

**THE GENEALOGY OF FOUCAULT AUTHORITY IN THE
NEWS “PENAMPILAN CAPRES-CAWAPRES DIPOLES” OF
KOMPAS DAILY**

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Abstract

This research is striving in the genealogy of Michael Foucault in political discourse in the form of printed media. The chosen printed media is daily Kompas Friday edition, January 11th, 2019 page 2 with the news title “*Penampilan Capres-Cawapres Dipoles*”. This research background motivated by the phenomenon of political strategy in facing 2019 Presidential Election by using media as an instrument to gain electability. The research method which is used is qualitative approach with descriptive analysis techniques. The results of this study shows some conclusions; (1) The discourse production of Kompas daily is more likely creates reputation of Jokowi’s electability (2) Writing patterns was made by presenting Prabowo’s figure first which then outlines Jokowi’s side and (3) To strengthen statements, which is coming from a third party from Jokowi's side and Prabowo's side was raised.

Keywords: foucault genealogy, politics, propaganda

INTRODUCTION

Practical political discourse often gave birth to hegemony towards the thinking paradigm of society. Especially in a country with a democratic basis that has main statement “*voice of the people*” with the dogma of “*the voice of God*”. The orientation of the politicians is also tend to more to the strategy on how to obtain people's voices by forming public opinions that legitimize the vision and mission that was initiated. One of the instruments used to socialize and propagate it is through discourse.

The approach of the leaders of post-modernism to discourse is no longer from a grammatical or structural perspective. Figures such as Descartes, Marx, Derrida, Sartre, Roland Barthes or Michael Foucault contributed their ideas to human perceptions of discourse with their respective episteme and logic. Even in politics, their ideas are often become barometer of the analysis of political studies on the media that proclaim political discourse.

Then discourse is not explored structurally and grammatically. Discourse is closely related to communication activities which substance is inseparable from word, language, or verse (Eriyanto in Darma, 2013: 9). The discourse analysis approach critically puts pressure on the modes of social inequality. This discourse analysis is known as the critical discourse analysis because it uses a critical perspective (Eriyanto, 2006: 6). The birth of a critical attitude towards the content of the discourse caused by ideas that are discussed openly will create many perceptions. Lull's also argued that (Sobur, 2006: 11) objects or ideas are discussed openly to the public, that create a widespread of certain understanding.

The birth of critical discourse raised new readers representations. Representation can be interpreted as analyzing images or imagination in our minds or representing other things. In this case the language is representative system. It functions as a sign that represents our concept or idea (Eriyanto, 2001: 6-14. Critical Discourse Analysis) as a subdiscipline that has become the basis of the study of discourse analysis that has become phenomenal lately. This is inseparable from critical attitude; people towards information media that has other modes besides delivering news.

Critical discourse analysis view discourse either written or spoke as of a form of social representative practice including politics. Describing discourse as social practice indicates the dialectic between situations, prejudices, presuppositions, and social structures which underlying them. Media that convey information that starts from reading towards social dialectics, should have to represent the reality of the society.

But now media no longer seen as mere means of conveying information. Moreover, there is an intervention by parties that have power over the media

which makes them as an instrument to perpetuate the *quo status* of the authorities. Neutrality and media integrity always become the subject of public discourse. As Foucault argues (1977), "Whatever people say something of meaningful things is not always dependent on what systematizes them from the beginning".

The year of 2019 is the political year. The Indonesian nation will use their voting rights again to elect a president who will lead them the next 5 years. Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto returned to fight in the arena of 2019 Presidential Election after the 2014 Presidential Election. Only this time Joko Widodo took KH. Ma'ruf Amin as his representative replacing Muhammad Jusuf Kalla. While Prabowo chose Sandiaga Uno as his representative whom he had previously chose Hattara Jasa as his representative in the 2014 Presidential Election.

The public has an assumption in reading the strategy of semiotics on previous and opposition parties 2019 in campaigning. Changes in political maps, the rapid development of cyberspace and how easy to access media information become instruments for making strategies. One of the instruments which caught writer's attention is political discourse in printed media. Discourse that have been published always has a certain context. By the context it means that the language is used for certain purposes and practices (Eriyanto, 2006: 7).

One of the printed media that has high market value on a national scale is the Kompas daily. Kompas does not only have labels on the print media industry, but also enter on Indonesian Television Industry and online media. It is the base assumption of the writer's choosing Kompas as a media that informed and also enlivened political reporting.

On January 17th, 2019 the first session of the presidential and vice presidential debate will take place. Many media reports informed political discourse about the preparation of the two candidates. Kompas is also inseparable from informing the political discourse. One of the discourse is Kompas Friday edition, 11th January 2019 page 2 with the title "*Penampilan Capres-Cawapres Dipoles*"

One of the leaders of postmodernism who was critical with his ideas of power relations was Foucault about his genealogy. Foucault's Genealogy simply

means the concealment of information through the hegemony of the authorities. Furthermore, Foucault explained about hegemony which is a model that shows how power operates from the perspective of political strategy, legitimacy, and intellectual leadership and from an organized standpoint of opposition to the establishment of power relations. Some of Michael Foucault's works show that the problematics of power has become his focus throughout his intellectual career. No wonder the idea of Foucault is often used as a 'scalpel' in analyzing discourse. Also with this paper that will use Foucault's genealogy in analyzing discourse.

The concept of power according to Foucault is not understood to be the operation of negative stigma through repressive and pressing actions of an institution that owns power, including the state. Power is not based on the function of domination of a certain party based on control of the economy or ideological manipulation. Power according to Foucault must be seen as diverse relations such as networks, which have a strategic scope.

In a discourse that becomes the main stock of media, review of concept Foucault's genealogy is able to project news modes in the media. The phrase "media is the deadliest weapon of the 21st century" seems to have a little truth. The media, through its discourse, is able to enchant criminals as heroes, and vice versa. Even Foucault's idea of genealogy, the media could form an ideology when complemented with the intervention of the authorities. We as readers certainly do not fully accuse the media as a tool to use power to create a certain image in society, but that potential is there.

Genealogy analysis raises a body that is seen as the object of knowledge and as a target of the operation of power. Conception about the body is placed in the political area, embedded in power relations which makes it obedient and productive and politically-economic useful. This paper seeks to describe discourse analysis on politics through the Foucault's 'scalpel' genealogy.

METHOD

This research use qualitative approach with descriptive analysis techniques through the Foucault's genealogy approach. Material objects of this research is discourse. Creswell (2008) defines qualitative research methods as an approach to explore and understanding to certain central phenomenon. Qualitative research is discursive, such as documents, field notes, interview results, and written documents which will later be formed into a descriptive narrative so that it can be analyzed and concluded (Pawito, 2007: 35-37).

The stages of research carried out by the writer are; first, the writer determines a factual theme and require a solution as an alternative answer. Given that in 2019 is a political year, the writer chooses a political theme as the study. Second, choosing the type of printed media that informed political news. Kompas Daily was chosen because one of the printed media with high market value and circulation on a national scale. Besides that, Kompas also has a functional Political Public Relations in shaping political within the society.

Then the third, choosing theory as a scalpel to analyze the discourse on Kompas Daily on one of the political discourse. The thoughts of Michael Foucault with the idea of concealing information as the base of intervention of the authorities. Then the last one to analyze it based on the selected material object. Discourse with the title "Appearance of Vice-President and Vice President in polishes" is a material object that would be analyzed.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The media used as the material for Foucault's genealogical analysis in the research is Kompas Friday edition, 11th January 2019 page 2. Kompas is a well-known national printed media with a wide range marketing scale. Kompas labels also not only coloring printed media industry, but have been entered in television industry and online media portals.

Discourse is then analyzed chronologically on each of the main ideas contained in the paragraph. Aside from the main ideas that are considered by the

writer, Foucault's genealogy is used to conceal information by trying to uncover its modes. The following is "Penampilan Capres-Cawapres Dipoles" discourse in the Kompas daily edition Friday, 11 January 2019 page 2.

Penampilan Capres-Cawapres Dipoles

Jakarta, Kompas- Tak hanya pendalaman substansi materi debat, tim sukses kedua pasangan calon presiden-calon wakil presiden juga serius membenahi teknis penampilan, seperti gaya komunikasi, pemilihan diksi dan bahasa tubuh kandidat. Ajang debat dilihat sebagai momentum penentu meningkatkan elektabilitas setiap pasangan calon. Simulasi debat pun dilakukan setiap pasangan calon menjelang debat perdana, Kamis (17/1/2019), untuk membiasakan kandidat berargumentasi dan bertutur kata.

Anggota Dewan Pakar Badan Pemenangan Nasional Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno, Rizal Darmaputra, mengatakan pasangan nomor urut 02, Prabowo-Sandiaga, berlatih soal isu-isu tertentu yang menjadi materi debat. Sebuah tim dibentuk untuk menyiapkan berbagai aspek materi dan penampilan. "Kami, coaching. Hal-hal yang dibahas antara lain bagaimana mereka menjawab gestur (bahasa tubuh), atau pilihan diksinya. Hal-hal itu dipertimbangkan," katanya.

Debat pertama capres-cawapres mengangkat soal penegakan hukum, hak asasi manusia, korupsi, dan terorisme. Kemarin, Prabowo-Sandiaga mendatangi kediaman presiden ke-6 RI Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono yang juga ketua umum partai Demokrat. Wakil Ketua BPN Prabowo-Sandiaga, Ahmad Muzani, mengatakan pertemuan masih mungkin dilakukan lagi sebelum debat, disesuaikan kebutuhan. Menurut dia, Prabowo-Sandiaga memilih berkonsultasi dengan Yudhoyono karena dianggap berpengalaman memenangi Pilpres dua kali pada tahun 2004 dan 2009.

Latihan dan simulasi debat juga dilakukan pasangan nomor urut 01, Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. Menurut sekretaris Tim Kampanye Nasional Jokowi-Ma'ruf, Hasto Kristiyanto, TKN tidak menghadirkan tokoh tertentu, seperti presiden ke 5 RI Megawati Soekarnoputri, yang juga ketua umum PDIP, sebagai mentor seperti Yudhoyono melatih Prabowo-Sandiaga.

"Selama ini Bu Mega sudah sering berdiskusi dengan Pak Ma'ruf dan Pak Jokowi, memberikan masukan. Bu Mega percaya kepada seluruh tim sukses dan kepada Pak Jokowi dan Pak Ma'ruf," kata Hasto.

Anggota Dewan Penasihat TKN Jokowi Ma'ruf, Romahurmuzy menambahkan pihaknya tak hanya mengurus kesiapan pasangan calon dalam memahami substansi debat, tetapi juga mempersiapkan berbagai gimik penampilan, pemilihan diksi, dan gaya berdebat.

Untuk itu, TKN memiliki tim materi dan tim komunikasi politik yang berfungsi menjadi pendamping kandidat selama persiapan debat. Tim materi bertugas mengadakan diskusi dan pendalaman materi programatik. Adapun tim komunikasi politik memberikan masukan dan melatih penampilan kandidat.

"Pak Jokowi mungkin sudah biasa dengan penampilan gimik politik, tetapi pak Ma'ruf harus lebih dibiasakan lagi," kata Romy.

TKN menargetkan debat capres-cawapres dapat mendongkrak elektabilitas Jokowi-Ma'ruf hingga 10-15 persen. (AGE/REK/MTK/E21)

Table 1.1

Information of Genealogy Propaganda
 Involvement of Success Team

Sub-part of the Discourse	Information of Genealogy Propaganda
Tak hanya pendalaman substansi materi debat, tim sukses kedua pasangan calon presiden-calon wakil presiden juga serius membenahi teknis penampilan, seperti gaya komunikasi, pemilihan diksi dan bahasa tubuh kandidat. Ajang debat dilihat sebagai momentum penentu meningkatkan elektabilitas setiap pasangan calon.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Opening information as the intention of legality introductory and the debate purpose. 2. The electability of the presidential and vice presidential candidates is determined through debate. 3. Things that nonsubstantial (communication style, body language) is also important in a debate. 4. Success Team has a role in the debate performance later.

The opening paragraph of the discourse begins with information about the preparation from the presidential candidates to debate. Aside from substantial things, the candidates' Success Teams prepared some technical matter. Semantically, the content of the information becomes the intention of the introductory legality and purpose of the debate. Which means, the discourse begins with the introduction so that the reader agrees that the presidential candidates actually preparing it.

Then the clause was raised "...*tim sukses kedua pasangan calon presiden juga serius membenahi teknis...*". The meaning that was tried to be revealed was the involvement of the Success Team from both pairs of the candidate. There are at least two perceptions as a result of writing "*Tim Sukses*" phrases. First, the president and vice president only have to run debates in the arena, while all things either substantial or technical have been prepared by their respective success teams.

The second perception regarding the results of public assessment after the debate. If after the presidential and vice presidential debate in the first session—

lets’s say—has a good result, then the public will judge that the presidential and vice presidential candidates are indeed worthy to advance. However, if the debate is said to be fail, then it is not the presidential candidates who will be given a negative stigma. Why? Because the success team will "put on the body" to reason that there are lack of preparation.

Both perceptions are supported by the next sentence which states that the success of the debate will boost the electability of the presidential candidate. But if the debate fails, the success team will try to put “the body” together for various reasons. Based on the results of the analysis in the first paragraph, the writer assumes that the information that is tried to be concealed is the presence of a Success Team that is trying to be raised.

Pay attention to the results in the next paragraph analysis.

Table 1.2

Information of Genealogy Propaganda
The Appearance of Prabowo-Sandiaga’s Team Success

Sub-part of the Discourse	Information of Genealogy Propaganda
<p>Anggota Dewan Pakar Badan Pemenangan Nasional Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno, Rizal Darmaputra, mengatakan pasangan nomor urut 02, Prabowo-Sandiaga, berlatih soal isu-isu tertentu yang menjadi materi debat. Sebuah tim dibentuk untuk menyiapkan berbagai aspek materi dan penampilan.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The name of Prabowo’s Success Team appeared. 2. Tim sukses Prabowo terlebih dahulu yang dihadirkan. Jika melihat secara nomor urut Pilpres, seharusnya tim sukses Jokowi yang dimunculkan baru kemudian Prabowo. Prabowo success team was presented. By looking at the serial number of the presidential election, Jokowi success team that should have been appeared first then Prabowo. 3. Phrase “...Prabowo-Sandiaga berlatih isu-isu tertentu yang menjadi materi debat...” implies that Prabowo-Sandi are not experienced yet.

Sub-part of the Discourse	Information of Genealogy Propaganda
	4. The sentence “ <i>Sebuah tim dibentuk untuk menyiapkan berbagai aspek materi dan penampilan</i> ” Agreeing at the content of the information at the first pharagraph relating to Success Team that prepared debate material.

Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin pairing ranked number 01 while Prabowo-Sandiaga 02. When looking at the serial number, it supposed to be that the Success Team from the 01 pairing should be appeared. If the way of writing of the news is not sequential, then its appearance will only be used as a comparison only to strengthen the things which it compares. There is a message that Prabowo-Sandiaga is not ready yet to debate about the main subject. This can be seen from the phrase “...*Prabowo-Sandiaga berlatih isu-isu...*” which strengthen Prabowo-Sandiaga’s unpreparedness. By presenting the name of Rizal Darmaputra’s Success Team from Prabowo's side, it was being legitimized that indeed the Success Team was busy preparing it. As in the first paragraph, the second paragraph still contains information about the presence of involved Success Team.

The role of the success team is still being raised. That was the case with the name appearance of former 6th president of Republic of Indonesia who was also the chairman of the Demokrat Party who served as Prabowo-Sandiaga’s supporting party. Pay attention at the analysis result in the table 1.3 below.

Table 1.3

Information of Genealogy Propaganda
The Appearance of Susilo Bambang Yudhono’s Figure

Sub-part of the Discourse	Information of Genealogy Propaganda
Debat pertama capres-cawapres mengangkat soal penegakan hukum, hak asasi manusia, korupsi, dan terorisme. Kemarin, Prabowo-Sandiaga mendatangi kediaman	1. The appearance of Susilo Bambang Yudhono’s (SBY) figure to carry out <i>power</i> . SBY was once a the 6 th President of Republic Indonesia to strengthen the role of Success Team.

Sub-part of the Discourse	Information of Genealogy Propaganda
<p>presiden ke-6 RI Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono yang juga ketua umum partai Demokrat.</p> <p>Wakil Ketua BPN Prabowo-Sandiaga, Ahmad Muzani, mengatakan pertemuan masih mungkin dilakukan lagi sebelum debat, disesuaikan kebutuhan. Menurut dia, Prabowo-Sandiaga memilih berkonsultasi dengan Yudhoyono karena dianggap berpengalaman memenangi Pilpres dua kali pada tahun 2004 dan 2009</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. The appearance of SBY also as a preparation to face the first session of presidential debate. 3. The clause “...<i>karena dianggap berpengalaman memenangi Pilpres dua kali pada tahun 2004 dan 2009</i>” was legitimized the role of the Success Team. 4. The debate theme was written at beginning of the text. There is no cohesion of ideas between the first sentence (about the debate theme) with Prabowo-Sandi’s statement about visiting SBY’s residence. It emphasizes at Prabowo-Sandi’s visitation. The debate theme was written to give a message that the debate would carry out certain heavy themes so that Prabowo-Sandiaga’s Success Team require help from SBY who is experienced.

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), general chairman of the Demokrat Party who is also the former 6th president of the Republic of Indonesia, appeared in the discourse. His role in the political news became an important figure. The main idea of the first sentence in that section is about the theme of the debate. Meanwhile, the next sentence is the statement of Prabowo-Sandiaga who visited SBY's residence.

Grammatically, there is no coherence element between the two sentences. It will be a coherent sentence, if it's inserted with conjunction between sentences; *oleh karena itu, maka dari itu..* Even though there is no conjunction between the sentences, the information that is trying to be said is the unpreparedness of Prabowo-Sandiaga's Success Team to debate. The unpreparedness that will be conveyed is supported by writing the theme of the debate in the previous sentence.

Therefore, the Prabowo-Sandiaga Success Team consulted with SBY as their mentor. SBY's strength tried to convey by emphasizing that SBY had won the 2004 and 2009 presidential elections. That means, the election of SBY as a mentor was not wrong because he had experience in the Presidential Election debate before

The results of the analysis in table 1.2 and table 1.3, Prabowo-Sandiaga party have been elaborated. In the next section, the success team of Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin was only being raised. Consider the following table 1.4.

Table 1.4
 Information of Genealogy Propaganda
 The Appearance of Success Team of Jokowi-Ma'aruf Amin Party

Sub-part of the Discourse	Propaganda Information
Latihan dan simulasi debat juga dilakukan pasangan nomor urut 01, Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. Menurut sekretaris Tim Kampanye Nasional Jokowi-Ma'ruf, Hasto Kristiyanto, TKN tidak menghadirkan tokoh tertentu, seperti presiden ke 5 RI Megawati Soekarnoputri, yang juga ketua umum PDIP, sebagai mentor seperti Yudhoyono melatih Prabowo-Sandiaga.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Success Team of Jokowi-Ma'aruf Amin also perform a preparation practice and debate simulation. 2. Stressing the comparison in the presence of the mentor. Jokowi's party did not do any special preparations with Megawati who was functionally the same as SBY. In one side as the general chairman of the party that carries their respective candidates. On the other hand, as a former president.

After Prabowo-Sandiaga party was elaborated, only then Jokowi-Ma'ruf's Success Team presented. Basically, the statements about with Prabowo-Sandiaga's Success Team are only as a comparison with Jokowi's team. The comparison that was tried to be highlighted was the presence of Megawati Sukarnoputri. Jokowi's party could have been made Megawati as a mentor like Prabowo did. However, Jokowi's National Campaign Team (TKN) did not do it. This indicates that Jokowi's party well prepared to face the debate than Prabowo's side.

CONCLUSION

The context contained in discourse relates to social representation. The themes which presented to the public on discourse provide space to create of various interpretations. When there is a gap to create a new interpretation, the public debate is unavoidable. The debate is positive if it puts ahead an argument and does not emphasize a sense of sentiment.

Discourses produced by mass media always create debates both substantially in the discourse and in response to the information. Every media has an arbitrary attitude, depends on who has the power behind the media. No exception with the Kompas daily which informed political news about the presidential and vice presidential debates.

Based on the results of the analysis in Kompas daily Friday Edition's discourse on 11th January 2019 page 2 with the headline "*Penampilan Capres-Cawapres Dipoles*" the following points can be concluded; Kompas seeks to form a positive image of Jokowi compared to Prabowo's side. The comparison process with prioritizing the writing of Prabowo's party first and Jokowi then. To strengthen the comparison, a figure who has the same power is raised. On Prabowo's Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's figure was raised, while Jokowi was raised Megawati Soekarnoputri's figure, whom both were former presidents.

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