ATTITUDE, SOLIDARITY, AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN INDONESIAN PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE 2019

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Abstract: The research aimed to identify the solidarity and social change represented by the presidents' attitudes in the debates. The research applied positive discourse analysis purposed by Martin (2004) and the appraisal framework, especially the attitude system purposed by Martin and White (2005). The results showed that Prabowo used more attitudes in his argument than Jokowi. Prabowo tended to use more judgements and appreciations to show his attitudes. On the other hand, Jokowi preferred to use affect, which is desire and trust, to express his attitude. Solidarities were performed in their attitudes by means of concern toward audiences and by means of respect between appraisers. Thus solidarities are responsible for bringing social changes such as habits, behavior, mindset, value, and norms, and also in terms of the developments of technology and transportation.

Keywords: debates, ideology, positive discourse

Political debate contains other purposes besides winning or losing in giving an opposing argument. In political debate, the speaker can seek attention to the audiences to get their vote in the context of the presidential election. Moreover, the role of language in political speech becomes a device to convince their audiences (Fayyadh, 2014). The speaker uses a certain linguistic strategy to overcome the opponent and to persuade the audiences simultaneously, for instance using political rhetoric, politeness strategies, and propaganda language (Amanda, 2017). As its function to overcome the opponent, power is negotiated by the speaker.

As its function to overcome the opponent, power is negotiated by the speaker (van Dijk, 1993). In this case, the speaker was considered as a powerful participant because the speaker can control the plot of the debate by giving an argument. The terms of powerful and less powerful participants were introduced by Fairclough, (1996:46). The relationship of subject and power is frequently under the domain of critical discourse analysis, where the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias are examined. Further, ideology sometimes is imposed on critical

discourse analysis (see, Bayram, 2020; Helmanita & Emzir, 2018; Taiwo, 2007). To examine those discursive sources, social practices and text or discourse are elaborated and deconstructed.

However, by not focusing on the power relations of the speakers instead of the relationship between tenor and language, the speakers show their attitude toward the topic given in the debate to persuade the audiences. Furthermore, the speakers can show their solidarity by giving an argument, or even maintain the solidarity with the opponent (Martin & White, 2005:96). Those can be expressed by giving positively valuing some aspect of social change and identifying and solving the problem, which is the constructive goals of Positive Discourse Analysis (PDA) (Barlett, 2009; Martin, 2004). Besides, by showing the speakers' attitude, they can show how they feel in the expectation that the audiences will feel empathy, and so align themselves with the speakers' feelings (Martin, 2004). Moreover, the speakers' attitude can be realized in the Attitude system which consists of three subsystems: affect, judgement, and appreciation (Martin, 2000).

Related to political debate, Indonesia held five times of the presidential and vice-presidential debate in 2019. They also held in the context of the presidential election campaign. Thereby, the function of the debate instead of giving the argument was also to get the people's vote for the speakers to win the election. Furthermore, there were two parties who as speakers in the debate. The first party was Joko Widodo as a presidential candidate and Ma'ruf Amin as a vice-presidential candidate. The second party was Prabowo Subianto as a presidential candidate and Sandiaga Uno as a vice-presidential candidate.

There are several studies related to PDA and attitudinal analysis. Su, (2016) found that that there were more positive resources in President Xu Jinping's speech to construct a harmonious relationship with the audiences using positive discourse analysis from three aspects: attitude, engagement, and graduation system. Further, Qi, (2017) also found that the use of attitude, engagement, graduation used by Hillary Clinton was to make a harmonious, loving, and united society. The study discussed the appraisal strategy used by Hillary Clinton in the concession address. The study itself aimed to complement critical discourse analysis to seek positive social construction in the political discourse.

Zhang (2016) took a positive discourse analysis of attitude systems in economic news. The aim was to uncover the characteristics of the distribution of attitudes in the news *China's Consumers still Kicking* as well as to find the reason for it. The meaning of attitude was mostly realized by judgment and appreciation systems. Further, there were more positive than negative words. The use of negative was to tell the fact of the economy rather than criticize it. Moreover, Wu (2013) also discussed the attitudinal meaning in public service advertising. The study used an appraisal framework to identify the linguistic elements that realize the attitudinal meaning. In terms of the attitude system, affect turned to be the last presentation in the advertisement.

Moreover, Li (2016) found that the use of attitudinal resources in the song aimed to make the readers understand the emotion expressed by the author and the attitudinal meaning of the song builds the interpersonal relations between the author and the readers. The application of attitude system in the research focused on appraisal theory to identify the linguistic feature in English song discourse as to make the reader understand the emotion expressed by the song and how the interpersonal relationship between the author and the readers was constructed. Moreover, in students' theses writing in English, Ngongo (2017) found that engagement was the most used in the text. Regarding the attitude, judgement was used more than affect and appreciation. It indicated that writing is more personal and emotional than appreciative.

The present research aimed to shed light on a different perspective on PDA and appraisal analysis. Though some studies focused on the speech, news, songs, academic writing, and public service advertising as the data (Li, 2016; Ngongo, 2017; Su, 2016; Wu, 2013; Zhang, 2016), this study took an attitudinal framework analysis on opposing arguments in a political debate discourse. Moreover, this study applied positive discourse analysis to identify not only the meaning of attitudes used by the speakers (Qi, 2017; Su, 2016; Zhang, 2016) but also how solidarity was represented in the speakers' attitude when they argued and why such

solidarity was needed to portray the social changes related to the topic discussed in the debate. Furthermore, the study is expected to find the relationship between attitude, solidarity, and social changes.

METHODS

The type of this research was qualitative research, in which it concerned with meanings and the ways people understood things (Denscombe, 2007). Thereby, the data were interpreted and described to discover how solidarity and social change were represented in the president candidates' attitude in the debate. Moreover, the data were collected using the documentary method. According to Denscombe (2007:227), documentary data were written sources. In this case, they could be collected from internets, newspapers, books, etc. Therefore, the research took the full transcription of the debates retrieved from *Resume Debat Capres* (PT. Bahasa Kinerja Utama, 2019) on the internet as the data.

The research applied purposive sampling to identify and choose the information-rich cases for the most effective use of limited resources (Palinkas, 2013). The sampling was taken from the debate of each president candidates by focusing on their argument toward the topic given. Thereby, the first, third, and last debates were excluded due to the participation of the vice-presidential candidates. As a result, there were 268 clauses, which consisted of 129 clauses uttered by Joko Widodo and 139 clauses uttered by Prabowo Subianto, which represent attitude expression in both candidates' argument.

After the data had been collected, they were processed by appraisal theory, especially attitudinal framework analysis by Martin & White (2005). Thereby, the data were classified into three subsystems. They were affect, judgement, and appreciation. Further, it was also classified based on the appraiser and appraised. After the data had been processed, they were grouped into tables to discover what affect, judgement, and appreciation expression used by the candidates in giving their argument.

Furthermore, the tables were described and analyzed to find what affect, judgement, and appreciation performed to represent solidarity in the presidential debate 2019. From the represented tables, the attitudes system of both

candidates was analyzed using appraisal theory purposed by Martin and white (2005) to describe how the solidarity of the candidates was represented by the attitude system. Then, positive discourse analysis purposes by Martin (2004) and contextual analysis were used to describe how the social change represented in both candidates' arguments related to the topic discussed in the debate.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Findings

The Attitudes performed by Both Candidates in the Debates

Table 1 was presented to explain the attitude analysis of Jokowi's argument in the debates. Jokowi performed judgements as a preference to express his attitude in the debates. It was depicted by the number of attitude in his arguments (47.29%). Then, it was followed by the use of appreciations to show his attitude (29.46%). The last, he employed less affect to show his solidarity (23.25%).

Table 1. The results of Jokowi's attitude analysis in the debates

Attitude	Second debate	Fourth debate	Whole debate	Percentage
Affect	16	14	30	23.25%
Judgement	37	24	61	47.29%
Appreciation	14	24	38	29.46%
Total	67	62	**129**	**100%**

Table 2. The results of Prabowo's attitude analysis in the debates

Attitude	Second debate	Fourth debate	whole debates	Percentage
Affect	10	10	20	14.39%
Judgement	30	35	65	46.76%
Appreciation	26	28	54	38.85%
Total	76	73	**139**	**100%**

On the other hand, table 2 was presented to explain the attitude analysis of Prabowo's argument in the debates. In the whole debate, Prabowo performed attitude using judgements as

to the preference (46.75%). With a little gap with judgements, appreciations were also expressed to represent his attitude in the arguments (38.85%). Then, the last attitude to represent in his arguments was affects (14.39%).

Discussion

The Solidarity in Jokowi's Attitude

Jokowi's attitudes could represent solidarities by several conditions. In particular, solidarities were performed by his attitudes toward the audiences. One of them was related to a concern. His attitudes, such as his emotions, judgements, and appreciations pertained to his concern for the good sake of the people. For instance, he convinced that the revolution industry 4.0 will be optimistically welcomed. The revolution industries 4.0 became the name of a new era, which is the era of machines and high technologies. The statement showed his concern toward the people who were afraid and doubtful (disquiet) living with the era due to the impacts. Therefore, he tried to convince them optimistically that the era would contribute to the development of Indonesia better.

Solidarity was also represented by his modesty, which aligned his social status as the same as the people in Indonesia. He said that he was a civilian. The sentence has positive normality as an attitude. Thus describe that Jokowi as a normal person tried to align himself with the people. He removed his entire attribute as the candidates of the presidents to become equal with other people.

Furthermore, his attitudes also represented solidarity toward Prabowo. For instance, he showed his trust (security) by saying "I also believe that Mr. Prabowo is a nationalist, *pancasilais*, and patriot". The positive affect was intended to reply to Prabowo's argument, which he said it as the same as Prabowo. He countered the argument to show that he also believed that Prabowo is a reliable person. The meaning of solidarity here pertained to the act of respect such as the positive evaluation due to maintaining their friendship and the act of returning the favor.

A negative evaluation was also negotiated by Jokowi to represent the truth or fact so that he could maintain solidarity. Jokowi said that Prabowo was very wrong about the plan without a feasibility study. He did it to defend himself and to maintain the truth (veracity) about the plan. By performing negative veracity, he also maintained what he did was still the truth (fact) for the people's sake.

The Solidarity in Prabowo's Attitude

Prabowo's attitudes could represent solidarities. There are several similarities with Jokowi in terms of how solidarity was signified. For Prabowo, his solidarities toward audiences were realized through concerns, in which they were intended for the people and country. He concerned people's anxieties; he wants to defend people's rights, and his capabilities make Indonesia better in the future.

For instance, he said, "what we want to achieve is the government that clean from corruption". In other words, he wanted to establish a clean government. The word clean (positive appreciation) here refers to acts of no corruption. Thus, his desire (positive affect) to make a clean government represented solidarities to the people. Moreover, he also tried to align his desire to the people. He said that people did not want corruption anymore in Indonesia. By saying the arguments, Prabowo seemed to be the representative of the people by delivering their inspiration. Otherwise speaking, it also implied he wanted to defend the people's rights.

Furthermore, his solidarity toward Jokowi was realized through respect. He acknowledged all the achievements of Jokowi even though his position stood for an opponent. For instance, he used positive propriety to evaluate Jokowi intention. He said that we saw his good intention. In the context of the debate, he expressed it to respect Jokowi and all his achievements by means of solidarity.

His negative attitudes could also represent solidarities. He treated negative attitudes as a fact and truth, in which it pertains to issues that need to be solved for the people's sake. For instance, he said that there was a problem experienced by the people such as distrust toward the elites and government. It indicated that Jokowi concerned people's anxiety so that he could help them. In other words, the arguments took a role as a fact or truth, in which he negotiated it

Solidarity and Social Change

Both candidates performed such solidarities based on the result of the analysis of their attitudes. Additionally, they performed several attitudes represented solidarities with similar meanings, which are realized by means of concerns and equality toward audiences, and by means of respect between appraisers. However, there were also several differences. Jokowi's attitudes represented more meanings of solidarities. He performed attitudes to align himself as the same as the people without seeing the social distances. Moreover, he also put togetherness as the meaning of solidarity such as his willingness to join with other people and countries to make a better world.

Those findings were also linear with Qi (2017), in which the use of attitude was to make a harmonious, loving, and united society. Furthermore, negative attitudes in their arguments to the appraised were treated as fact and truth. It is relevant to Zhang (2016), in which the use of negative was to tell the fact of the economy rather than criticize it. Thus meant solidarity if they became a concern and the solution for the sake of the people.

With the differences in terms of solidarities and attitudes, they had a different ideology in answering the question given in the debate. It also affected how social change would occur in society in the future. In other words, social change would be represented by the candidates' argument, in which attitudes and solidarities were negotiated. In the debate, there were several topics. However, the exploration would focus on energy and food, living environment, ideology, and governance due to the representation of social changes allegedly signified in these topics.

For infrastructure, Jokowi still wanted to continue the previous development plans such as the construction of highway, port, and airport. He relied on speed to help mobility. His strategy was more emphasized in enlarging the quality of development. By using this strategy, the impact will change people's habit of traveling. With good connectivity between islands and provinces, the people who usually go by public transportation due to the long-distance, they use private transportation. It will also influence many aspects – negative or positive aspects. For the negative aspect, the accident rate may be increased. On the contrary, Prabowo only commented negatively on the infrastructure project by Jokowi on this topic. He said that the project was ineffective. He only focused on attacking Jokowi without saying any strategies to solve the problem. Therefore, in this topic social change was only visible in Jokowi's argument.

In Energy and Food, Jokowi focused on the people at the bottom in terms of economy. For instance, he took the relationship between farmers and consumers. In this topic, he wanted to build a balance between them by constructing offline and online ecosystems pertained to industry revolution 4.0. Indeed, there is a change followed, when the culture is developing, improving, and moving. For instance, when the previous interaction between the seller and buyer was face to face in the market, it changed online. Thus, some cultures might be missing or changed like the interaction of bargaining. Otherwise, Prabowo used a negative attitude as truth in his argument. He only evaluated negatively toward industry 4.0. For instance, he said that he cannot guarantee the prices of food affordable by our people. Thus negative comments were not accompanied by the solution. Therefore, social changes were not represented in his arguments.

In the topic of the living environment, both candidates had the same arguments related to environmental pollution. Both candidates offered a solution that positively evaluates the law by the strict application (reliable law). By the strict law, there was a change in the community. Thus related to people's habits. For instance, people who are usually littering, they start afraid to do it. They start to think about the punishment waiting for them. Furthermore, it also aims to improve the morale of the nation by starting a healthy life.

In the topic of ideology, the issue discussed was about the acceptance and actualization of *Pancalisa* for future generations without indoctrination. The solutions from both sides were similar. They suggested instilling *Pancasila* in societies through education. However, they had different ways of actualization. For Jokowi, he focused on up to date ways (positive normality), in which they were actualized by media visuals such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. Thereby, the relevance between *Pancasila* and children were

connected. Circumstantially, it would have an impact on the development of children's attitudes and behavior. It was good that they had *Pancasila* as their value and norms like unity and equality, which does not distinguish between groups of races. However, it also had negative impacts. For instance, there is a decreasing face to face social interaction. Social changes such as face-to-face meetings or organization meetings have shifted towards using social media applications. However, these problems can be minimized by limiting excessive use and parental advocacy.

On the other hand, Prabowo proposed to include *Pancasila* in terms of education from kindergarten to the highest level of education. In general, indoctrination and education are two different things. Indoctrinated people are expected not to question or critically test the doctrine. In other words, by educative solutions (a positive quality), they are expected to change their mindset that can think more critically (positive capacity) in assessing social problems.

In the topic of governance, the problem discussed was information technology-based governance for public services. Generally, Jokowi suggested institutional simplification, where the management was simplified (negative complexity). For instance, the services initiated by Jokowi in the digital era are electronic government, procurement, and budgeting. In this case, people will change in terms of consumptive habits. Pertained to e-budgeting, thus might increase the consumptive behavior of its users due to its simplicity. However, it can also shift the behavior of consumptive into saving habits. However, the solution also becomes one of the efforts to solve the problems in Indonesia.

Based on the analysis and exploration of the meaning of both arguments about language, attitude, solidarity, and social changes, their relationship can be formulated into the pattern, which is explained as follows. The arguments allegedly represent appraisers' attitudes, which are positive attitudes meaning treated as a stance and negative attitudes meaning treated as a fact. they are used to evaluate the appraised (audiences, Jokowi, and Prabowo) followed by solidarity by means of concern (for the people's good sake), and respects, in which they influence and affect on social changes in terms of habits, behaviors, mindsets, values, and norms, and also in terms of the developments of technology and transportation. their relationship can be formulated in figure 1.
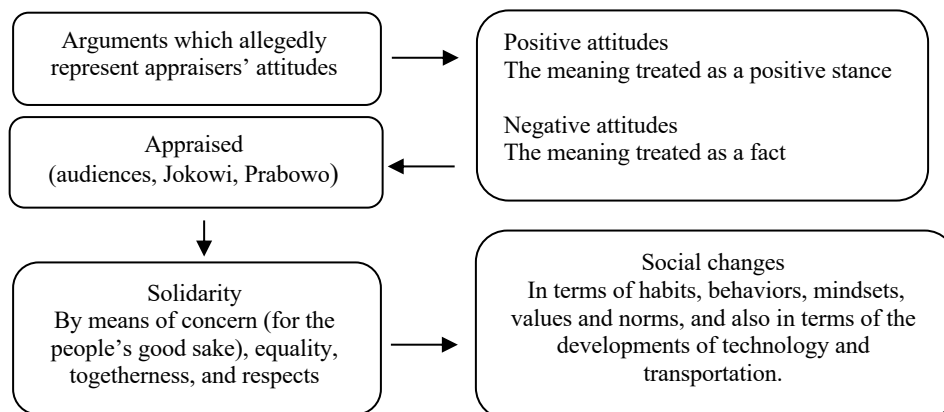
Figure 1. The Relationship between Attitudes, Solidarities, and Social Changes

CONCLUSION

Prabowo used more attitudes in his argument than Jokowi. In terms of polarities, Jokowi used more positive attitudes than Prabowo. On the contrary, Prabowo employed more negative attitudes than Jokowi.

The candidates' attitudes could represent solidarities by several conditions. In particular, solidarities were performed due to several meanings. They performed several attitudes followed by means of concern, equality, and togetherness toward audiences and by means of respect between appraisers. Moreover, negative attitudes in their arguments tended to be treated

as fact and truth toward the issue. Thus would keep or mean solidarity if they become a concern and the solution for the people.

With the differences in terms of solidarities and attitudes, they had a different ideology in answering the question given in the debate. They were responsible for bringing social changes for the people and the country in the future. Particularly, the changes were found in five topics, namely infrastructure, energy and food, living environment, ideology, and governance.

Therefore, it is suggested that indonesian people should be more aware related to the attitudes of the public speakers, especially in the potical contexts. Accodance with the explanation above, they should critically think and understand that the result of the speakers' attitudes would impact on the social changes in the future as what speaker offered or answered in the debates.

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