada pelayanan pada masyarakat, tidak menysar pada pembangunan di wilayah itu.”

Analysis: Here Jokowi gave some suggestion and warning to his opponent, Prabowo by stating “*tightened, checked, don’t let. . .*” Jokowi suggested Prabowo to tighten the budget provision so it can be used well on target. In other words,



Jokowi threatened Prabowo's negative face because if Prabowo does not want to response Jokowi's suggestion and warning, Jokowi will lose face.

6. Prabowo : "Karena itu kewajiban seorang petugas, **kewajiban** seorang pembela Negara dan bangsa; melindungi segenap tumpah darah dari ancaman-ancaman tersebut.

Analysis: From Prabowo's statement that said "*responsibility*", it can be seen that Prabowo give advice to his opponent that they should protect the citizen from the nation threat. So, here Prabowo threaten Jokowi's negative face because if the opponent side does not response Prabowo's advice, Prabowo will lose face.

7. Hatta : "Istilahnya **jangan** tumpul keatas, tajam kebawah, itu diskriminatif. Mereka **harus sama** di mata hukum, siapapun dan apapun latar belakangnya, apapun pendidikannya, apapun agama yang dianutnya **tidak boleh** ada diskriminatif di negara pancasila ini."

Analysis: In this utterance, Hatta Rajasa was giving a suggestion to his opponent to treat all the people equitable because they all equal in law. He threatened Jokowi's negative face by saying "*don't, should be fair, and should not. . .*" because if the opponent side does not response Hatta's suggestion, Hatta will lose face.

8. Prabowo : "Yang pertama adalah kita **harus** memilih beberapa sektor yang menentukan. Kita tidak bisa memperbaiki keadaan sekaligus di semua sektor."

Analysis: Prabowo threatened the other candidate's negative face by giving saying "*should*" so if other candidate refused to responding Prabowo's advice, Prabowo will lose face. He suggested that they should choose the main sector that could affect the other sector.

9. Prabowo : "**Kalau kita memiliki** tujuan yang baik, kita ingin perbaiki kehidupan rakyat, kita punya hati yang ikhlhas, saya kira

hambatan-hambatan itu bisa kita selesaikan dengan dialog, persuasi, dan dengan opini dari rakyat.”

Analysis: Prabowo threatened the other candidate's face by giving advice that the obstacles could be done easily if they have a good purpose to make a better nation. It can be seen by Prabowo statement that said “*If we have . . .*” If other candidate does not want to response Prabowo's suggestion, Prabowo will lose face.

10. Hatta : ”Oleh sebab itu maka langkah reformasi birokrasi **harus kita tuntaskan dengan baik.**”

Analysis: In here Hatta suggested the other candidate to do the bureaucratic reform well by saying “*Bureaucratic reform should finish well.*” By giving a suggestion to his opponent, here Hatta threatened other candidate's negative face want because if Jokowi and JK refused Hatta's advice, Hatta will lose face.

11. Hatta : ”Yang pertama arah kebijakannya adalah organisasinya **harus efektif dan efisien**, jangan sampai mengakibatkan demokrasi yang bertele-tele.”

Analysis: Here, Hatta giving suggestion to his opponent by saying “*the organization should be effective and efficient . . .*” By giving suggestion to his opponent, Hatta threatened other candidate's negative face because if other candidate does not response Hatta's advice, Hatta will lose face.

12. Hatta : ”**Jadi kalau kita bisa perbaiki** salah satu prioritas utama reformasi birokrasi, maka obstacle tersebut insyaAllah bisa kita atasi.”

Analysis: In this utterance, Hatta gave suggestion to his opponent to fix the purpose of bureaucratic democracy so the obstacles could be done easily. By saying “*So, if we can fix . . .*” to his opponent, Hatta threatened other candidate's



negative face because if the other candidate refused Hatta's suggestion, Hatta will lose face.

13. Jokowi : "Saya kira kalau peraturan hanya melewati satu bagian; di Sekretariat Negara dikembalikan lagi kesana maka keluarannya akan jelas."

Analysis: Here, Jokowi gave advice to his opponent that it is better if the regulation only issued by the secretariat of the state. In this case, Jokowi threatened his opponent's negative face by saying "*I think if...*" because if Jokowi's opponent refused Jokowi's advice, Jokowi will lose face.

14. Jokowi : "Artinya jangan pesimis, kita harus optimis, bisa melakukan itu dan memang harus dilaksanakan. Sudah kita buktikan."

Analysis: In this case Jokowi threatened other candidate's negative face by suggesting them to be optimistic raising the quality of the bureaucracy. It can be seen from Jokowi statement which said "*We should be optimistic*". It threatened other candidate negative face because if other candidate refused Jokowi's suggestion, Jokowi will lose face.

15. Jokowi : "Yang kedua tadi kami sampaikan kualitas birokrasi. Masalah pola rekrutmen yaitu memang harus kita cari yang terbaik dengan seleksi dan promosi terbuka."

Analysis: In this utterance, Jokowi suggested his opponent to looking for the best by setting up selection and promotion. By saying "*Indeed, we must find the best by...*" to his opponent, Jokowi threatened other candidate's negative face because if Prabowo refused Jokowi's advice, Jokowi will lose face.

### 3. Promise

1. Hatta : "Oleh sebab itu ini menjadi perhatian kami yang sangat serius apabila mendapatkan mandat dari rakyat."

Analysis: In here, Hatta made a promise by saying “*if*”. He promised that he and his team will take the discrimination problem seriously. Even though he did not directly promise to his opponent, however the statement means he promised to all Indonesian and other candidate was included, especially JK. It means that Hatta was threatening his opponent’s negative face want because if other candidate refused to believe Hatta’s promises, Hatta will lose face.

#### 4. Reminders

1. Prabowo : ”Kemudian **kita juga jangan lupa** sekarang the power of public opinion.”

Analysis: In this utterance, Prabowo threatened the other candidate’s negative face by stating “*Then, we also should not forget...*” Prabowo reminded that they do not forget about the power of public opinion. So if other candidate refused to remind by Prabowo, Prabowo will lose face.

2. Hatta : ”Yang pertama arah kebijakannya adalah organisasinya harus efektif dan efisien, **jangan sampai mengakibatkan demokrasi yang bertele-tele.**”

Analysis: In this case, Hatta remind them by saying “*do not make a rambling democracy.*” Here, Hatta threatened other candidate’s negative face because if the opponent does want to remind by Hatta, Hatta will lose face.

3. Jokowi : ”Artinya **jangan pesimis**, kita harus optimis, bisa melakukan itu dan memang harus dilaksanakan. Sudah kita buktikan.”

Analysis: Here, by saying “*don’t be pessimistic*”, Jokowi reminds his opponent to not give up in raising the quality of the bureaucracy. In this case, Jokowi threatened other candidate’s negative face because if his opponent refused to remind by Jokowi, Jokowi will lose face.



4. JK : "Kalau pemimpin tidak sanggup meyakinkan bawahannya **memang bukan** pemimpin yang baik. **Jadi jangan** menyalahkan daerahnya atau rakyatnya, **tapi** menyalahkan bagaimana cara memimpin itu."

Analysis: In this case, JK threatened his opponent's negative face by reminding them in sentence "*do not blame the local society but how lead it.*" because if his opponent does not want to remind by JK, JK will lose face.

### B. Acts that threaten H's positive face

The writer found there are 12 utterances categories as action that threaten hearer's negative face in segment four as follow:

#### 1. Expression of disapproval, criticism, complaints

1. Hatta : "Walaupun itu tadi **belum sepenuhnya** dijelaskan seperti apa efisien itu, masih kualitatif **belum** terukur tapi memang kita harus melaksanakan sebuah pemilihan yang lebih sehat, yang lebih terukur, yang tidak terlalu boros dengan biaya."

Analysis: Feeling disapproval with Jokowi's statement, Hatta threatened Jokowi's positive face by making a complaint. He complained Jokowi's explanation about Pilkada which is not complete yet by saying "*even though, yet fully. . .*"

2. Prabowo : "Mohon **saya tadi kurang begitu jelas jawaban Bapak** mengenai pemekaran, criteria apa, daerah mana. Ya kalau satu daerah minta pemekaran, daerah lain juga minta dan tidak dikasih ini kira-kira bagaimana dari segi penghematan anggaran dan dari segi keadilan antar daerah."

Analysis: Here, Prabowo threatened Jokowi's positive face by complaining Jokowi's statement about the expansion which is not complete and specific yet. It could be seen from Prabowo's statement that said "*Please, I think your answer is not clear yet about. . .*"

3. Prabowo : "Saya kok **justru percaya** pada gilirannya dukungan rakyat akan mempengaruhi dan pada ujungnya para penguasa yang tadinya mungkin karena tidak mengerti, karena kepentingan tertentu **bisa**

diyakinkan untuk kerja sama. Karena kita adalah pelayan rakyat, kita hanya bekerja untuk kepentingan rakyat Indonesia.”

Analysis: In this utterance, Prabowo showed criticism about the bad image of the government in order to disagreeing other candidate's statement about the image of a government which related to the corruption. So in this case, Prabowo threatened other candidate's positive face by saying *“I actually believe, can. . .”*

4. Jokowi : ”Kalau ada prestasi berikan insentif, berikan reward kepada mereka, gampang sekali. Hal sederhana yang **seringkali tidak** dilakukan.”

Analysis: Here, Jokowi complained his opponent's statement by stating *“Simple things that are usually not done”*. By complaining his opposite, Jokowi threatened other candidate's positive face.

5. Jokowi : ”Ada doktor, magister, ada master manajemen, ada sarjana, banyak sekali. **Kenapa tidak berjalan dengan baik?** Karena sistemnya **tidak** dibangun. Sistem yang baik **tidak** dibangun disitu.”

Analysis: Again, Jokowi showing his accusation by complaining the other candidate's statement. He complained that the bad quality of bureaucracy caused by the bad system by saying *“Why don't work well? Because the system was not built. . .”*

## 2. Contradictions or disagreements

1. JK : ”Jadi ukurannya tadi kalau yang dikatakan; luas daerah, luas penduduk, letak wilayah. **Padahal yang penting** efektifitasnya apakah itu memberikan dampak lebih baik atau tidak.”

Analysis: In this case JK stated that he disagreed to Prabowo's statement by saying *“Whereas the important thing is the effectivity. . .”* JK assumed that the important thing in doing an expansion is not about the size of an area, the size of



occupation, or the location of a region but the efficiency and the effect for the district.

2. Prabowo : **"Jadi saya mengerti** Pak arah bapak. Tidak apa-apa... Tidak apa-apa. Saya tidak apa-apa, **tetapi** saya ada disini, saya sebagai mantan prajurit telah melaksanakan tugas dengan sebaik-baiknya. Selebihnya atasan yang menilai. **Arah bapak kan begitu** bahwa saya tidak bisa menjaga HAM karena saya melanggar HAM.

Analysis: In this case, Prabowo threatened JK's positive face by disagreed JK's statement. JK stated that he is a human rights violator, so Prabowo showed his disagreements by saying *"I understand, but. . ."*

3. Prabowo : "Kami sadar sepenuhnya Pak bahwa setiap usaha perbaikan, usaha transformasi, pasti akan ada halangan dan kita sudah mengerti halangan tersebut. **Tetapi** saya kira ada strategi tertentu untuk menghadapi kondisi ini."

Analysis: In this case Prabowo threatened other candidate's positive face by disagreeing the opposite's statement. Prabowo stated *"but"* in order to deliver his opinion that there is strategic to solve the obstacle that happened in reform.

4. Hatta : **"Tidak ada** satupun kebijakan-kebijakan yang dijalankan yang **tidak bisa** kita ukur akuntabilitasnya, harus bisa dipertanggung jawabkan."

Analysis: Hatta threatened other candidate's positive face by disagreed the opposite statement. By saying *"There is none, can not. . ."* Hatta state that accountability in policy can be measured.

5. Jokowi : "Banyak peraturan daerah yang **bertentangan** dengan pusat, banyak peraturan gubernur juga yang **tidak sinkron**."

➤ Contradictions, disagreements

Analysis: Here, again Jokowi threatened other candidate's positive face by saying "*contradict, not suitable. . .*." He explained that many government regulations that are contradict and not suitable with the central government.

### 3. Bringing of bad news about H

1. JK : "Pernyataannya **boleh diminta** lebih jelas lagi tadi mengatakan bahwa semua pelanggaran itu pakai bom. Ya.. **jadi tidak semua** pelanggaran itu pakai bom, **jadi tidak semua** hal itu dilakukan dengan kekerasan balik. Begitu ya pak ya?"

Analysis: Here, JK indirectly brought of bad news about Prabowo when he was a TNI who ever did violence to the citizens in an accident. By stated "*not all things did by violence*" it indicates that JK did not care about Prabowo's feeling since he threatened Prabowo's positive face.

### 4. Blatant non-cooperation in an activity

1. JK : "Pak Prabowo terimakasih tadi atas penjelasannya. Pernyataannya boleh diminta lebih jelas lagi, tadi Bapak mengatakan bahwa semua pelanggaran itu pakai bom.

Prabowo : (interrupt) "**Tidak... Tidak semua**"

Analysis: In this case, when JK response Prabowo's explanation about human right violation, suddenly Prabowo interrupt JK and state that not all the violations used bomb. By saying "*No. . . Not all*", Prabowo indicates that he does not care about JK's negative or positive face wants.



#### 4.1.2 The FTA Strategies performed in Jokowi and Prabowo Presidential Debate

According to Brown and Levinson's theory (1987), the writer put the analysis of the types of strategies for doing FTAs three in the finding into three categories as follow:

##### 4.1.2.1 Positive Politeness Strategy

The writer found there are twenty six utterances included as positive politeness strategy as follow:

##### 1. Strategy 4 : Use in-group identity markers

1. Prabowo : "Baik Terimakasih, **Pak Jokowi** yang saya hormati, seandainya Anda jadi Presiden ada satu hal yang ingin kami tanyakan yaitu tentang pemilihan kepala daerah Bupati dan Walikota."

Analysis: In this utterance, Prabowo showed his positive politeness strategy by using honorific form "*Mr. Jokowi*" as an address form. He called his opponents "*Pak Jokowi*" before giving the request to soften his question.

2. Prabowo : "Bagaimana sikap **Bapak** tentang hal itu, kemudian bagaimana sikap Bapak tentang tuntutan atau harapan banyak daerah ingin terus menambah pemekaran kabupaten-kabupaten, provinsi-provinsi padahal beban terhadap anggaran nasional sudah sangat sangat berat."

Analysis: Again, Prabowo applied positive politeness by using address form "*Sir*" to showing his respect to Jokowi by called them "*Bapak*".

3. Prabowo : "Kira-kira dimana yang **Bapak** kira bisa jadi criteria untuk mengizinkan penambahan provinsi atau penambahan kabupaten?"

Analysis: In this utterance, Hatta was giving request when he called his opponents using address form “*Sir*”. In this case, Prabowo showed his positive politeness strategy in order to minimize the threat to his opponent.

4. Jokowi : ”Tentu saja **Pak** banyak yang harus dikalkulasi, banyak yang harus dihitung.”

Analysis: In this statement, Jokowi showed his positive politeness strategy by making his speech sounded soft since he called his opponent using address form, “*Sir*”.

5. JK : “Tadi dalam awal pembicaraan ini, **Pak Hatta** mengungkapkan tentang visi misinya yang saya kutip.”

Analysis: In this utterance, JK used address form that is “*Mr. Hatta*”. It means that JK was using positive politeness strategy to give some respect to his opposition, in this case is Hatta.

6. JK : “Bagaimana **Bapak** ingin menyelesaikan pelanggaran hak asasi manusia masa lalu dan menjaga hak asasi dipertahankan di masa yang akan datang?”

Analysis: JK chose to call the other candidate using in-group identity markers or address for to show his respect. By saying “*Sir*”, it could minimize the threat.

7. Prabowo : “Jadi saya mengerti **Pak** arah **Bapak**. Tidak apa-apa... Tidak apa-apa. Saya tidak apa-apa, tetapi saya ada disini, saya sebagai mantan prajurit telah melaksanakan tugas dengan sebaik-baiknya. Selebihnya atasan yang menilai, apakah... Saya *kan*... Arah **Bapak** kan begitu bahwa saya tidak bisa menjaga HAM karena saya melanggar HAM. Kira-kira itu *kan* arah maksud **Bapak**. Ya *kan*? Padahal **Bapak** tidak mengerti justru kami-kami ini di tempat-tempat yang susah dimana-mana sering ambil tindakan untuk keselamatan rakyat Indonesia yang banyak.”

Analysis: By calling his opponent repeatedly using the address form “*Sir*”, Prabowo showed that he applied positive politeness strategy by using in-group identity markers.



8. Prabowo : “Jadi **Pak Yusuf Kalla** saya bertanggung jawab, dan hati nurani saya bersih, saya pembela HAM yang paling keras di republik ini.”

Analysis: In here, Prabowo called his opponent’s name completely to showing his respect. By saying “*Mr. Yusuf Kalla*”, it means that Prabowo was using his positive politeness strategy to minimize the threat.

9. Jokowi : “Ya, tadi yang disampaikan oleh **Pak Prabowo** mungkin sanking semangatnya belum disampaikan hal-hal yang konkret kedepan yang akan dilakukan apa...”

Analysis: In this statement, Jokowi applied positive politeness strategy by using an address form, “*Mr. Prabowo*” to give respect thus the conversation would run smoothly.

10. Prabowo : “Maaf **Pak** tadi masalah diskriminasi dan . . . .?”

Analysis: Prabowo applied positive politeness strategy since he called his opposition “*Sir*”. By using an address form, Prabowo showed his respect to Jusuf Kalla.

11. JK : “**Pak Prabowo** terimakasih tadi atas penjelasannya.”

Analysis: To respect the other candidate, here JK used address form by calling “*Mr. Prabowo*”. It indicated that he gave some respect and applied positive politeness strategy to minimize the threat.

12. Prabowo : ”Jawaban terhadap pertanyaan **Pak Jokowi** mengenai langkah-langkah konkret.”

Analysis: Here, Prabowo showed his positive politeness strategy by using address form. By calling his opponent “*Mr. Jokowi*”, he minimized the threat.

13. Prabowo : “Jadi **Pak Yusuf Kalla**, saya sudah jawab tadi. Kita bertanggung jawab dengan atasan kita, penilaiannya ya dari atasan kita. Kalau **Bapak** ingin tanya, tanyalah atasan saya waktu itu.”

Analysis: In this utterance, Prabowo called his opponent repeatedly to showing his respect. By calling “*Mr. Yusuf Kalla and Sir*” he minimized the threat.

14. Hatta : “Ya saya kira yang tadi disampaikan ditanyakan **Pak Yusuf Kalla** kepada saya soal diskriminatif dan **Pak Jokowi** juga.”

Analysis: Hatta applied positive politeness strategy since he called his oppositions “*Mr. Yusuf Kalla and Mr. Jokowi*”. By using address form, Hatta showed his respect to Jokowi and Yusuf Kalla as the opposites.

15. Prabowo : “Kami sadar sepenuhnya **Pak** bahwa setiap usaha perbaikan, usaha transformasi, pasti akan ada halangan dan kita sudah mengerti halangan tersebut; tumpang tindihnya peraturan kemudian para pemimpin politik yang berasal dari latar belakang yang berbeda dengan kepentingan yang berbeda.”

Analysis: In this utterance, Prabowo used address form “*Sir*” to showing that he had respect to his opponent since he used an honorific form to call him. In this case, by using this strategy he could minimize the threat since he asked a question to Jokowi.

16. Hatta : “Oleh sebab itu **Pak** menurut kami maka langkah reformasi birokrasi harus kita tuntaskan dengan baik.”

Analysis: In this statement, to soften his speech Hatta used address form “*Sir*” as an honorific form to mention Jokowi. It means that Hatta was showing his positive politeness strategy.



## 2. Strategy 5 : Seek agreement

1. Hatta : “Walaupun itu tadi belum dijelaskan seperti apa efisien itu masih kualitatif belum terukur tapi memang **saya setuju** kita harus melaksanakan sebuah pemilihan yang lebih sehat, yang lebih terukur, yang tidak terlalu boros dengan biaya.”

Analysis: Hatta agreed with JK’s idea that they should have a healthier, measurable, and not wasteful election. Since Hatta is saying “*I agree*” to his opponent idea, here Hatta showed his positive politeness strategy.

2. JK : “Jadi kita tidak perlu komentari lagi karena langsung **setuju**.”

Analysis: In this utterance, JK showed his positive politeness strategy stating “*agree*” with Hatta’s opinion related to the regional expansion.

3. Hatta : “Itu yang ingin saya sampaikan yang terkait dengan diskriminatif, jadi **saya mendukung sekali** agar dituntaskannya diskriminatif di negeri ini.”

Analysis: In this case, Hatta used positive politeness strategy by showing his support related to the combating the corruption. Hatta is saying “*I really agree*” to minimize the threat.

## 3. Strategy 6 : Avoid disagreement

1. Jokowi : “Kemudian yang kedua, mengenai pemekaran, tempat-tempat yang memang sangat diperlukan untuk dimekarkan dalam rangka untuk mengembangkan provinsi atau daerah itu **tidak ada masalah tetapi dengan catatan apabila** nantinya sudah dimekarkan dan mereka tidak bisa mandiri, dan mereka haya membebani bisa ditarik kembali dan dihapuskan lagi.”

Analysis: Here Jokowi pretended to agree with Prabowo’s statement. He preferred to use toke agreement by saying “*there is no problem with invasion but noted if . . .*” but he also gave additional statement that they have to remind the the rule if the invasion have obtained.

#### 4. Strategy 7 : Presuppose H's knowledge

1. Jokowi : “Bisa mereka megikuti seratus persen apa yang dikatakan oleh pusat dengan cara apa? Dengan **politik anggaran**. Oleh sebab itu dengan **politik anggaran** kita bisa mengendalikan daerah.

Analysis: Jokowi applied positive politeness strategy by presupposing that his opponent would know about “*politik anggaran*” or “*budget politics*”. Rather than explaining what it was about, he preferred to assume that his opponent had already known and understood about it. It indicates that Jokowi was respecting his opponent’s face in front of audiences.

2. Jokowi : “Tadi sudah saya sampaikan, dari **e-government, e-budgeting, e-pasrokerment, e-purchasing, e-catalog, e-audit, cash management system** semua harus dibangun. Kalau itu dilakukan, pemerintah pusat akan gampang.”

Analysis: In this statement, Jokowi showed his positive politeness strategy by assuming that Prabowo has already known about “*e-government, e-budgeting, e-prokerment, e-purchasing, e-catalog, e-audit, cash management system*”. Rather than explaining about it, Jokowi maintained his opponent’s face by presupposing that his opponent also knew about it.

#### 4. Strategy 11 : Be optimistic

1. JK : “Saya **yakin** negri ini akan jauh **lebih baik** dengan sistem seperti itu. Terimakasih.”

Analysis: In this statement, JK assumed surely his opponent will cooperate with him to do something by saying “*I believe this nation will be much better with that system.*” He was optimistic that the system will make a better nation. It shows that

Jokowi was applying positive politeness strategy to his opponent.

2. Jokowi : “Artinya jangan pesimis, kita **harus optimis, bisa** melakukan itu dan **memang harus** dilaksanakan. Sudah kita buktikan.”



Analysis: In this statement, Jokowi used positive politeness strategy to minimize the threat by stating “*We should be optimistic to do that. . .*” Jokowi assumed that the other candidate would help him for working together. He was also optimistic that they could to increase the quality of bureaucracy.

3. Jokowi : “Kalau saya, Pak JK sangat optimis berorganisasi karena SDM-nya baik-baik, pintar-pintar. Ada doktor, magister, ada master manajemen, ada sarjana, banyak sekali. Kenapa tidak berjalan dengan baik? Karena sistemnya tidak dibangun. Sistem yang baik tidak dibangun disitu.”

Analysis: In this case, Jokowi assume that the opponent will believe him in making Indonesia better by saying “*Me, and Mr. JK really optimist. . .*” He was optimistic that the good system could be built from good human resource. In other words, Jokowi applied positive politeness strategy.

### 5. Strategy 13 : Give (or ask for) reasons

1. Prabowo : “Masalah HAM ini adalah pendidikan. Pendidikan di semua sektor, pendidikan di semua aparat, pendidikan di pejabat-pejabat. **Karena apa? Karena sering** petugas diberi perintah. Kemudian kalo ada sesuatu yang dinilai kurang tepat atau secara politis kurang menguntungkan akhirnya petugaslah yang dikorbankan dan disalahkan.”

Analysis: In order not to enhance the threat to Jokowi, Prabowo preferred to explain why the problem of human rights happened by saying “*Because of what? It because. . .*” By applying positive politeness strategy to Jokowi, Prabowo could minimize the threat.

#### 4.1.2.2 Negative Politeness Strategy

The writer found there are twelve utterances included as negative politeness strategy as follow:

## 1. Strategy 2 : Hedge

1. Jokowi : “Sebagai bentuk dari kedaulatan rakyat, **saya kira** pemilihan langsung kepala daerah baik bupati maupun walikota maupun gubernur tetap dilaksanakan seperti sekarang hanya caranya, teknisnya yang harus mungkin kita perbaiki.”

Analysis: By using the quality hedge “*I think. . .*”, Jokowi tried to soften the FTA of conveying a disagreement toward his opponent, Prabowo. Instead of just saying that he did not agree with what Prabowo had previously said, Jokowi chose to use the hedge means Jokowi was applying the negative politeness strategy.

2. Hatta : “**Saya kira** keputusan serentak ini akan menghemat biaya yang cukup menekan, yang cukup murah dan ini memerlukan waktu yang kedepan ini untuk segera kita persiapkan dengan baik.”

Analysis: The hedge “*I think. . .*” was used to show the contradictory statement by softening it into an assumption. Here, Hatta actually disagreed about the decision about the election. However, Hatta used quality hedge in order to not make it full as disagreement statement. He applied this negative politeness strategy in order to minimize the threat to Jokowi.

3. Jokowi : “**Saya kira** bisa saja tetapi dengan catatan bahwa nantinya pemekaran ini memberikan manfaat yang sebesar-besarnya untuk rakyat.”

Analysis: In this statement, Jokowi applied negative politeness strategy. He used the quality of hedge “*I think. . .*” for conveying his reminding to his opponent.

Jokowi reminded Prabowo that the invasion should be beneficial to the people.

4. Prabowo : “Langkah-langkah konkret **menurut saya** diujungnya adalah pendidikan.”

Analysis: Here, Prabowo use negative politeness strategy to minimize the treat by using quality of hedge “*In my opinion. . .*” for conveying his opinion to his



opponent. Prabowo actually wanted to deliver a suggestion that the education about human rights is so important to reduce the human right violations.

5. Prabowo : “Tentang diskriminasi **saya kira** kita semua sudah sepakat, kita harus melawan diskriminasi tapi ujungnya adalah kembali pendidikan. Jadi seluruh urusan itu kembali ke pendidikan.”

Analysis: By using quality of hedge “*I think. . .*”, Prabowo tried to deliver his ideas which different with his opposition since he thought that it is important the education is. For the purpose to minimizing the threat, he preferred to use this negative politeness strategy.

6. Hatta : “Ya **saya kira** yang tadi disampaikan ditanyakan Pak Yusuf Kalla kepada saya soal diskriminatif dan Pak Jokowi juga, memang salah satu hal yang paling mendasar menyangkut hak-hak warga Negara kita jangan sampai ada diskriminatif dalam perlakuan hukum, karena konteksnya tadi konteks hukum.”

Analysis: By using quality of hedge “*I think. . .*”, here Hatta tried to soften his statement since actually he also wanted to give his opinion because he had different idea about what Jokowi and JK told previously. It shows that Hatta applying negative politeness strategy.

7. Prabowo : “Tetapi **saya kira** ada strategi tertentu untuk menghadapi kondisi ini.”

Analysis: In this utterance, Prabowo used the hedge “*I think. . .*” when he was delivering his opinion related to the overlapping regulation or policy. Here Prabowo tried to minimize the threat to his opponent side since he actually had a different thought. It means that Prabowo was applying negative politeness strategy by using hedge.

8. Hatta : “Oleh sebab itu Pak **menurut kami** maka langkah reformasi birokrasi harus kita tuntaskan dengan baik.”

Analysis: Here, Hatta used negative politeness strategy to minimize the threat. By using the quality of hedge “*In our opinion. . .*”, Hatta want to soften his statement and give his opinion because he had different idea about what Jokowi and JK told previously.

9. Jokowi : “**Saya kira** kalau peraturan lewatnya hanya satu pintu; Sekretariat Negara dikembalikan lagi kesana keluarannya akan jelas.”

Analysis: By using the hedge “*I think. . .*”, Jokowi wanted to minimize the threat since he actually had different opinion with his opponent. Jokowi thought that it is better if the policy only issued by the secretary of the state. Here, Jokowi showed his negative politeness strategy.

10. Jokowi : “Tetapi kalau semua kementerian bisa mengeluarkan aturan-aturan yang tidak jelas pintunya yaitu diluar sekretariat negara maka **saya kira** akan terjadi seperti ini.”

Analysis: In this case, Jokowi used a quality hedge “*I think. . .*” in order to soften his disagreement opinion. He thought that if all the ministries could issue the policies, then overlapping policies would happen. It means Jokowi wanted to minimize the threat by using negative politeness strategy.

## 2. Strategy 5 : Give deference

1. Prabowo : “Baik, terimakasih **Pak Jokowi yang saya hormati**, seandainya Anda jadi Presiden ada satu hal yang ingin kami tanyakan yaitu tentang pemilihan kepala daerah Bupati dan Walikota.”



Analysis: Here, it is clear that Prabowo applied negative politeness strategy by giving deference to his opponent, Jokowi. Prabowo treat his addressee and give a respect by saying *“The honorable Mr. Jokowi”*.

2. JK :”Terimakasih kepada **Saudara Hatta** bahwa setuju dengan kami, itu yang pertama.”

Analysis: In this utterance, JK humbled and abased himself by giving deference to his opponent. When JK said *“Mr. Hatta”*, it indicates that he was applying negative politeness strategy.

#### 4.1.2.3 Off-Record Strategy

The writer found there are only two utterances included as off record strategies as follow:

##### 1. Strategy 15 : Be incomplete, use ellipsis

1. Prabowo : “Jadi saya mengerti Pak **arah bapak. Tidak apa-apa... Tidak apa-apa. Saya tidak apa-apa**, tetapi saya ada disini, saya sebagai mantan prajurit telah melaksanakan tugas dengan sebaik-baiknya.”

Analysis: Here, Prabowo showed incomplete utterance or words because some of them are ellipsed. He assumed that his opposite could interpret about what is meant by saying *“So, I understand what you mean. It’s okay. . . I’m okay”*.

##### 2. Strategy 8 : Be ironic

1. Jokowi : “Ya, tadi yang disampaikan oleh Pak Prabowo  **mungkin sangking semangatnya** belum disampaikan hal-hal yang konkret kedepan yang akan dilakukan apa, kemudian yang kedua juga belum dijawab mengenai masalah diskriminasi yang tadi juga ditanyakan oleh Pak Yusuf Kalla belum dijawab karena sangking semangatnya menjawab tentang hak asasi manusia.”

Analysis: In this utterance, Jokowi indirectly conveyed his intended meaning by saying “*maybe because too excited*”. Actually Jokowi thought that Prabowo’s answer is not right yet and not relevant with the question. However he did not said that it was a wrong answer, he instead said that maybe Prabowo answered with full of spirit. By using off record strategy actually Jokowi wanted to minimize his threat to Prabowo by using an ironic statement as a clue to his opponent.

#### 4.2 Discussion

This sub-chapter discusses and elaborates further about the finding presented in data description. The two main point discussed are FTAs utterance and FTA strategies performed by presidential candidate of Indonesia 2014 presidential debate which held on June, 9<sup>th</sup> 2014.

According to the finding of analysis using Brown and Levinson’s theory (1987), the writer found that Joko Widodo did face threatening act for ten times.

Seven times he did acts that threaten the addressee’s negative face and three times he did acts that threaten the addressee’s positive face. First, he threatened the other candidate’s negative face by giving request once. Then, for five times he threatened the opposition’s negative face by giving suggestions and advice. He also threatened the other candidate’s negative face by reminding for once.

Next he threatened other candidate’s positive face by showing his contradictions or disagreements statement for one time. At the end, he threatened his opposition’s positive face by showing the expression of disapproval, criticism, and complains for two times. In the analysis, the writer also found that Jokowi applied



some politeness strategies for twelve times. There were seven positive politeness strategies found which strategy 4: use in-group identity markers for two times; strategy 6: avoid disagreements for once; strategy 7: presuppose H's knowledge for two times; strategy 11: be optimistic for twice. Then, there were four negative politeness strategies found which strategy 2: question, hedge for four times. And the last one off record strategy which strategy 8: be ironic for once.

Prabowo threatened other candidate's face for fourteen times. By requesting his opposition, Prabowo threatened other candidate's negative face for six times. He also threatened other candidate's negative face by giving suggestions and advice for three times and reminding for once. Then, he threatened his opposition's positive face by showing the expression of disapproval, criticism, complaints for twice and showing contradictions and disagreements for once. Prabowo also applied other candidate's positive face by showing blatant non-cooperation in activity. He also applied two kinds of positive politeness strategies which strategy 4: use in-group identity markers for nine times and strategy 13: give (or ask for) reasons. Then Prabowo showing two kinds of negative politeness strategy which strategy 2: hedge for three times and strategy 5: give deference for once. Last, Prabowo applied off record strategy which strategy 15: be incomplete, use ellipsis.

The next is Jusuf Kalla who threatened other candidate's face for nine times. He threatened his opposition's negative face for seven times. First, he threatened other candidate's negative face by requesting for four times. Then, he threatened other candidate's negative face again by giving suggestions and advice

for twice. And the last, he threatened his opposition's negative face by reminding for once. Jusuf Kalla also threatened other candidate's positive face for twice which are showing contradictions or disagreements for once and bringing bad news about hearer for once. Next Jusuf Kalla applied some politeness strategies. There are three kinds of positive politeness strategies applied by Jusuf Kalla which strategy 4: use in-group identity markers for three times; strategy 5: seek agreement for once, and strategy 11: be optimistic for once. Last, Jusuf Kalla applied negative politeness strategy which is strategy 5: give deference for once.

The last is Hatta Rajasa who threatened other candidate's face for nine times which are seven times threatened negative face and two times threatened positive face. Hatta Rajasa threatened his opponent's negative face by suggesting and advising for five times. Then he threatened his opponent's negative face by promising once and reminding once. Next, he threatened his opposition's positive face by showing expression of disapproval, criticism, and complaints for once and showing contradiction or disagreements for once, also. In order to maintain his opposition's face, Hatta also showed his politeness strategies. For four times, he applied positive politeness strategies that were strategy 4: use in-group identity markers for twice; strategy 5: seek agreement for twice and the last strategy 2: question, hedge for three times which is negative politeness strategies.

From the result of analysis, it could be seen that Prabowo did face threatening acts more frequently than others. Prabowo did face threatening act for fourteen times to other candidates. Further, it could be seen also that most of candidate did acts that threatened addressee's negative face more than the acts



that threatened addressee's positive face. Related to the chapter two, negative face is the desire to be allowed to do the business freely and not to be imposed by others. Meanwhile, positive face is as the desire to have what we admired by others, the desire to be understood by others, and the desire to be treated as a friend and confidant. So, if someone distracts the opponent's freedom like asking request, giving suggestion or advice rather than showing the expression of disapproval, criticism or showing contradiction it means that the candidate want to save the opposition's feeling by does not criticizing or arguing the opposition's opinion.

Then, it could be seen in the result of analysis also that the candidate applied positive politeness strategies more than negative politeness strategies. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), that positive politeness techniques are used not only for FTA redress, but in general as a kind of social accelerator, where speaker (S), in using them, indicates that he or she wants to 'come closer to hearer (H)'. Here, it seems that positive politeness strategies here used a kind of metaphorical extension of intimacy, to imply common ground or sharing of wants to a limited extent. By applying positive politeness strategy, the candidates want to share the same interest and knowledge to solve the problem in the topic chosen during the debate and seek to minimize the threat to the hearer's positive face.

Based on those explanations, it could be concluded that the candidates try to creating the image so they keep being polite one another and try not to showing the contradiction clearly by using "Use in-group identity markers" strategy. Moreover, most of the candidate also using negative politeness strategy 2 which is

question, hedge in order to the candidates do not want to presume or coerce the opponent side.

In addition, this study and second previous study have similar result. The finding of second previous study shows that threatening the negative face of H especially in giving request is most used. Besides, the dominant politeness strategy that used by both LuLing and Ruth is positive politeness strategy. The similar result of this study and second previous study may happen because the same interest in sharing the information between the speaker and the addressee.

On the other hand, it could be seen from this study and the first previous study got different result. The first previous study from Erna, Kurnisari (2011) which analyzed face threatening act in email sent by Prita Mulyasari to OMNI International Hospital showed that positive face is the most threatened and in the first previous study also used more off record strategies. This difference result may happen because the addressee who threatened is big institution such Omni International Hospital while in this study the speaker and the addressee know each other fairly well and have same status.

By analyzing face threatening acts and FTA strategies in presidential debate, the writer concluded several viewpoints. First, in term of debate the writer concluded that debate used as a media of people to creating the image and showing acknowledgement of a person. Here, it can be seen that the candidates threatened addressee's negative face more than threatened addressee's positive face. By threatened addressee's negative face, the candidates showing his politeness to the opposition side rather than arguing or complaining the opponent



side. By doing so, it seems that the candidate tried to fulfilling their goal which is to create a good image in front of the viewers and voters. In this case, debate usually used as a media to showing self argument so that arguing and complaining one another probably happened, but in presidential debate these things are not happened. The candidates prefer to asking request, giving suggestions or advice and reminding rather than complaining or showing contradiction to the argument.

So, it seemed that the candidates adjust their speech and manner according to the situation and participant. This phenomenon also happened caused by the Indonesian culture which is tend to prioritizing the the ethics and manner rather than showing their “true” self-image. Then the candidates also used positive politeness strategies more than negative politeness strategies in order to gain some voters. In terms of culture, Indonesian’s debate seems still far from the proper debate. The goal of real debate which is to showing own argument and perception are not realized in Indonesia presidential debate. In contrast, the witer found the different result in other research related with FTA and politeness strategies in U.S. presidential debate. The result shows that the candidates exactly did threatened addressee’s positive face rather than negative face. This result precisely contrasted with Indonesia presidential debate. In addition, all cultures have social mores and implicit rules that state what is socially acceptable or not and varies between different cultures. According to those explanations, the writer assumed that politeness strategies may vary depending on participant, culture, and context. The last, in terms of linguistics study, the writer assumed that language is used by the

presidential candidates to deliver the message or goal and to fulfill their need which is to gain some voters.





## CHAPTER V

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the conclusion of the study and presents the suggestions from the writer.

#### 5.1 Conclusion

This study is conducted in the field of face threatening acts and politeness strategies performed by Jokowi and Prabowo in Presidential Debate. Here, the writer presents a conclusion based on the research problem proposed in the chapter one.

Based on the result of analysis and discussion that had presented, the writer concluded that the Indonesia Presidential Debate on June, 9<sup>th</sup> 2014 about The Development of Democracy, Good Governance and Rule of Law show that most of the candidate threatened other opposition's negative face more often than threatened other opposition positive face. So, it shows that each candidate want to being polite for each other rather than showing the contradiction.

Then, in this research showed that positive politeness strategy is strategy that mostly used by the candidates. As state in chapter one that presidential debate between Jokowi and Prabowo is the most important and influential debate that discuss about future of Indonesia. By showing respect one another, the candidates

try to creating image so that they could get positive judgment and respect from the people.

## 5.2 Suggestion

In terms of academic purpose, this research could be used as reference or comparative study for the next study which discussed about pragmatics, especially face threatening acts and politeness strategies. The writer suggests the next researcher or the reader who want to conduct similar study to analyze further about face threatening act and politeness strategy with different or other linguistic study. Also, the writer hope that the next researcher can develop the analysis of FTA and politeness strategies with other media such as live talk show or campaign which never analyzed yet in order to make a new representation about linguistic discourse in other media.



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# APPENDICES



**Appendix 1. Table of Face Threatening Acts and FTA strategies done by the Jokowi and Prabowo in Presidential Debate June, 9th 2014 about “The Development of Democracy, Good Governance and Rule of Law”**

**Segment 4**

**Prabowo** : “Baik Terimakasih, Pak Jokowi yang saya hormati seandainya Anda jadi Presiden ada satu hal yang ingin kami tanya yaitu tentang pemilihan kepala daerah Bupati dan Walikota. (P.ON.4(+)) ; P.ON.5(-) Setelah dihitung, kalau pemilihan langsung 500 Bupati dan Kepala Daerah, Bupati dan Walikota itu kurang lebih membutuhkan biaya 13 triliun kalau pemilihan langsung. Kalau pemilihannya lewat DPRD berarti kita menghemat 13 triliun. Bagaimana sikap Bapak tentang hal itu? (P.R1(-)) Kemudian bagaimana sikap Bapak tentang tuntutan atau harapan, banyak daerah ingin terus menambah pemekaran kabupaten-kabupaten, provinsi-provinsi padahal beban terhadap anggaran nasional sudah sangat sangat berat.” (P.R1(-)) ; P.ON.4(+))

**Jokowi** : “Sebagai bentuk dari kedaulatan rakyat, saya kira pemilihan langsung kepala daerah baik bupati maupun walikota maupun gubernur tetap dilaksanakan seperti sekarang hanya caranya, teknisnya yang harus mungkin kita perbaiki. (J/SA2(-)) ; J.ON.2(-)) Dilaksanakan serentak untuk mengurangi biaya baik di sebuah provinsi atau mungkin bisa di dalam sebuah Negara tetapi ini transisi yang agak lama. Kemudian yang kedua, mengenai pemekaran, tempat-tempat yang memang sangat diperlukan untuk dimekarkan dalam rangka untuk mengembangkan provinsi atau daerah itu tidak ada masalah tetapi dengan catatan apabila nantinya sudah dimekarkan dan mereka tidak bisa mandiri, dan mereka hanya membebani bisa ditarik kembali dan dihapuskan lagi. (J.ON.6(+)) Pemberiannya diperketat, pemberiannya dicek betul, dan yang paling penting jangan sampai ada *lobby-lobby* lagi, jangan sampai ada dengan cara menekan-menekan pusat tetapi dengan perhitungan dan kalkulasi yang betul-betul cermat dan teliti karena jangan sampai anggaran kita habiskan untuk pemekaran dan tidak menasar pada pelayanan masyarakat, tidak menasar pada pembangunan di wilayah itu.” (J/S/A2(-))

**JK** : “Ya, terimakasih. Ya memang sistem pilkada kita yang begitu banyak maka Indonesia merupakan Negara yang mempunyai pemilu terbanyak di dunia ini, namun demikian pemilihan kepala daerah dijamin oleh undang-undang dasar bahwa pemilihan kepala daerah harus demokratis, tentu yang penting disini kita tidak hanya mengembalikannya kepada pilkada tetapi proses pilkada itu berlangsung efisien, contohnya tadi saya jelaskan bahwa satu provinsi berbeda-beda harus disatukan, ada keseragaman, sehingga negeri ini hanya 2 kali atau 3 kali melaksanakan pemilu; pemilu nasional DPR/DPA sekaligus pilpres lima tahun yang akan datang secara



bersamaan sehingga efisien, pelaksanaan yang efisien sehingga tidak membebani biaya sebesar itu karena apabila juga dikembalikan kepada DPR/DPRD belum tentu murah juga karena bisa saja di DPR itu terjadi permainan yang lebih hebat sehingga kita harus menjamin sistemnya, menjamin demokrasinya dan menjamin kualitas kepala daerah yang dipilih. Itu tujuannya pemilu seperti itu.” (JK.S/A3(-))

**Hatta** : “Ya, saya diberikan kesempatan Saudara Prabowo untuk menanggapi. Walaupun itu tadi belum dijelaskan seperti apa efisien itu masih kualitatif belum terukur tapi memang saya setuju kita harus melaksanakan sebuah pemilihan yang lebih sehat, yang lebih terukur, yang tidak terlalu boros dengan biaya. (H.SA4(-) ; H.ED4(+); H.ON.5(+)) Walaupun undang-undang dasar 1945 kita tidak mewajibkan pemilihan bupati, walikota, gubernur secara langsung sebagaimana seperti presiden, namun pemilihan demokratis tersebut saat ini kalau melalui DPR memang masih memerlukan transisi waktu yang cukup kita perlukan. Oleh sebab itu, memang esensinya adalah pemilihan langsung itu, itulah yang dikehendaki oleh rakyat saat ini namun memang harus kita lakukan dalam kondisi atau keadaan yang betul-betul bisa tidak membebani biaya tinggi, misalkan kalau kita ambil contoh saat ini sedang digagas untuk pemilihan secara serentak. Saya kira keputusan serentak ini akan menghemat biaya yang cukup menekan, yang cukup murah dan ini memerlukan waktu yang kedepan ini untuk segera kita persiapkan dengan baik. Ini pandangan kami terhadap itu.” (H.ON.2(-))

**Prabowo** : ”Mohon saya tadi kurang begitu jelas mengenai pemekaran, kriteria apa ya... daerah mana... Ya kalau satu daerah minta, daerah lain juga minta dan tidak dikasih ini kira-kira bagaimana dari segi penghematan anggaran dan dari segi keadilan antar daerah. (P.ED5(+)) Ada satu kabupaten sebagai contoh yang jumlah penduduknya hanya dua puluh ribu tapi dikasih pemekaran. Jadi dimana rasa keseimbangan, keadilan dengan kabupaten yang hanya jumlah penduduknya tiga juta umpamanya. Jadi kami mohon ada suatu ketegasan kira-kira kriterianya apa mengizinkan pemekaran baru dan tidak mengizinkan pemekaran baru. (P.R5(-)) Apakah jumlah penduduk? Apakah luas wilayah? Apakah keamanan atau letak geografis? Kira-kira dimana yang Bapak kira bisa jadi kriteria untuk mengizinkan penambahan provinsi atau penambahan kabupaten?” (P.ON.4(+))

**Jokowi** : “Tentu saja Pak banyak yang harus dikalkulasi, banyak yang harus dihitung. (P.ON.4(+)) Yang pertama masalah potensi ekonomi yang ada, apakah bisa menopang daerah itu untuk mandiri, artinya ada pendapatan asli daerah yang nantinya bisa menggerakkan pemerintahan yang ada disana kemudian juga yang kedua apakah dengan dibuka daerah baru itu, rakyat mendapatkan manfaatnya, atau hanya elitnya yang mendapatkan manfaat karena kebanyakan elitnya saja yang mendapatkan manfaat tapi rakyatnya tidak mendapatkan manfaat. Tentu saja juga

masalah keluasan wilayah itu juga menjadi perhitungan karena apa daerah yang luas kemudian hanya dipegang oleh satu bupati dalam melayani rakyatnya tidak akan efektif dan tidak akan efisien sehingga ini juga harus menjadi pertimbangan. Jumlah penduduk juga harus menjadi pertimbangan apakah penduduk yang hanya sedikit itu bisa diberikan. Saya kira bisa saja tetapi dengan catatan bahwa nantinya pemekaran ini memberikan manfaat yang sebesar-besarnya untuk rakyat. **(J.ON.6(-))** Intinya adalah kemanfaatan bagi masyarakat, kemanfaatan bagi rakyat, kemanfaatan bagi warga. Arahnya kesana, bukan memberikan keuntungan kepada elit-elit politik yang ada, yang meminta pemekaran itu.”

**JK** : “Pertama terimakasih kepada Saudara Hatta bahwa setuju dengan kami, itu yang pertama. **(JK.ON.5(-))** Jadi kita tidak perlu komentari lagi karena langsung setuju. **(JK.ON.5(+))** Kedua, menambahkan sedikit tentang pemekaran, jadi apa yang dikatakan Pak Jokowi pemekaran itu seharusnya dilihat tujuannya. **(JK.S/A7(-))** Tujuannya itu ialah setiap daerah baru harus memberikan lebih baik. Lebih baik kesejahteraannya, lebih baik pengelolaannya dan juga demokrasinya. Jadi ukurannya tadi kalau yang dikatakan; luas daerah, luas penduduk, letak wilayah. Padahal yang penting efektifitasnya apakah itu memberikan lebih baik atau tidak. **(JK.C/D7(+))** Begitu memberikan lebih baik boleh, begitu memberikan efek jelek kita harus bertindak yang lain lagi, kalau perlu menyatukan kembali. Undang-undang menjamin itu sehingga asas yang pokok asas manfaat bukan hanya asas geografis, bukan hanya asas penduduk, bukan asas letak tetapi asas manfaat, asas kemakmuran, asas kesejahteraan dan jangkauan daripada pemerintahan itu sendiri dari kepala daerahnya, terimakasih.”

**JK** : “Terimakasih Pak Jokowi. Tadi dalam awal pembicaraan ini, pak Hatta mengungkapkan tentang visi misinya yang saya kutip. **(JK.ON.4(+))** Melindungi rakyat dari berbagai bentuk diskriminasi, gangguan dan ancaman serta mejunjung tinggi hak-hak asasi manusia, itu dari Bapak. Kedua dari Pak Prabowo mengatakan tiada pengikut yang salah hanya pemimpin yang salah, sekarang pertanyaannya, bagaimana Bapak ingin menyelesaikan pelanggaran hak asasi manusia masa lalu dan menjaga hak asasi dipertahankan di masa yang akan datang? **(JK.R8(-) ; JK.ON.4(+))** Itu saja.”

**Prabowo** : “Hak asasi manusia yang paling dasar adalah hak untuk hidup, Kemudian tugas UUD yang diberikan kepada sebuah pemerintah republik adalah melindungi segenap tumpah darah Indonesia dari segala ancaman entah dari dalam negeri atau luar negeri. Jadi saya sekian puluh tahun adalah abdi Negara, petugas yang membela kemerdekaan, kedaulatan dan hak-hak asasi manusia. Mencegah kelompok-kelompok radikal ataupun kelompok-kelompok yang menggunakan kekerasan, mengancam keselamatan hidup orang-orang yang tidak bersalah. Jadi manakala kita menghadapi kelompok-kelompok yang merakit bom, yang ingin menimbulkan huru-hara, yang



mengancam kelaangsungan hidup Negara dan bangsa. Ya, mereka ini ancaman terhadap hak asasi manusia. Karena itu kewajiban seorang petugas, kewajiban seorang pembela Negara dan bangsa; melindungi segenap tumpah darah dari ancaman-ancaman tersebut. Dalam pelaksanaan tugas sebagai prajurit, manakala kita melaksanakan tugas dengan sebaik-baiknya yang menilai itu adalah atasan. (P.S/A9(-)) Jadi saya mengerti Pak arah bapak. Tidak apa-apa... Tidak apa-apa. Saya tidak apa-apa, tetapi saya ada disini, saya sebagai mantan prajurit telah melaksanakan tugas dengan sebaik-baiknya. (P.OFF.15 ; P.ON.4(+)) Selebihnya atasan yang menilai, apakah... Saya kan... Arah bapak kan begitu bahwa saya tidak bisa menjaga HAM karena saya pelanggar HAM. Kirakira itu kan arah maksud Bapak. Ya kan? (P.R9(-) ; P.C/D9 (+)) Padahal Bapak tidak mengerti justru kami-kami ini di tempat-tempat yang susah dimana-mana sering ambil tindakan untuk keselamatan rakyat Indonesia yang banyak. Sebagai contoh di Negara kita di Singapore, memegang bom saja itu hukuman mati. Wajib. Memegang saja, tidak melaporkan. Apalagi merakit, apalagi menyebarkan. Jadi Pak Yusuf Kalla saya bertanggung jawab, dan hati nurani saya bersih, saya pembela HAM yang paling keras di republik ini.” (P.ON.4(+))

**Jokowi** : “Ya, tadi yang disampaikan oleh Pak Prabowo mungkin sinking semangatnya belum disampaikan hal-hal yang konkret kedepan yang akan dilakukan apa. (J.ON.4(+)) ; (J.OFF.8)) Kemudian yang kedua juga belum dijawab mengenai masalah diskriminasi yang tadi juga ditanyakan oleh Pak Yusuf Kalla belum dijawab karena sinking semangatnya menjawab tentang hak asasi manusia. Oleh sebab itu kami memohon agar ini lebih diberikan perhatian lagi mengenai pertanyaan yang diberikan oleh Pak Yusuf Kalla.” (J.R10(-))

**Prabowo** : “Maaf Pak tadi masalah diskriminasi dan . . . .?” (P.ED11(-) ; P.ON.4(+))

**JK** : “Pak Prabowo terimakasih tadi atas penjelasannya. (JK.ON.4(+)) Pertanyaannya boleh diminta lebih jelas lagi tadi mengatakan bahwa semua pelanggaran itu pakai bom. (Prabowo (menyanggah): Tidak.. tidak semua) (P.B13(+)) Ya.. jadi tidak semua pelanggaran itu pakai bom, jadi tidak semua hal itu dilakukan dengan kekerasan balik. Begitu ya pak ya? (JK.R12(-) ; JK.BB13(+)) Kedua Bapak menyatakan tadi terserah penilaian atasan. Apakah penilaian atasan Bapak waktu itu tentang penyelesaian HAM?” (JK.R12(-))

**Prabowo** : “Jawaban terhadap pertanyaan Pak Jokowi mengenai langkah-langkah konkret. (P.ON.4(+)) Langkah-langkah konkret menurut saya diujungnya adalah pendidikan. (P.ON.2(-)) Masalah HAM ini adalah pendidikan. Pendidikan di semua sektor, pendidikan di semua aparat, pendidikan di pejabat-pejabat. Karena apa? Karena sering petugas diberi perintah. Kemudian kalo ada sesuatu yang dinilai kurang tepat atau secara politis kurang menguntungkan akhirnya petugaslah yang dikorbankan dan disalahkan. (P.ON.13(+)) Jadi ujungnya adalah pendidikan, dan pendidikan membutuhkan investasi. Tentang diskriminasi saya kira kita semua sudah sepakat, kita

harus melawan diskriminasi tapi ujungnya adalah kembali pendidikan. (P.ON.2(-)) Jadi seluruh urusan itu kembali ke pendidikan. Jadi pak Yusuf Kalla, saya sudah jawab tadi. Kita bertanggung jawab dengan atasan kita, penilaiannya ya dari atasan kita. Kalau Bapak ingin tanya, tanyalah atasan saya waktu itu.” (P.R14(-) ; P.ON.4(+))

**Hatta** : “Ya saya kira yang tadi disampaikan ditanyakan Pak Yusuf Kalla kepada saya soal diskriminatif dan Pak Jokowi juga. (H.ON.4(+); H.ON.2(-)) Memang salah satu hal yang paling mendasar menyangkut hak-hak warga Negara kita jangan sampai ada diskriminatif dalam perlakuan hukum, karena konteksnya tadi konteks hukum. Istilahnya jangan tumpul keatas, tajam kebawah, itu diskriminatif. Mereka harus sama di muka umum, siapapun dan tidak boleh. . . . apapun latar belakangnya, apapun pendidikannya, apapun agama yang dianutnya tidak boleh ada diskriminatif di Negara pancasila ini. (H.S/A15(-)) Itu yang ingin saya sampaikan yang terkait dengan diskriminatif, jadi saya mendukung sekali agar dituntaskannya diskriminatif di negeri ini. (H.ON.5(+)) Jadi kita apabila diberi amanat oleh rakyat, diberikan mandat maka kami akan mencermati betul hal-hal yang berkaitan dengan masalah-masalah diskriminatif di banyak sektor saat ini. Apakah akses-akses kepada sumber kemakmuran, apakah akses-akses kepada pendidikan, apakah akses-akses kepada sumber daya alam, penggunaan lahan dan sebagainya masih banyak terjadi diskriminasi perlakuan terhadap warga Negara kita. Oleh sebab itu ini menjadi perhatian kami yang sangat serius apabila mendapatkan mandat dari rakyat.” (H.P15(-))

### Segment 5

**Prabowo** : “Kami sadar sepenuhnya Pak bahwa setiap usaha perbaikan, usaha transformasi, pasti akan ada halangan dan kita sudah mengerti halangan tersebut; tumpang tindihnya peraturan kemudian para pemimpin politik yang berasal dari latar belakang yang berbeda dengan kepentingan yang berbeda. (P.ON.4(+)) Tetapi saya kira ada strategi tertentu untuk menghadapi kondisi ini. (P.C/D1 (+); P.ON.2(-)). Yang pertama adalah kita harus memilih beberapa sektor yang menentukan. Kita tidak bisa memperbaiki keadaan sekaligus di semua sektor. (P.S/A1(-)) Kita harus pandai memilih sektor mana yang merupakan kunci yang akan mempengaruhi sektor-sektor lain. Dan setelah itu kita harus menentukan sasaran, menentukan objektif berarti ini yang sering disebut *management by objective*; tentukan sasaran baru setelah itu kita ambil langkah-langkah menuju sasaran itu. Dan sasaran itu tidak boleh banyak. Kita harus menentukan mana. Pangan, sektor pangan harus dengan ketahanan pangan, swasembada pangan, kita bisa dapat hal-hal yang lain. Kita bisa dapat keamanan, kita bisa dapat ketenangan rakyat, dapat rasa optimis rakyat, kita bisa menghemat devisa. Dengan devisa kita bisa investasi. Dengan investasi, roda ekonomi jalan. Roda ekonomi jalan, kesejahteraan umum naik. Jadi



tentukan sasaran mana. Kami sudah menentukan pangan, energi, infrastruktur, reformasi birokrasi itu sasaran pokok yang harus kita selesaikan duluan. Kemudian kita juga jangan lupa sekarang the power of public opinion. (P.RE1(-)) Opini rakyat sangat menentukan, opini rakyat kalau kita memiliki tujuan yang baik, kita ingin perbaiki kehidupan rakyat, kita punya hati yang ikhlas, saya kira hambatan-hambatan itu bisa kita selesaikan dengan dialog, persuasi, dan dengan opini dari rakyat. (P.S/A1(-)) Opini publik pada gilirannya para penguasa-penguasa setempat akan dipaksa oleh rakyatnya. Karena yang kita inginkan adalah menyampaikan hal-hal dasar bagi rakyat. Air bersih, makan yang murah, sekolah yang baik, poliklinik yang baik, rumah sakit yang terjangkau oleh uang rakyat, jalan yang bagus dari desa ke kabupaten, dari kabupaten ke provinsi, ke pelabuhan. Kita ingin kereta api, kita ingin jalan raya, masa rakyat tidak akan mendukung pemerintah yang ingin membuat untuk rakyat, untuk kesejahteraan rakyat. Saya *kok* justru percaya pada gilirannya dukungan rakyat akan mempengaruhi dan pada ujungnya para penguasa yang tadinya mungkin karena tidak mengerti, karena kepentingan tertentu bisa diyakinkan untuk kerja sama. Karena kita adalah pelayan rakyat, kita hanya bekerja untuk kepentingan rakyat Indonesia.”

(P.ED1(+))

**Hatta** : “Terimakasih. Saya ingin mendalami hal yang sangat-sangat mendalam bagi bangsa kita yaitu reformasi birokrasi. Acap kali hambatan atau *obstacles* yang kita hadapi buruknya birokrasi. Apakah itu organisasinya yang tidak berwawasan atau berorientasi kepada pelayan publik, apakah aparturnya yang tidak bersih karena sistem rekrutmen yang tidak baik, sistem promosi jabatan yang tidak transparan dan tidak akuntabel dan juga lembaga-lembaga, insitusi-insitusi yang tidak melayani dengan baik karena tidak ada ukuran-ukuran, capaian-capaian yang pasti sehingga pelayanan publik menjadi bertele-tele, menjadi mahal, berlarut-larut dan melelahkan. Oleh sebab itu Pak menurut kami maka langkah reformasi birokrasi harus kita tuntaskan dengan baik.

(H.S/A2(-) ; H.ON.4(+); H.ON.2(-)) Yang pertama arah kebijakannya adalah organisasinya harus efektif dan efisien, jangan sampai mengakibatkan demokrasi yang bertele-tele, (H.S/A2(-) ;

H.RE2(-)) yang kedua yang paling penting adalah bagaimana upaya-upaya kita untuk meletakkan azas akuntabilitas dengan berbasis kepada kinerja. Tidak ada satupun kebijakan-kebijakan yang dijalankan yang tidak bisa kita ukur akuntabilitasnya, harus bisa dipertanggung jawabkan.

(H.C/D2(+)) Dan yang ketiga adalah upaya pemberantasan korupsi harus *massive*; pencegahan dan penguatan kejaksanaan, pengadilan, KPK harus betul-betul kita lakukan dengan baik agar apa-apa yang sudah menjadi kebijakan tidak diselewengkan begitu saja. Dan yang keempat adalah sumber daya manusia, aparatur itu sendiri yang harus betul-betul kita perbaiki, baik jumlahnya yang tidak didesain sesuai struktur organisasi harus kita pangkas dan aparatur yang bisa melakukan penghematan terhadap pengelolaan keuangan Negara dan mencegah kebocoran-kebocoran keuangan Negara. Jadi kalau ini bisa kita perbaiki salah satu prioritas utama reformasi birokrasi, maka *obstacle* tersebut insyaAllah bisa kita atasi. (H.S/A2(-)) Terimakasih.”

**Jokowi** : “Terimakasih. Jadi tadi yang ditanyakan itu daerah yang tidak mengikuti pusat. Yang kedua banyaknya lembaga yang tumpang tindih, peraturan yang tumpang tindih kemudian yang ketiga kualitas birokrasi. Saya ingin menjawab yang pertama kenapa daerah yang tidak mengikuti pusat. Bisa mereka mengikuti seratus persen apa yang dikatakan oleh pusat dengan cara apa?

Dengan politik anggaran. Karena rata-rata 85% anggaran daerah itu berasal dari pusat. Oleh sebab itu dengan politik anggaran kita bisa mengendalikan daerah. Kalau tidak mau beri *punishment*.

Kalau ada prestasi berikan insentif, berikan *reward* kepada mereka, gampang sekali. Hal sederhana yang seringkali tidak dilakukan. (**J.ED3(+)** ; **J.ON.7(+)**) Politik anggaran bisa kita lakukan, misalnya masalah pembangunan, pelayanan terpadu satu pintu daerah diperintahkan semuanya harus melakukan itu, kalau tidak alokasi dana khususnya dipotong atau dikurangi. Itu buat daerah sudah mengerikan, inilah politik anggaran yang akan kita jalankan agar sejalan, searah, seiring dengan pemerintah pusat. Yang kedua masalah lembaga yang tumpang tindih, peraturan yang tumpang tindih. Saya kira kalau peraturan lewatnya hanya satu pintu; di Sekretariat Negara dikembalikan lagi kesana keluarannya akan jelas. (**J.S/A3(-)** ; **J.ON.2(-)**) Tetapi kalau semua kementerian bisa mengeluarkan aturan-aturan yang tidak jelas pintunya yaitu diluar sekretariat Negara maka saya kira akan terjadi seperti ini. (**J.ON.2(-)**) Banyak peraturan daerah yang bertentangan dengan pusat, banyak peraturan gubernur juga yang tidak sinkron. (**J.C/D3(+)**) Oleh sebab itu pintunya harus diberi satu sehingga keluarannya akan keliatan, seiring, sejalan dengan arah yang sudah digariskan oleh pemerintah pusat. Kemudian mengenai kualitas birokrasi, tadi sudah kami sampaikan ini juga sebetulnya sesuatu yang tidak sulit-sulit amat, sesuatu yang sederhana tetapi kita ini sudah pesimis. Kalau saya, Pak JK sangat optimis berorganisasi karena SDM-nya baik-baik, *pinter-pinter*. Ada doktor, magister, ada master manajemen, ada sarjana, banyak sekali. Kenapa tidak berjalan dengan baik? Karena sistemnya tidak dibangun. Sistem yang baik tidak dibangun disitu. (**J.ED3(+)** ; **J.ON.11(+)**) Tadi sudah saya sampaikan, dari *e-government*, *e-budgeting*, *e-prokement*, *e-purchasing*, *e-catalog*, *e-audit*, *cash management system* semua harus dibangun. Kalau itu dilakukan, pemerintah pusat akan gampang. (**J.ON.7(+)**) Saya tinggal cari tab satu saja, *pencet* daerah ini dapat uang masuk berapa uang keluar berapa, bisa. Setiap saat bisa dilakukan. Panggil saja *programmer* untuk melakukan itu dan dalam dua minggu bisa dirampungkan, tidak ada masalah. Artinya jangan pesimis, kita harus optimis, bisa melakukan itu dan memang harus dilaksanakan. Sudah kita buktikan. (**J.RE3(+)** ; **J.RE3(+)** ; **J.ON.11(+)**) Yang kedua tadi kami sampaikan kualitas birokrasi. Masalah pola rekrutmen yaitu memang harus kita cari yang terbaik dengan seleksi dan promosi terbuka. (**J.S/A3(-)**) Kalau itu dilakukan saya kira juga menjadi hal yang sederhana. Ini hanya masalah niat atau tidak niat. Mau atau tidak mau. Hanya itu saja. Silahkan Pak JK.”

**JK** : “Terimakasih Pak Jokowi. Tadi sudah dijelaskan lengkap sebenarnya namun kami ingin menambahkan bahwa itulah tugas pemimpin yaitu meyakinkan dibawahnya untuk melaksanakan



tugas-tugas yang sama sesuai tujuannya. Kalau pemimpin tidak sanggup meyakinkan bawahannya memang bukan pemimpin yang baik. Jadi jangan menyalahkan daerahnya, tapi menyalahkan bagaimana cara memimpin itu. (**JK.RE4(-)**) Pengalaman kami, selama apa yang kita ingin tuju itu dapat diyakini baik, sesuai dengan tujuan bernegara, tujuan kemajuan di daerah juga dapat dilaksanakan. Kedua, *toh* di pusat juga ada gotong royong pemerintahan. Di daerah juga ada gotong royong yang sama walaupun berbeda. Partai haruslah menjadi ketaatan kedua setelah ketaatannya terhadap pemerintah. Dia boleh ikut politisi partai tapi yang penting ialah yang pertama tujuan bernegara, itu harus diyakinkan. Yang kedua tanggung jawab pemimpin, kalau tanggung jawab pemimpin telah diinstruksikan maka pemimpin yang bertanggung jawab bukan bupati itu. Karena sistem yang dijalankan seperti yang dikatakan tadi, ya pusat punya instrumen, instrumen fiscal, instrumen kebijakan dan instrumen pengawasan. Ada BPK, ada BPKP kalau dia tidak sesuai dengan pusat. Dengan mempergunakan instrumen-instrumen itu sebenarnya pemerintah juga kuat. Kalau lembaga-lembaga memang kita mengalami begitu banyaknya lembaga-lembaga ini memang harus dirubah. Negeri ini sudah distrerilisasi, sudah otonomi berarti lembaga-lembaga pusat harus mulai berkurang tapi memperkuat lembaga daerah karena inti dari pembangunan itu ada di daerah, di lembaga pusat memang tidak perlu terlalu banyak sehingga ada penciutan dari lembaga-lembaga yang tadi seperti itu. Tentang reformasi demokrasi saya kira Pak Jokowi berpengalaman, kita semua berpengalaman. Kita juga orang baik-baik yang penting prosedurnya, pendidikannya, latar belakangnya. Yakinlah negri ini akan jauh lebih baik dengan system seperti itu. (**JK.R4(-)** ; **JK.ON.11(+)**) Terimakasih. “

## Notes:

- P** : Prabowo; **J** : Jokowi; **JK** : Jusuf Kalla; **H**: Hatta Rajasa  
**R** : Request; **S/A** : Suggestions, advice;  
**ED** : Expression of disapproval, criticism, complaints; **P**: Promise  
**B** : Blatant non-cooperation in an activity; **C/D**: Contradictions or disagreements  
**RE** : Reminders; **BB**: Bringing of bad news about H  
**1,2,3...** : Data or Utterance  
**(-)** : Negative Face  
**(+)** : Positive Face  
**ON** : On Record  
**OFF** : Off Record  
**1,2,3...** : Strategy  
**(-)** : Negative Politeness Strategy  
**(+)** : Positive Politeness Strategy

## Appendix 2. Berita Acara Bimbingan Skripsi

### BERITA ACARA BIMBINGAN SKRIPSI

Nama : Gerda Claudinetta  
NIM : 125110100111104  
Program Studi : Sastra Inggris  
Topik Skripsi : Face Threatening Acts  
Judul Skripsi : Face Threatening Acts Found in Jokowi and Prabowo Presidential Debate  
Tanggal Mengajukan : 19 September 2015  
Tanggal Selesai Revisi : 08 Maret 2016  
Nama Pembimbing : Isti Purwaningtyas, M.Pd

No	Tanggal	Materi	Pembimbing	Paraf
1.	23 September 2015	Konsultasi I	Isti Purwaningtyas, M.Pd	
2.	29 September 2015	Draft outline (Bab I,II,III)	Isti Purwaningtyas, M.Pd	
3.	06 Oktober 2015	Submit revisi outline (Bab I,II,II)	Isti Purwaningtyas, M.Pd	
4.	15 Oktober 2015	Submit Bab I	Isti Purwaningtyas, M.Pd	
5.	21 Oktober 2015	Submit revisi Bab I	Isti Purwaningtyas, M.Pd	
6.	28 Oktober 2015	Submit Bab II	Isti Purwaningtyas, M.Pd	
7.	03 November 2015	Submit revisi Bab II	Isti Purwaningtyas, M.Pd	
8.	20 November 2015	Submit Bab III	Isti Purwaningtyas, M.Pd	
9.	26 November 2015	Submit revisi Bab III	Isti Purwaningtyas, M.Pd	
10.	03 Desember 2015	ACC Seminar Proposal	Isti Purwaningtyas, M.Pd	



No	Tanggal	Materi	Pembimbing	Paraf
11.	17 Desember 2015	Seminar Proposal	Isti Purwaningtyas, M.Pd	
12.	26 Januari 2016	Submit revisi Bab I, II, III	Isti Purwaningtyas, M.Pd	
13.	09 Februari 2016	Submit Bab IV dan V	Isti Purwaningtyas, M.Pd	
14.	16 Februari 2016	ACC Seminar Hasil	Isti Purwaningtyas, M.Pd	
15.	25 Februari 2016	Seminar Hasil	Isti Purwaningtyas, M.Pd	
16.	08 Maret 2016	Ujian Skripsi	Isti Purwaningtyas, M.Pd	
17.	15 Maret 2016	Revisi Akhir	Isti Purwaningtyas, M.Pd	

Telah dievaluasi dan diuji dengan nilai:



Malang, 08 Maret 2016  
Dosen Pembimbing

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