METAPHORICAL CONCEPTS AND THEIR IDEOLOGIES IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
	This study is to reveal the metaphor used in political talks among the supporters of running mates in Indonesian General Election of 2019. The data source included the news and the videos containing metaphors produced by the politicians their own candidates. The theory employed are conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson:1980), and van Dijk's ideological framework (2000). Based on the analysis, the conceptual metaphors drawn from their metaphorical expressions are NATION IS A BUILDING, functions to criticize that the building couldn't stand on the lie, hiding the history of the contender, Prabowo. Other metaphors from the incumbent are targeted to Rocky Gerung (RG), as a tough and intelligent speakers in Indonesian political discourse. Budiman Sujatmiko took the concept of DEBATING IS A PLAY, undermining the arguments in RG's statements. Meanwhile, the supporters in of the contender focuses on criticizing the behavior of the existing government and leaders, by creating concepts of ABUSING IS STEALING, and TO LEAD IS TO SUFFER. From their ideology, each factions have used the metaphors to highlight the negativity of the others. The incumbent tried to convince that the candidate of other side is not honest with the history and their critics were only meaningless wordplay. Meanwhile, the contender group emphasizing the incumbent's negativity by blowing up his negative personality, capability, and abusive power.

1. INTRODUCTION

The emergence of new political naming and labels such as *cebong-kampret, genderuwo,* economy of stupidity, *nyinyir* (sissies), *jenderal kardus* (cardboard general), and others are clear evidences of the heat of political competition in 2019 election in Indonesia. The political competition (battle) manifested in language, discourse, and word-wars. The words were produced by capitalizing the opponents' behavior to be represented as a negative image. What makes the bad worse is that the representation is sometimes not factual, or it is a modified fact.

The discourse war reflects an unhealthy political circumstance and poor democratic learning for society and future generations. Yet, from a cognitive

linguistic aspect, it is one proof of creative cooperation between the human mind and the flexibility of language. How the human mind can process data into creative products, in the form of political weapons, and reconstruct them in a language package that seems unlimited as a medium of human expression.

In political discourse, metaphor becomes an effective tool to emphasize political identity. As mentioned by Mammadov (2010: 72), "Metaphor ...encourages the receivers to spell out a variety of implications, subtly persuades them to recognize the prominent values and preferences, and ultimately helps construct their political identity." Metaphors can develop implications of meaning, become a tool of persuasion towards one particular value and preference, and ultimately help construct their political identity. Based on these thoughts, this study will use metaphor theory to reveal their role in the utterances of political figures.

A study of political metaphors was conducted by Bratoz (2014) using news data sources of general elections in the US. The theory taken is the conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson: 1980) and also the theory of critical metaphor analysis which is a derivative of CDA. By combining them, the researcher tried to map conceptual metaphors from linguistic data expressed by the media in the news. In its conclusion, it is argued that each language has its own degree of metaphor conventionalization and there is a tendency towards certain concept domains so that each culture sees the general election in its own unique way. This study, although not directly taking political discourse from politicians, is evidence of the presence of metaphors in the political world itself.

Meanwhile, Muller (2005) used politicians' speeches as the main data source in his study set against the political life in Switzerland. It focused on the stylistic device of metaphor to assess its role in the data corpus of political speeches. He highlighted the "creativity" in the metaphors found in the political discourse. Creativity, which is usually associated with a world free of values and interests, is now associated with politics, which is clearly "interest-laden". However, it is a fact that politicians can be creative in certain fields, such as Churcil who won the Nobel Prize in literature. Muller asserts that the stylistic approach of creative metaphors can be a door to claiming political speeches as "areas of creativity" in the realm of politics. This study is very clear in showing the presence of metaphors in politics; politicians through their speeches also explore metaphors creatively in their political struggles.

The study of political metaphors in political-religious discourse was conducted by Hamrita (2016) in Tunisian context. She applied Critical Discourse Analysis theory and Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The object of her study is political discourse from a hardline politician, Ridha Belhadj. The results prove that the metaphors used by the figure tend to contain harmful effects for the country in

the post-revolution context. The metaphors were used to attack his political opponents whom he believed to be liberal and secular.

A study of political metaphor has also been conducted in Nigerian context (Agbo et al.: 2018). They focused on metaphors used in speeches by some of the country's political figures from 1984-2013. They employed a Critical Metaphor Analysis, CMA. They found out that metaphors have been used by politicians to exercise their power and influence the public. In addition, metaphors also function to garner support for their ideology. With metaphors, politicians are also proven to manipulate the public by hiding reality and conceptualizing public experience to align with their political agenda.

This study has a similar focus, political metaphors. The aspect that will distinguish is the source of the metaphors studied, which comes from the supporting figures of the presidential candidates, not from the candidates themselves as the main figures in the competition for power. Another different is of course the context of location, because this study discusses the discourse in Indonesia, which will certainly give birth to typical metaphorical expressions. Thus, this study is expected to reveal the concept of unique political metaphors and the ideological function of these metaphors in the context of 2019 election.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

There are two key concepts guiding the flow of this study, i.e. metaphor, particularly conceptual metaphor, and ideology. They are addresses briefly in this section.

2.1. Conceptual Metaphor

Metaphors are conceptual operations reflected in language that enable speakers to organize and build abstract areas of knowledge and experience into more concrete forms of experience. This means that the speaker uses the area of knowledge that he understands, the source domain, to capture the area of knowledge that he does not understand, the target domain (Lakoff & Johnsen, 2003). Based on this relation, metaphors are divided into 3 types:

2.2.1. Structural metaphor

This metaphor functions to explain the structure of a concept by comparing it with the structure of other concepts. For example, *LCD Stock markets collapsed around the world* can be mapped to PK: STOCK MARKETS ARE BUILDING. This meaning is an expansion of the literal meaning of the "building collapsed" (Karnedi, 2011:66-67).

2.2.2. Orientational metaphor

The orientation metaphor, also referred as directional metaphor, functions to explain concepts through the spatial concept (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003, p.14-21). For example, the concept map: LESS IS DOWN, is reflected as in "this share fell

again, to about 25% by 2000. The metaphorical meaning is an expansion of the literal meaning like in *he has fallen from his horse*. The word "fall" is used to represent the concept of a decline in share prices that are cheaper than before (Karnedi, 2011, p.56).

2.2.3. Ontological metaphor

An ontological metaphor is a metaphor that presents something abstract and cannot be discerned by the senses such as thought processes, feelings, ideas in the form of a concrete object. This is to make others comprehend the abstract easier. In short, this metaphor explains concepts through objects, from concept to entity. Lakoff and Johnson call it an entity metaphor. Example: *Inflation is eating up our profits*, or *Our biggest enemy now is inflation*.

2.2. Ideology

Ideology is a "specific basic framework of social cognition with specific social structures and specific cognitive and social functions" Van Dijk (1995: 21); it is not only "a system of a set of ideas and opinions" (Badara & Jamiludin, 2020). In another argument, it is said that ideology may be positively seen "as a worldview that states the social value of a particular group to defend certain interests". However, it can be perceived as a false awareness to distort the understanding of people or groups about a reality (Al Amery, 2022).

A similar view comes from Thomson, defining it as meaning serving for power; it can be "to get" or "to defend" the power (Goatley:2007). Of course, power in this definition is also not always political power at all levels of an institution, but it can also be power in other fields, perhaps even reaching the lower smallest sphere. In the political context, metaphors are very commonly used as a means to assert the ideology; they are often produced by a ruler to legitimize the action of power, as asserted by Goatley (2007), that metaphors are used "to justify the exercise of power...". Related to the present study, metaphors are ideological expression to win the votes.

The framework adopted is van Dijk's (2000) ideology of representation. He formulates four principles to disclose a particular hidden ideology. An individual may not directly speak a stand he/she takes on a certain issue. However, it is usually implied from their ideological verbal statements. Thus, people may consciously or unconsciously emphasize the positivity of their selves, and the negativity of others. Conversely, they will easily de-emphasize their own negativity, and the positivity of others. In other words, we tend to highlight our own positivity (WE) and to conceal our negative aspects. Meanwhile, we also easily speaks up on other's negativity (THEY), and like to hide others' positivity. "We" here means "In group" (the self, allies and supporters) and "They" refers to "Out group" (enemies or opponents) (Surjowati, 2020). This ideology can be illustrated by the chart 1.
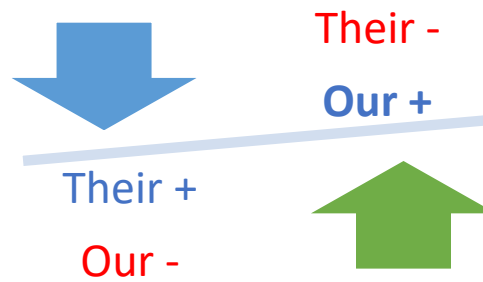
Chart 1. van Dijk's ideology framework

This framework is employed to reveal the ideology contained in the metaphors created by the politicians in TV's talk show. It is this ideology which drives their selection of verbal expressions among of which is metaphor. Their stand will be reflected on the way their metaphor presenting a particular social actor represented within implicitly or explicitly and how the social actor is attributed to certain values, negative or positive.

3. METHOD

This research used a qualitative research paradigm - specifically linguistic research. In particular, the research focuses on critical discourse analysis CDA), of which main purpose is to study meaning. The framework adopted is van Dijk's (2000) ideology of representation. The object of this research is metaphor in the political discourse of political figures in the media. It refers to speech or writing originating from political figures which are then recorded in the media, especially digital media, including social media. The limitation is political discourse related to the 2019 Election issue. The data were collected from Internet sources, especially news. The news was taken from two internet sites: www.okezone.com, and www.dream.co.id. The news taken were those containing statements from the supporters of Jokowi and Prabowo as the competitors in the 2019 general election.

This study selected data sources by purposive sampling, based on the criteria of the level of media and public attention to the political discourse. This is based on the occurrence and timeframe of discourse on related political discourse. The data were collected by reading it in depth to identify metaphors contained in political discourses. The analysis of metaphorical data in this study is examined with various conceptual metaphor theories (Lakoff & Johnson: 1980). The data extracted with these linguistic theories are then interpreted with van Dijk's (2000) ideology framework of positive-self representation and negative-other representation. By looking at the combination of the framework, this study applied the latest approach in the study of political metaphor, which integrated it with critical discourse studies.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Data analysis was conducted using content analysis. The news were explored based on their metaphorical content. Five news excerpts from each candidate were

selected based on the metaphors contained in; there could be more than one in each. In this section, the conceptual metaphors of the metaphorical expressions made by the subjects are described, and then categorized based on their functions in the speech. They were divided into metaphors of the supporters of Prabowo and Jokowi.

4.1. Metaphorical Battle between the Factions

To show the battle in discourse between the incumbent group and the challengers, the presentation of the metaphors found in each side is given as a group. The first part contains the metaphors in the speeches among the political figures supporting Prabowo, and the second is those belonging to the politicians behind Jokowi.

4.1.1. The Incumbent sides

There were many public figures supporting Jokowi at the time. Among of them are Adian Napitupulu (AN) and Budiman Sujatmiko (BS) who were among the key persons in the very front of Jokowi's national campaign. They frequently appeared on many national television in Indonesia.

4.1.1.1. Budiman Sudjatmiko

Retrieving the data from the video, there are two metaphors employed by BS, as he shared a forum with RG. BS addressed the way RG constructed his criticism.

Met1.JF. *BERDEBAT ADALAH BERCINTA* (DEBATING IS MAKING LOVE)

Budiman Sujatmiko commented on Rocky Gerung's statements. He said, "Rocky sedang memuaskan orgasme intelektualnya" (Rocky is satisfying his intellectual orgasm). This means that Budiman deliberately obscured the meaning of RG's criticisms against the government. As we know, RG is one of the independent intellectuals who is very critical to the behavior of the Jokowi's government. He is often a central figure in explaining political phenomena in the public domain. It is undeniable that many of his statements can be accepted by the logic of the audience, and his courage to openly criticize the government's performance is detrimental to the incumbent presidential candidate.

By equating a debate to intellectual recreation, BS stripped the meaning of RG's statements. When RG could dismiss the arguments of his debating opponents, usually those in power, it is nothing more than an achievement of intellectual satisfaction for him. The public need not take away any message from what is said. For the governing party, BS's statement is a cure for the embarrassment, disappointment, or resentment of losing the debate to RG. The defeat is simply just losing an argument to someone whose hobby is a verbal recreation. The underestimation to RG's arguments is also evident in the second metaphor. This time BS views RG from a more personal egocentric perspective.

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Met2.JF. *BERDEBAT ADALAH BERMAIN* (ARGUING IS PLAYING)

This metaphor is reflected in the following expression.

Hari ini, Maaf saja, saya belum banyak dipacu untuk mikir. Kecuali untuk memenej retorika saja. Bukan apa-apa. Saya harus melakukan itu untuk melayani bung Rocky. Karena Rocky bermain dengan kata-kata soalnya. Bukan dengan fakta.

Today, I'm sorry, I haven't been encouraged to think much. Except for managing rhetoric. It's nothing. I have to do that to serve Mr. Rocky. Because Rocky plays with words. Not with facts.

BS thinks that the conversation with RG is nothing more than playing with words. Considering it a game, BS did not need to think about anything. It is only a processed rhetoric and no essential content. Previously he mentioned some people who often forced him to think hard in order to answer or respond. He never felt this seriously as he was debating with RG, who only played with words.

Again, BS's aim was to remove the meaningfulness of RG's opinions. BS did not directly respond to RG's arguments, but reviewed them in terms of the debate with RG being a playful one. Thus, he did not feel the need to take it seriously. Winning or losing in something not serious is not important. For the public, as viewers, RG's expressions should not be given much attention, as they are nothing more than a "game".

4.1.1.2. Adian Napitupulu (AN)

Adian (AN) is an activist of 1998, just like BS and also RG. Here, AN tried to remind the people about the big tragedy of 1998, involving the dirty work of the contender, Prabowo, who was a general and a son-in law of the powerful leader in the new order era, Suharto. AN convinced that this history cannot be forgotten, and neglected by the nation. For this, he encoded a metaphor.

Met3.JF. *BANGSA ADALAH SEBUAH BANGUNAN* (A NATION IS A BUILDING)

The conceptual metaphor is an extraction of the premises in the following quote. With the conception as a building, the "nation" is then elaborated to have a foundation of honesty. An election is then described as an important moment to select the foundation material for the building.

Pemilu adalah momentum untuk membangun bangsa. Bangsa ini tidak bisa dibangun di atas kebohongan. Bangsa ini tidak bisa dibangun di atas fitnah. Bangsa ini tidak bisa dibangun di atas kekerasan. Yang harus kita jujur. Bukan hanya program kita ke depan. Tetapi juga jujur pada masa lalu. Ada perampasan-perampasan hak atas tanah. Ada penculikan-penculikan. Ada pembunuhan hakim...yang tidak boleh terjadi lagi di masa depan.

Elections are a momentum to build a nation. This nation cannot be built on lies. This nation cannot be built on slander. This nation cannot be built on violence. We

must be honest. Not only our future programs. But also honest about the past. There were land rights seizures. There were kidnappings. There were assassinations of judges...that must not happen again in the future.

AN criticized the track records of political opponents, referring to Prabowo and Tommy Suharto. He emphasized that people should not forget the past of the candidate they would vote. He believes that the nation as a building must stand on the foundation of honesty, and should not stand on ignorance, slander, and violence. This presidential election is a critical moment that determines the foundation of the nation's development.

The explanation was given in response to a video of Prabowo's campaign speech, which showed the red notes of the incumbent government, "kalian tidak bisa dibohongi lagi...oleh rekayasa-rekayasa...capai dengan pencitraan...lembaga survei akal-akalan, ...sesuai pesanan..." (you can't be lied to anymore...by fabrications...achieved by imaging...fake survey institutions, ...to order...). Through the metaphor of the nation as a building, AN put a stern warning so that people do not choose the wrong foundation, do not choose the wrong leader who will determine the future.

AN emphasizes the bad sides of the political opponents. He mentions them at the beginning and at the end of his statement, with all the details of the negative records of Prabowo. His past actions include kidnapping, violence and land grabbing. The details of Prabowo's black record functioned as a horror creation directed to the public, especially those in the contender side. The warning "don't let this happen again in the future" provides a very real threat in the minds of the public. With that, he reversed the facts about who did a lie.

4.1.2. The Contender Sides

Three figures were chosen to represent the contender sides. They are Rocky Gerung, Dahnil Azhar, and Gamal Abinsaid. The metaphorical data they use were taken from their videos in talk shows aired by national TV stations, which are then broadcasted permanently through their channels on *YouTube*.

4.1.2.1. Rocky Gerung

There are two metaphors taken from RG's statements. All of them address Jokowi's behavior, political and personal. They resonate negative evaluation on the incumbent.

Met1.PF. *MENYALAHGUNAKAN ADALAH MENCURI* (ABUSING IS STEALING)

This conceptual metaphor was derived from the expression, *"Mencuri otoritasnya untuk diganti dengan elektabilitas"* (Stealing his authority to replace it with electability). In this case, the act of abusing power as a minister to gain people's

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votes is like stealing, because it uses the authority entrusted by the people for other purposes. his means that the ministers have stolen the rights of the people and given them to a certain party, the incumbent presidential candidate. We understand that this does not only happen among ministers; this mobilization occurs in the government from governors to village heads. They all mostly commit "stealing" of power that should be used for the benefit of the public in general.

The "non-neutrality" of local governments was legalized by the statement of the minister of home affairs, Tjahjo Kumolo, who stated that governors have the right to defend one of the candidates. This signaled that all leaders below the provincial level could do the same. The minister's "ruling" has of course been considered in light of the fact that most regional heads are held by coalition parties. It is these facts that have made people increasingly distrustful to the authorities.

Met2.PF. SERAPAH ADALAH SENSASI (SWEARING IS A SENSATION)

The swearing in question is words such as *sontoloyo*, *genderuwo*, *kampret* and others. These words appear as an outlet for the conditions they are experiencing, aimed at people who criticize the incumbent. According to RG, these words show that the present political dialectic does not touch the essence, it is just an indulgence in emotions and sensations. They make emotional jargon, which has no clear meaning in the public sphere. It is just an empty war of words.

In fact, these words did only provoke excitement and controversy. It went viral in various forms on the Internet. Of course, it generates a lot of news and provokes the opposing party to produce similar words. As a result, the public sphere is populated with emotional sensations that ignite public consciousness through social media, which is often the main channel for campaigning between supporters. The criticism expressed by RG in this case applies to both parties, although RG only mentions the incumbent. As he asserts, "Indonesian politics is returning to the politics of the 1970s, ... which tends to indulge in sensations."

4.1.2.2. Gamal Abinsaid (GA)

Similar to RG, Gamal also highlighted Jokowi's personal and political aspects in a negative tone. This is a logical way for the antagonist side to create an issue of the weaknesses the incumbent may have in running the country. This is to resist a strong hegemony claiming the success of the government.

Met3.PF. *MEMIMPIN ADALAH MENDERITA* (TO LEAD IS TO SUFFER)

The conceptual metaphor, which is a direct quote from the speaker, Gamal Abinsaid, is an attempt to elaborate on Jokowi's "whiny" attitude in his speech. He believed that criticism is just common thing for a leader. In this case, the leader is the one of a great power, a president. He continued that a good leader is a leader who is willing to sacrifice his happiness to defend the interests of the people he

leads. Never should a leader complain in front of the people that he should serve and protect. In that process, a leader sometimes should suffer.

With this expression, the speaker wanted to emphasize Jokowi's character, which he saw, did not fit to a leader. Jokowi did not seem to realize that people's responses to his works vary a lot, and not always positive. Moreover, he has been in power for a presidential period, with records, some of which may not be good. Therefore, it is natural for people to convey what they feel. Jokowi should not be take it personal, because it is part of the risk of being a country leader. This criticism is in line with what RG describes as the politics of sensation, namely emotionally charged expressions.

Met2.PF. *PRESIDEN ADALAH ANAK SEKOLAH* (THE PRESIDENT IS A SCHOOLBOY)

The metaphor of this concept is the basis for expressions such as "mendapat kartu merah, dalam raport HAM-nya" (Jokowi gets a red card for his human rights). This implies that being president is like being a student who will be evaluated by public as the "teachers" on the work programs carried out. In the human rights, Jokowi's score is considered a failure ; he has failed to carry out his mandate to resolve human rights issues that occurred in the past. By placing him as a schoolboy, the statement of failure of the human rights program becomes a fact that is easily revealed with a lighter emotional burden for the speaker and the object or topic being discussed.

One of the human rights issues highlighted is the violence that accompanied the reform movement involving the military. One indication of this failure was the appointment of a general who was allegedly an important person as one of the key ministers in his cabinet. This was preceded by the statement that "human rights is not a priority" in the cabinet's work program. This was highlighted by RG, "Jokowi's team said that human rights violations are not a priority. That was the pre-text for Wiranto's assignment." Thus, the poor performance in the field of human rights is a logical consequence of the assertion that human rights is not a priority. In other words, the government will not allocate much on human rights work programs, because its focus is on infrastructure development throughout the archipelago.

Thus, it can be seen that each group share similar ways in presenting their ideas in supporting their candidates. Using metaphors, both try to attack each other, by exploring the negativity of their opponents. The difference is the focused target of their attack. In the incumbent sides, the target is RG, the supporter of Prabowo, and Prabowo certainly. Meanwhile, their opponent focuses their verbal criticism on Jokowi, the incumbent. RG became the target as his critics were regarded as dangerous for the president's credibility before the publics, the voters. Relying on

various satires, his speeches are always "interesting to be heard and easy to be absorbed" (Andry & Syarif, 2021), which in turn can persuade his audience. This is the reason why BS tried hard to demean him by declaring that his critics have no meaning; that they are only word play, with no evidence. It has a purpose to deprive the public trust from him.

Meanwhile the verbal attack on each presidential candidate is to assert their ideology that it is their own candidate having a proper capability to be the next leader for the country. Thus, the incumbent side employed the metaphor of building to equate the nation, which cannot be established on a foundation of lies—especially on the history of 1998 tragedy. This functions as a derogatory statements against the opponent. In fact, the nation is "often defined in terms of common origin, ethnicity, or cultural ties" (Misevic, 2023). Thus, there is nothing related to a speech in a political campaign which is always bounded with subjective and group interests.

Table 4.1. Metaphors and their meaning

No	Faction	Metaphors	Meaning	Target
A	**Jokowi's faction**			
1	BS	*Berdebat adalah bercinta* (Debating is a love making)	The debate has no meaning	RG
2		*Berdebat itu bermain* (Debating is a game play)		RG
3	AN	*Bangsa adalah bangunan; sejarah adalah fondasinya.* (nation is a building, history is its foundation)	The campaign is a lie	PS
B	**Prabowo's faction**			
1	RG	*Menyalahgunakan adalah mencuri* (Abusing is stealing)	The incumbent is not honest	JK
2		*Serapah adalah sensasi* (Swearing is sensational)	The incumbent has no quality	JK
3	GA	*Memimpin adalah menderita* (To lead is to suffer)	The incumbent is childish	JK
4		*President adalah anak sekolah* (the president is a school boy)	The incumbent has failed.	JK

4.2. The ideological Metaphor

In analyzing the ideology of metaphor in political discourse, it is appropriate to adopt Goatley (2007), taking Thomson's (1984) definition as 'meaning in the service of power'.

4.2.1. The Ideology of the Incumbent Faction

Since the 2019 presidential election contestation involves an incumbent and a new candidate, there are opposing claims between the "success" and "failure" of the incumbent's government. In other words, the meaning built is the ideology of a

successful country vs a failed country. The incumbent side seeks to present messages that contain the successes they have made. In contrast, the contender strives to show the fact that the state in the five years that have passed has failed miserably.

Against this attack, the incumbent claims that the reports and facts submitted by the opposing party are untrue information, lies or hoaxes. This is also reflected in the metaphor of the concept of DEBATE IS A GAME, which gave birth to the phrase, "Because Rocky plays with words. Not with facts. (Budiman Sudjatmika)." There are two knives in this statement. First, it undermines RG's eloquence, because what he says is nothing but a play on words, nothing more. Therefore, there is no need to take anything RG says seriously - especially his scathing criticisms of the Jokowi administration. Secondly, the knife sticks out that what RG argue is nothing more than nonsense, as it is not based on facts at all. In other words, this metaphorical expression aims to secure the claim that the administration has done well in its first term as president of Indonesia.

4.2.2. Ideology of the Contender

Meanwhile, the contender or PF brings an opposing ideology, namely that the government has failed to carry out its mandate. One of the failures of the Jokowi administration mentioned is that President Jokowi "got a red card, in his human rights report card" (Gamal Abinsaid) where this expression is the embodiment of the conceptual metaphor PRESIDENT IS A SCHOOL BOY. This means that the Jokowi administration did not pass or succeed in carrying out the mission of upholding human rights during its reign. What is of more concern is that the reason for not completing the human rights agenda is because Jokowi appointed perpetrators suspected of being involved in human rights in his cabinet, arguing that "human rights are not a priority". In other words, this failure in human rights is an acknowledged fact and the agenda has been deliberately ignored by the Jokowi administration.

In addition to highlighting the performance of the government, PF also emphasizing the failure in terms of the implementation of the election itself. RG, for example, said that the election would not be truly honest and fair because the government abused its power to maintain its power. The Jokowi government has "stolen authority to replace it with electability", which is born from the concept of ABUSING IS STEALING. Stealing behavior is a very despicable act, and it is even worse when it is carried out by a large institution such as the government of a country. The quality of this kind of behavior makes the mandate of fairness from the implementation of democratic elections impossible to realize. That is, the government has failed.

Thus, each group is proven to be trying to package reality and facts, one of which uses language metaphors with the aim of emphasizing their ideology. The incumbents seek to build an obvious negativity of the contender by labeling all criticisms of the opposing party as lies and hoaxes, in order to convince their ideology. Conversely, the opponents, who are trying to gain power, strive to convey facts, collect evidence, and package it in public discourse that the incumbent government has failed. The end goal is the same, namely that people distrust the incumbent government, and then they switch their votes to new candidates. Therefore, the ideology that the state has failed is propagated in various ways, one of which is through metaphorical expressions.

5. CONCLUSION

Based on the findings, the conclusions that can be drawn from the results of this study are as follows. Both factions competing in the 2019 political contestation utilized metaphors in their political discourse. The conceptual metaphors include issues of nation, metalanguages of the debates, hoaxes, the incumbent's personality and capability. Their purposes are surely different from one to another. The incumbent struggled to maintain the power; the contender attempted to gain it. However, both took the same strategy in winning their ideology, i.e. by emphasizing the negativity of the opponents. This strategy will be more appropriate for the contender, as they need to convince the public that the incumbent had failed in running the government. Yet, the incumbent also took the same stance to propagate that the contender would not be a good leader due to his unlawful military operation in the past.

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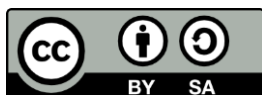
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