

## Javanese Women's Political Discourse in Response to the 2019 Indonesian General Election

Prembayun Miji Lestari<sup>1</sup>, Djatmika<sup>2</sup>, Sumarlam<sup>3</sup> & Dwi Purnanto<sup>4</sup>

### Abstract

This article aims to explain Javanese women's political discourse in response to the various conflicts that arose from the 2019 Indonesian General Election. This study focuses on the political discourse among Javanese women in response to the electoral issues. It employed observation and in-depth interviews in its data collecting technique. Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model was used to analyze the data with reference to the textual, discourse practice, and sociocultural dimensions. The findings revealed that the political discourse of Javanese women is inseparable from the boundaries of the Javanese language and the cultural context. The textual analysis revealed that positive and negative sentiments about the presidential and vice presidential candidates dominated the discourse. A discourse practice analysis was then interpreted through four dimensions, namely (i) *What is going on?*, (ii) *Who is involved?*, (iii) *What relationships are at issue?*, and (vi) *What is the role of language?* Furthermore, a sociocultural analysis attempted to connect the Javanese women's discourse practices with the sociocultural context. The use of traditional Javanese idioms as a cultural norm confirmed how local Javanese wisdom showed in the political conversation among the Javanese women, thus mitigating any negative effects.

**Keywords:** *Political conversation discourse, Javanese women in Indonesia, General election Fairclough critical discourse analysis, unen-unen (traditional Javanese idioms).*

### Introduction

The year 2019 marked a democratic celebration for all Indonesian citizens, because it carried the momentum of legislative elections at both the regional and national levels combined with simultaneous presidential and vice presidential elections, as well as the election of members for the Regional Representative Council. In short, this year has been a very political one for Indonesians. This evoked various topics in political conversations involving society, including Javanese women as part of Indonesian society. The political conversation discourse of Javanese women certainly differs from that of women from other ethnicities, as each ethnicity has its own respective cultural characteristics. The abundance of fraudulent practices and other issues, such as

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<sup>1</sup> Doctor Candidate, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta & Universitas Negeri Semarang, Semarang, Indonesia, [prembayun@gmail.com](mailto:prembayun@gmail.com)

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Dr. Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta, Indonesia [djatkika@staff.uns.ac.id](mailto:djatkika@staff.uns.ac.id)

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Dr. Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta, Indonesia; [sumarlamwd@gmail.com](mailto:sumarlamwd@gmail.com)

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta, Indonesia; [dwi.purnanto@yahoo.com](mailto:dwi.purnanto@yahoo.com)

bribery, hoaxes and slander, the introduction of political technologies, such as *quick count* to estimate election results earlier and vote multiplication in the *real count*, and irregularities that potentially violate the values of democracy have drawn Javanese women into the political conversation, something they rarely did previously. The complicated political state has certainly affected Indonesians' lives, because they feel it may degrade democratic conditions and threaten the country's sustainability. The conflicts existing in the differing perspectives within the democratic process will undeniably lead to turmoil if not addressed.

Political conversation about the 2019 Indonesian General Election is considered an interesting topic to study because of the dynamic development of the political situation itself. A critical discourse analysis is required to understand the textual practices of Javanese women's political conversation about the election. The discourse itself is considered the means to produce and reproduce the meanings expressed by the subjects based on particular interests. An understanding of the discourse, in reality, also relates to a lack of neutral meaning unavailability due to subjects inevitably having their own interests. A discourse always contains meaning based on the subjects' purposes, even if they are unaware of the implied meaning. A discourse can serve to evoke participants, both from internal and external groups (Sumarti, 1984). Fairclough, meanwhile, defined discourse as the use of language as part of social practice. This implies that individual acts in using language form part of the social reality. In this regard, Fairclough assumed the discourse concept by combining linguistics, interpretative traditions, and sociology. Through his theory, Fairclough offered a discourse model that includes three dimensions of exploration, namely textual, discourse practice, and social practice dimensions. These dimensions have their respective domains and processes that dialectically relate to each other (Munfarida, 1978).

A number of experts have previously studied critical discourse, but the current research offers several different features, including their object and subject, approaches, and findings. Most previous research has highlighted written discourse, with only a few discussing oral discourse. This current study focuses on the emergent political discourse among Javanese women, which came in response to the phenomenon of the 2019 Indonesian General Election. Interestingly, this topic includes the Javanese women's criticisms of the regime-transfer process, their political conversation practices, and their conversation models based on the sociocultural context.

This study mainly focuses on how Javanese women respond with different perspectives to the electoral process in an attempt to minimize conflict within their social communications and

interactions. Such questions are considered essential in the current social reality, where a critical discourse analysis (CDA) may help to reveal the problems through a number of dimensions, including the textual, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice dimensions. Therefore, the researchers considered Fairclough's CDA (1995) as being the analysis model that could offer the most appropriate approach for exploring the problems. The study is expected to provide an in-depth discussion for communication science development, one that relates to political discourse and Fairclough's CDA model.

### **Research questions**

Drawing from the above background, this study is guided by the following two research questions:

- 1) How are Javanese women's opinions about the Indonesian General Election 2019, given the abundant irregularities, represented?
- 2) How does the context represent the textual analysis, discourse practice and sociocultural analysis?

### **Literature Review**

#### **Previous Studies Related to Political Discourse or Critical Discourse Analysis**

A number of previous studies related to political discourse have adopted Fairclough's social-shift approach or highlighted the Javanese culture, including studies from Ardianto (2012); Anom, Kee and Zamawi (2014); Mardikantoro (2014); Hayati and Juliana (2016); Sumarlam (2016); Anuar, Ahmad, and Salleh (2018); Radzi, Rahim, and Yaakob (2018); Yasini, Ghaem, and Bicharanlou (2018); Sakhiyya and Locke (2019); and Nugrahani, Nababan, Santosa, and Djatmika (2019).

Ardianto (2012) studied the daily newspapers *Pikiran Rakyat* and *Kompas* to identify the functions of political public relations aimed at establishing President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's (SBY) reputation branding. His study revealed that textual production in *Pikiran Rakyat* tended to publicize a negative branding of President SBY. In contrast, *Kompas* tended to show President SBY in a positive light.

Anom et al. (2014), meanwhile, studied the political communication between Indonesia and Malaysia in maintaining the Malay Archipelago's political stability. This study of Indonesian–Malaysian political communication employed documentary analysis by referring to the functions of Indonesia's and Malaysia's political communications in attempting to sustain the Malay Archipelago in the face of the *Lahad Datu* issue. It confirmed an active political communication

between both countries, as both Indonesia and Malaysia held similar views about their respective roles in facilitating the prevention of tension and conflict.

Mardikantoro (2014) investigated a corruption case in Indonesia. He discovered that within the context of criticism about corruption, *Koran Tempo* disputed an existing news publication on corruption, while *Kompas*, *Republika*, *Jawa Pos*, and *Suara Merdeka* confirmed the same news publication.

Abdi and Basarati (2016) investigated the critical discourse from a number of international newspapers published in Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the USA in relation to the crisis in Yemen. They picked up 63 headlines for the study from various publications, namely *Iran Daily*, *Tehran Times*, *Iran on-line*, and the *IRNA (Islamic Republic News Agency)*, all Iranian publications; *Al-sharq Alwsat* and *Al-Jazeera* for Saudi Arabian newspapers; and *Telegraph*, *USA Today*, *News Week*, and *The New York Times* to represent American newspapers. Fairclough's three-dimensional model was adopted to explore the discourse related to Yemen's crisis. The study revealed that Houthis were labeled rebels by the Saudi Arabian and American newspapers, in which Saudi Arabia was accused of protecting the rebels. In contrast, Iranian newspaper labelled Saudi Arabia and the USA as aggressors and decided to promote diplomacy between the military forces.

Hayati and Juliana (2016), meanwhile, analyzed the descriptions of Malala Yousafzai in four British and Pakistani newspapers following the trial for her attempted murder by the Taliban. These newspapers included *The News*, *Dawn*, *The Nation*, and *The Daily Times*, as published from October 10, 2012 to November 10, 2012. The study deployed a framing theory and comparative analysis from the editorials of these four newspapers, a total of 29 editorials (five from *The News*, six from *Dawn*, nine from *The Daily Times*, and nine from *The Nation*). The findings concluded that Malala Yousafzai was described as a brave girl who opposed the Taliban. The findings also revealed a negative sentiment among Pakistanis toward the Taliban following the group's attack on Malala Yousafzai.

Sumarlam (2016) analyzed the political discourse related to the internal conflicts of Yogyakarta Palace in Indonesia. Through Fairclough's analysis model, the researcher exposed a number of elements, including the representation of a post-monarchy regime following the dominion dispute, the discourse actors, and the conflict settlement. It revealed a number of things, including that the discourse structure comprised the headline, orientation, sequence of events, and closing. The positive ideology of the parties involved and related institutions (i.e., government and experts)

were represented through prohibitive speeches and negative sentences. Furthermore, the events, actors, relations to the issues, and language roles were exposed through the interpretation of discourse practices. In addition, the text production, institutional impacts (among the parties involved in the conflict) to the text, and the social condition of Yogyakarta Palace were represented according to the economic, political, social, and cultural interests.

Anuar, Ahmad, and Salleh (2018) identified the impact of memes on the Malaysian sociocultural environment using Fairclough's CDA model. It concluded that memes not only reinforced inspiration but also served to express people's dissatisfaction with a particular phenomenon.

Radzi, Rahim, and Yaakob (2018), meanwhile, studied advertisements that featured celebrities as product endorsers, also using Fairclough's critical discourse analysis. They pointed out the textual dimension as mostly affecting product advertising. This dimension could clearly convey information to consumers and attract their attention through a particular message structure.

In the Iranian context, Yasini, Ghaem, and Bicharanlou (2018) investigated women's clothing standards following the transition of the revolutionary political era. Based on a construction of social discourse analysis, the study identified Iranian women's fashion styles and studied the discursive practices of a number of groups and ideologies within society. It utilized Laclau and Mouffe's model to analyze the particular groups' polemics and practices that led to women dominantly wearing the *hijab* at the national level. The dominant revolutionary discourse opposed symbols of modern power and freedom that were represented in Western thinking and replaced these with symbols of morality and holiness. This symbolic power currently still exists, however, due to the sociocultural shift. Even if Iranian women's fashion styles following the revolution of 1979 are still considered a religious symbol, social, cultural, economic, and political influences still manifest.

Sakhiyya, Locke and Locke (2019), meanwhile, studied the different perspectives of the meritocratic and empowerment discourse at the state universities of Indonesia in relation to the representation of Indonesian women's leadership. They explained how the meritocratic discourse emphasized achievements based on individual eligibility, including skills and talents. In contrast, the empowerment discourse supported gender equality and women's involvement in the decision-making process at the higher education level. Indeed, the empowerment discourse considered the term "empowerment" to represent a progressive political agenda in society.

Nugrahani et al. (2019) studied the translations of three novels, namely *Burung-Burung Manyar* (Manyar Birds), *Pengakuan Pariyem* (Pariyem's Confession), and *Para Priyayi* (The Noblemen), all of which featured Javanese culture. The study identified various Javanese idioms in the forms of *paribasan* (proverbs), *saloka* (metaphors), *sanepa* (figurations), *bebasan* (suppositions), and *parikan* (poems).

The previous studies mentioned above highlight a lack of study into political discourse within the sociocultural context. This current article therefore promises significant new discoveries that differ from those of previous studies.

### **Critical Discourse Analysis**

Discourse analysis is part of a discipline that aims to study the use of language in communication, seeing discourse as the use of oral or written language within social practices. It aims to describe, translate, analyze, and criticize social phenomenon that is reflected through text and speech. The oral form of discourse is a direct conveyance through verbal language, while the written form is conveyed through writing (Kusumastuti, 2019; Mulyana, 2005; Sumarlam, 2003). A conversation is one example of oral discourse in the form of dialogue. Therefore, the political discourse of Javanese women in response to the 2019 Indonesian General Election is classified as oral discourse.

This current study applies Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model, which assumes that language is an inseparable part of social life that connects with other elements, so it also considers external elements other than language. Fairclough (1995) divides discourse analysis into three dimensions, namely textual analysis (description), discourse practice analysis (interpretation), and sociocultural practice analysis (explanation).

Textual analysis relates to linguistics by referring to vocabulary, semantics, and sentence structure. Fairclough also includes coherence and cohesion as elements that allow a particular sentence to combine with others, so his model allows a definition that covers all the elements of analysis, including ideas, relations, and identity. Ideas indicate a particular reference, often to ideological elements. Relations correspond to the construction analysis among the speakers, while identity refers to the actors' construction of an identity that explains their personalities.

Discourse practice analysis, meanwhile, relates to exploring the meaning between the textual and contextual interpretation phases. The textual interpretation runs through the levels of speech,

speech meaning, local coherence, and discourse integrity, while the contextual interpretation is used to identify the situational context by observing the social impacts and comparing the current texts with others.

Finally, social practice analysis relates to elements outside both the textual and situational contexts. It highlights the relationship between discourse practice and the social context with the aim of explaining the description and interpretation phase (Sumarlam, 2016). In this phase, researchers need to analyze and explain the tendency of texts, the complexity of discourse practices, and the social-shift process. In summary, Fairclough's analysis model mainly involves relating text at the micro-level with the society at the macro-level.

### **The Political Discourse of Javanese Women in Indonesia**

In reality, human life is inseparable from politics. All problems and solutions derive from political issues. In this regard, Gee (1999) explained that every reciprocal human relationship actually symbolizes an implied process about how various social norms are implemented. Indeed, social consideration is adhered to by particular groups as a mark of dominance, status, or social value that is distinguished in the form of qualities such as academic ability, financial status, charisma, self-control, appearance, age, wisdom, knowledge, technological mastery, morality, ownership, general knowledge, and common sense. These social forms in turn lead to dominance (Darma, 2013).

Javanese women adopt the Indonesian ethnics that exist on the island of Java and possess their own cultural values. They use particular symbols or signs as means to express the messages or advice through conversation. Such symbols or signs commonly have deep meanings that require further analysis to comprehend their purposes in conveying messages. Magnis Suseno (2003) stated that Javanese people refer to social norms, including manners (respect principles) and harmonious social appearance (concordance principles) when regulating their daily lives. Respect principles urge them to act and honor others based on their social status. Concordance principles, meanwhile, encourage them to behave properly in every situation in an attempt to avoid conflict. Such norms lead to people, especially women, maintaining the local culture's values and traditions. Indeed, they reflect local Javanese wisdom in the form of traditional idioms, even when used in political conversation about the 2019 Indonesian General Election.

### Methods

The study focuses on Javanese women's attitudes as reflected in their discourse about the 2019 Indonesian General Election. It explores their responses to the electoral events of 2019 based on their sociocultural characteristics. Five forms of speech are highlighted, including *sapa presidene?* (Who is the president?), *modhele kampanye* (the campaign model), *coblosan* (the votes), *pemilu urik* (general election fraud), and *hasil pemilu* (the general election result). To comprehend the meaning of the language attitudes, complete, descriptive, in-depth data are required to scientifically explore this discourse's uniqueness (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p.6–7).

A comprehensive overview of the political discourse of Javanese women requires a critical discourse analysis in order to explore its textual practices. Critical discourse analysis considers the use of oral and written language as part of social practice (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Titscher et al., 2000; Eriyanto, 2012; Darma, 2013; Suliman et al., 2016). This study employed Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model, which comprises textual, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice analyses. This approach integrates concepts from linguistics, sociopolitical notions, and social shift. In short, Fairclough's analysis model looks at text as the micro-level element and social context as the macro-level element of the discourse.

The research data included a series of conversations among Javanese women when responding to the situation of the 2019 Indonesian General Election. The data were collected through observations and interviews, with four informants being involved in this study: Atik (45 years old), Septi (39 years old), Yati (35 years old), and Rini (38 years old). All participants had obtained diplomas or undergraduate degrees. Informants were selected based on the prerequisite that they understood and frequently discussed the Indonesian political situation, especially that of the 2019 General Election. They were then selected randomly based on an observation of their discussion themes and the Javanese idioms they used. The data (i.e., their conversations) were collected from early March 2019 to the end of April 2019. Observation was conducted by listening to their political conversations prior to, during, and following the election process. In addition, flexible and open interviews were conducted in a less structured, informal, and repeated manner. An in-depth interview can acquire data through face-to-face inquiries with the informants of a study, either with or without an interview guide (Sutopo, 2006, p.72).

Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model was used in this research. This comprises three phases, namely textual analysis (description), discourse practice analysis (interpretation), and sociocultural analysis (explanation). The process in this research went as follows:

- a. The textual analysis (description) emphasized the use of language to explore the themes of political conversation that reflect ideology. The use of language included the elements of words and sentence structures that were used by Javanese women.
- b. The discourse practice analysis (interpretation) aimed to identify the relationships between the textual and contextual interpretation. The textual interpretation comprises four phases, namely speech, speech meaning, local coherence, and discourse integrity. The contextual interpretation, meanwhile, includes the situational context and intertextuality. The researchers identified the situational context by observing the social impacts of the text, while the intertextuality involved a comparison between the current texts and others. These phases aimed to reveal the ideology within the textual construction of Javanese women's political conversations about the 2019 Indonesian General Election.
- c. The socio-cultural analysis (explanation) involved a relationship analysis between the discourse practice and the social context. It aimed to explain the description and interpretation phases. During this phase, the researchers analyzed and explained the relationships between a number of elements, including the tendency of conversation text, the complexity of discourse practices, and the social-shift process.

## **Results**

This section presents the results of the critical discourse analysis of Javanese women's political conversations in response to the 2019 General Election. This includes analyses of the text with the aim of revealing the Javanese women's opinions about the election and the practice of this particular political discourse. This was followed by sociocultural analysis in order to explain the textual and interpretation analyses by referring to (i) the situation when the conversation took place, (ii) the institutions related to the conversation, and (iii) the macro-level elements of society that relate to the Javanese women's economic, political, social, and cultural interests.

### **Textual Analysis (Description)**

A number of language elements appear in the Javanese women's political discourse about the 2019 Indonesian General Election, including personal pronouns and nuanced democratic and political

terms. The use of personal pronouns indicates their disposition within the conversation. There are four kinds of personal pronouns: (a) *aku* “I,” (b) *awake dhewe* “we,” (c) *wong cilik* “proletariat,” and (d) *wong ngisor* “commoner.” The use of the personal pronoun *aku* aims to convey an expectation, persuasion, or domination, while the use of *awake dhewe* in explaining a political situation tends to evoke a particular group whose members are emotionally connected as Indonesian citizens. Meanwhile, the use of the personal pronouns *wong cilik* and *wong ngisor* represent a disposition as a common person (i.e., one not in the governmental structure or part of the social elite). The use of politically nuanced terms aims to convey the participants’ expectations for a fair and honest general election. Such expectations were targeted at the government as the state administrator and the General Election Commission (KPU) as the administrator of the election.

The conversational patterns employed by the discourse participants (i.e., the Javanese women) generally comprised three elements, namely the opening, content, and closing. The opening functions to initiate the conversation related to the political situation of the 2019 General Election. The content then moves to an in-depth exploration of the topic. Next, the closing concludes the conversation, and this commonly manifests in the form of persuasion, advice, suggestions, prohibition, and inputs for the other participants. For instance, the following sentence marks a closing: “*Wis rasah ngomongke masalah politik, ndak marai panas, digawe adem wae. Sing arep dadi presidene sapa, ya wis ben*” (“No need to talk anymore about politics. We do not want to end up in such a hot situation. Let’s chill out. Whoever the president will be, just let it flow.”). Such closings reflect the discourse practice that describes the Javanese women’s expressions and attitudes pertaining to their implicit political decisions. They apparently did not want to disclose their favored presidential candidate (i.e., 01 -Joko Widodo or 02 -Prabowo Subianto). The expression “*digawe adem wae*” (let’s chill out), meanwhile, reflects local Javanese wisdom and a desire to muffle the turmoil stemming from the uncondusive political situation.

The Javanese women’s political conversations about the 2019 General Election also highlighted a number of issues, such as money politics, quick and real count fraud, criticisms of the KPU and Election Supervisory Agency (BAWASLU), people power, regime condition, parties, legislative member candidates, and the presidential and vice presidential candidates.

The grammatical structure of the political conversations focused on statements of the pros and cons of the political candidates. This study revealed two sentiments at the textual analysis phase,

namely positive and negative. Negative statements commonly came from participants without a tendency to any candidate, while positive statements came from participants who supported particular parties, legislative member candidates, and/or presidential and vice presidential candidates. The intensity of positive and negative statements relates to the discourse participants' personalities and cultural environment. Based on the analysis, the participants' positive statements that marked their support for political candidates mostly conveyed those candidates' successes, their partisanship to the people, public economic development programs they were associated with, and other positive imaging. In contrast, the negative statements generally exposed candidates' failings, their neglect of the people's aspirations, trivial programs they initiated that failed to solve national problems, and other negative imaging. Additionally, several parts of the conversations also contained neutral tones. The following data comes from the Javanese women's political conversations that took place prior to, during, and following the 2019 Indonesian General Election.

- 1) *Jaman saiki kok isih ana sing kampanye nak pemilu haram? Kondisi negara kaya ngene kok ya pemikirane ora berubah, jan kebangeten.*

“How could there still exist the notion that a general election is *haram*? With the current state of our country, such a thought is just too offensive.”

- 2) *Jaman wis maju kok kampanye isih wer-weran knalpot blong-blongan, awit esuk tekane sore, suarane banter pol, marakke mumet na sirah. Kabeh dha sambat merga dha terganggu.*

“Such an irony that in this modern era, they still run a political campaign by riding on their motors without mufflers from morning till evening. The noise really disturbs me and makes my head dizzy. Many people protest against such a campaign style due to its disturbing impact.”

The first sentence identifies a Javanese woman's disposition as a member of society that regrets the conservative paradigm that supposes a general election as violating Islamic rules (*haram*), such that hard line groups decided not to vote. Through the conversation, the woman aimed to express her negative evaluation of those who still adhered to such conservative thought. This was deemed inconsistent with the current era, because democracy requires widespread public participation in elections in order to realize the nation's future stability and prosperity. The woman even claimed such thinking threatened the country's sustainability because of the potential to cause a loss of voting rights and no contribution to the target of improvement. The second sentence, meanwhile,

shows a Javanese woman's self-identification as someone who disagreed with the motorized campaign model because of the noise this causes. The woman claimed that many other people condemned such campaign models. She also believed that more creative campaign strategies should be used to attract public sympathy.

- 3) *Pas nyoblos milih, diakehi sing donga njaluk ro Gusti Allah muga-muga sing dadi pemimpin wong apik, jujur, tanggungjawab ro rakyat tur amanah. Muga kabul 2019 ganti presiden.*

“During the time of voting, we have to pray more, and ask God to grant us with good, honest, and responsible leaders. May God bless us with a new president in 2019.”

This third sentence identifies a Javanese woman's disposition as a voter. She persuaded others to choose the right leaders for the nation, and she expected God to provide Indonesia with good, honest, and responsible leaders. This sentence reflects her positive evaluation of the urgent need for competent, loyal, integrated Indonesian leaders. She expected Indonesia to have a new president in 2019 who would constitutionally bring the nation toward progress. Implicitly, this Javanese woman also conveyed a negative evaluation to the incumbent, as she considered that Joko Widodo's governance (the presidential candidate from 01 coalition) had failed to implement the promises he made in 2014 to bring prosperity to the country.

- 4) *Jane itungan suara pemilu ki apa ora dicek, suara sah ro ora sah, plus jumlah sing milih pira, itungane kan jelas, kok isa ora sinkron.*

“Don't they check the number of votes? The number of valid and invalid votes? The number of voters? The count should have been clear. How could people say that it was not synchronized?”

- 5) *Aku mbayangke sing dha golek suara tekan ngendi-ngendi, bareng ning KPU (Komisi Pemilihan Umum), penak banget direvisi nak ana kesalahan input data. Salah input data kok berulang, tur sing diuntungke ya pasangan calon iku wae.*

“I just imagine people look for votes everywhere, so they just need to confirm with the KPU in case there is an input error. How do you think errors could happen repeatedly and just contribute more votes to the other candidate?”

- 6) *Dipantau wae piye kahanane, masak ana sing protes demo kecurangan KPU terus ditangkap. Nak sing ditangkapi emak-emak akeh banget, isa-isa penjarane kebak, isa gawe arisan na penjara.*

“Let’s monitor the process. How could the people that protested against the indication of KPU’s fraud be detained? If there were lots of housewives imprisoned, the jail would be fully loaded. They could even hold a social gathering there.”

- 7) *Gusti Allah paringi sabar...jare wingi pas ngrekap data, akeh data sing di-mark up luar biasa, baik data pileg maupun pilpres, padha wae.*

“God, brace our hearts...Some said that there were a significant amount of data mark-up for the legislative and presidential candidates.”

The conversations above textually show the use of positive and negative sentences by the Javanese female participants. The conversations attempt to establish the participants’ ideological values by conveying their subjective and collective evaluations of the Indonesian 2019 General Election. Data (4) and (5) mainly discuss indications of fraud in the votes for the presidential and vice presidential candidates, in which the participants questioned the KPU’s performance as the administrator of the general election, finding it less than professional and seeming to favor one particular candidate. This negative evaluation of the KPU’s performance is marked by the statement that unsynchronized votes and input errors were found, as was relayed through television news and other mass media. It also showed their protest toward the institutions that they considered were not neutral in carrying out their duty. Data (6) and (7) also highlight indications of fraud committed by the KPU. Both data contain negative evaluations of the KPU as expressed through several terms, including *data mark-up*, *protest*, *KPU fraud*, and *imprisoned*.

Several parts of the conversations also show the participants’ neutral attitudes toward the representative council members and the presidential and vice presidential candidates. For instance, take the sentence *Sing arep dadi presidene sapa mbok yaben, menang kalah iku biasa. Nak menang rasah gumedhe, nak kalah rasah susah* (“Whoever will become president, just let it flow. Winning and losing are just two common things. If they win, they do not need to be conceited; and if they lose, they do not need to grieve.”) This represents a vague statement that does not provide any clue about the speaker’s partisanship, even if she had already made her decision. The clause *nak menang rasah gumedhe, nak kalah rasah susah* (“if they win, they do not need to be conceited; and if they lose, they do not need to grieve”) is an example of local Javanese wisdom, which advises people to behave normally when responding to any victory or loss, because winning and losing are just two sides of the same coin.

The Javanese women's political discourse in responding to the 2019 Indonesian General Election did focus more on the presidential and vice presidential elections, while the conversation related to the election of legislative and regional council member candidates only occupied a small portion of the discourse. The above conversations show three forms of partisanship, namely the proponents (who support Joko Widodo-Maruf Amin and oppose Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno), the opposition (who support Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno and oppose Joko Widodo-Maruf Amin), and the neutral line (who favor neither Joko Widodo-Maruf Amin nor Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno). Based upon their conversations, the proponents and opponents showed a significant political engagement in conversation, while the neutral line preferred to avoid conflicts (See diagram 1).

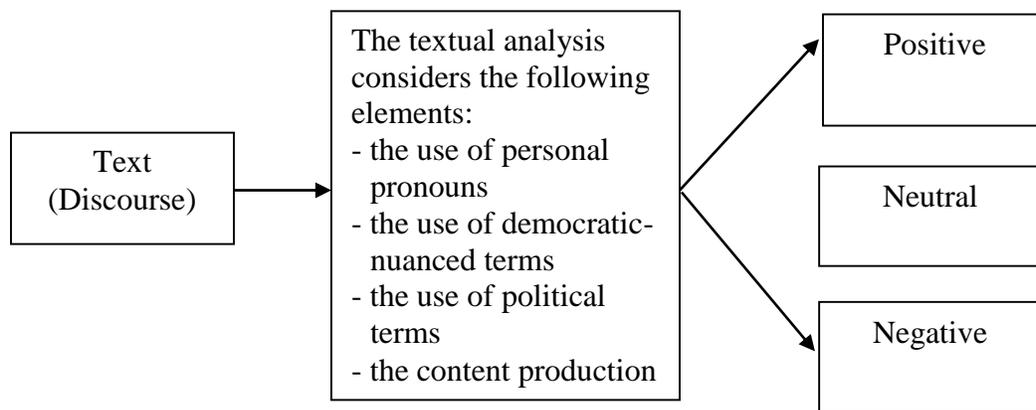


Diagram 1.  
Javanese Women's Political Conversation Model at the Textual Analysis Phase

### Discourse Practice Analysis (Interpretation)

Discourse practice analysis represents an interpretation process by analyzing the relationships between the text as a part of speech and discourse practice. This interpretation should refer to the miscellaneous sources and principles in an attempt to come to an accurate interpretation (Sumarlam, 2013, 2015, 2016). In this respect, researchers should also conduct an intertextuality analysis (Fairclough, 1995) by studying the relations between one conversational text and the others in addition to its context as the causal factor of the conversation.

*Hasil quick count TV menang kubu 01, ning hasil real count dasare pleno C1 menang kubu 02. Sing bener sing endi iki? Ora isa dipercaya!*

“The quick count result on TV said 01 won, while the C1 plenary picked 02. Which one is true? Untrustworthy!”

*Saya panas kahanane negara, KPU jare melu main curang dukung salah siji kubu. Rakyat akeh sing ora trima nak ngene iki.*

“Our country is getting more chaotic. They said the KPU was involved in fraud because it favored one candidate. People will not accept this.”

Both expressions mostly contain negative sentiments—as indicated by the phrases *ora isa dipercaya* (untrustworthy), *main curang* (involved in the fraud), and *saya panas* (getting more chaotic)—that mark the speakers’ protests toward the general election process. They affirmed that Indonesians want a peaceful democracy free from any conflict that might potentially damage national unity and cause disrespect among different religious adherents and ethnicities.

Following the intertextuality analysis of the Javanese women’s political discourse, the researchers interpreted the data through four dimensions. The following explanation shows the interpretation results for this:

- (1) *What is going on?* There is a political discourse related to the 2019 Indonesian General Election, particularly the presidential and vice presidential election. The topic becomes an interesting issue because regime transfer begins with the completion of the electoral agenda.
- (2) *Who is involved?* The Javanese women are involved in the political conversation, because they highlight the national participant as electoral elements, including the legitimate Indonesian voters, the KPU, BAWASLU as the supervising committee for the general election, the incumbent ruler that is running for a second presidential term, the opposition presidential candidate, the central government, and each campaign’s expert text producers who aimed to show their respective candidates in a good light.
- (3) *What relationships are at issue?* The Javanese women’s conversation is based on their custom of always trying to have interesting discussions that are relevant to current trends, especially for controversial topics. The controversy of the 2019 Indonesian General Election attracted much public interest, especially for stakeholders and those that aware of the information being disseminated.
- (4) *What is the role of language?* The use of language (textual structure, sentence structure, and dictions) within the political discourse reflects the participants’ (i.e., the Javanese women) responses and opinions. If a candidate intensively garners negative sentiments, the public will surely adopt a common judgment and eventually form their own negative opinions of that candidate. In contrast, frequent positive sentiment will foster positive imaging for a candidate.

This phenomenon represents the power of language, which is used by the Javanese women within their political discourse about the 2019 Indonesian General Election in an attempt to develop their own influential images. For example, supporters of the incumbent Joko Widodo tried to paint a positive image of him and tended to express negative sentiments about the opposition candidate Prabowo Subianto.

### **Sociocultural Analysis (Explanation)**

Sociocultural analysis (explanation) is defined as analyzing the relationships between discourse practice and the social context. It aims to explore the interpretation results that were produced at the description and interpretation phase. In this phase, researchers explain the relations among the textual tendency, discourse practice complexity, and social-shift process. The following highlights the social practices that relate to the current study.

- 1) *Situational changes*: This study highlights the situational changes of the Javanese women's political discourse with regards to the Indonesian General Election between March and April 2019. These changes were triggered by widespread reports through mass media, including television, about the electoral process, campaign actions prior to the election on April 17, 2019, and the election result. The Javanese women commonly maintain social harmony and try to avoid conflict, even if they differed in their political leanings. They conformed to social norms that are explicitly conveyed through *unen-unen* (traditional Javanese idioms), such as *guyup rukun* (togetherness in peace without conflict), *rukun agawe santosa crah agawe bubrah* (united we stand, divided we fall), *aja njiwit yen ra gelem dijiwit* (do not hurt someone if you do not want to be hurt), *ana rembug dirembug* (all matters should be discussed), *yen menang aja sawenang-wenang* (if you win, do not be high-handed), *menang tanpa ngasorake* (winning without humiliating), *asu gedhe menang kerahe* (the ruler has the right to rule), and *tepa selira* (promoting empathy). The Javanese women often used those idioms when responding to the situational shift, as well as different opinions and political decisions, related to the 2019 Indonesian General Election.
- 2) *Institutions*: A number of the parties share a mutual interest in dealing with the conflicts that arose during the 2019 Indonesian General Election, and the KPU and BAWASLU were frequently highlighted by the Javanese women in their political conversations. Both institutions

were considered as favoring one of the candidates. Other participants in the discourse, however, expressed that both institutions had performed their duty well.

- 3) *Social changes*: The Javanese women, as part of society, became insecure and confused in the face of the conflicts arising from the 2019 Indonesian General Election. Based on the sociocultural context, the electoral issue highlighted the enmity between the incumbent and the opposition. This enmity eventually spread widely through the public as they monitored the electoral process. The third party's intervention, which aimed to intensively dominate the discourse production, was also thought to have caused a more complicated situation.

### **Conclusion**

In their social interactions, the Javanese women commonly used verbal forms that affected the dynamics of their conversation in response to the Indonesian political situation. This study aimed to reveal these women's ideological representations when responding to the 2019 Indonesian General Election. In summary, Javanese women's political discourse in response to the Indonesian General Election 2019 is inseparable from their cultural boundaries. There are statements of pros and cons related to the General Election, in addition to a conversational tendency based on the use of several language aspects, such as dictions and sentences. Specifically, Javanese women exhibit cultural norms as values that they uphold, so they tend to avoid conflicts despite different perspectives and political decisions (especially in relation to the presidential and vice presidential candidates). They tend to frequently use *unen-unen* (traditional Javanese idioms) in an attempt to minimize the negative impacts resulting from discussing sensitive topics.

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