

**The Analysis of Grice's Cooperative Principles on the Responses of
Indonesian Politicians: Pragmatic Study**



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ABSTRAK
ANALISIS TEORI KOOPERATIF GRICE TERHADAP JAWABAN POLITISI
INDONESIA: STUDI PRAGMATIK

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ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui tipe non kooperatif terhadap teori Grice yang dominan terjadi dalam wawancara politik dan untuk mengetahui bagaimana tindakan non kooperatif terhadap CP membantu politisi dan agenda politiknya dalam berkomunikasi. Penelitian ini menggunakan tabel dan persentase untuk menunjukkan jenis ketidakpatuhan mana yang dominan dan penelitian ini juga menganalisis ujaran dua politisi Indonesia untuk mengetahui bagaimana tindakan non kooperatif terhadap CP membantu mereka menyusun agenda politik. Hasil dari penelitian ini adalah dua politisi Indonesia tersebut melanggar teori kooperatif Grice, jenis violation dilakukan untuk melindungi citra politik mereka dan jenis pelanggaran flouting dilakukan untuk menegaskan sudut pandang politik mereka.

Kata kunci: maksim Grice, prinsip kooperatif, komunikasi politik

ABSTRACT
THE ANALYSIS OF GRICE'S COOPERATIVE PRINCIPLES ON THE
RESPONSES OF INDONESIAN POLITICIANS: PRAGMATIC STUDY

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ABSTRACT

This study aimed to find out the type of non-observance of Grice's cooperative principles which is dominant in political interviews and to find out how non-observance of CP helps construct politicians' political agenda. This study uses table and percentage to show which type of non observance is dominant and this study also analyzes the utterances of two Indonesian politicians and how non observance of CP helps them to construct political agenda. The result of this study is the two Indonesian politicians are violating the maxim to save their face and they are flouting the maxim to reaffirm political standpoint.

Keywords: *Grice's maxims, cooperative principles, political communication*

A. Introduction

Communication is important in almost, if not all, every aspects of human life. Humans, as social beings, can't help but to communicate with others. This is also true for politics. As Hague *et al.* in *Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice* stated, "Politics involves reconciling differences through discussion and persuasion. Communication is therefore central to politics," (Chilton, 2004, p.3).

Good communication skill is vital for politicians to share their ideas and policy to the people. Bad communication and false promises can turn the people to hate politicians or even their institutions. According to CNN Indonesia news, a survey was conducted in January 2015 by Indikator Politik institute, 59.2 percent of Indonesians trust their parliament (Sarwanto, 2016: 2). Djayadi Hanan, a director of Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting, says that DPR and political party get the lowest trust from public because they are the ones who most frequently meet and communicate with the people in the election (Movanita, 2016: 11). The promises they gave in their political campaign are in reality cannot be fulfilled and this leads to people's low trust in politicians.

Politicians, on many occasions, have their own way of conveying their view through a conversation. This is the nature of political language itself which counts for many different aspects, such as the image and political position of a particular politician. The results of several studies show that politicians do violate Grice's maxims in conveying their political opinion.

One example is the study conducted by Dylgjeri (2016) which is an interview of Albanian Prime Minister Edi Rama. When he was asked about Donald Trump's candidacy by CNN, Edi Rama in Dylgjeri (2016: 94) said: "*America is 'the shining city upon the hill', and the purposes we are listening from Donald Trump are really frightening and are really undermining what America is in our eyes*". This is an example of violating the maxim of quality by using metaphor in order to imply something different from what the Prime Minister actually said. Dylgjeri concludes that implicature (by violating the maxims) helps the Prime Minister to make his view on the topic look valid and in accordance to public's view.

The second study is conducted by Bilal and Naeem (2013) who analyzed the violations of all four maxims by Pakistan's President, Asif Ali Zardari in a program called 'AN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT' in Geo News. They concluded that the President often uses metaphors and avoiding straightforward answers which in turn violating the cooperative principles. The President did this to win the favor of his people while at the same time covering his shortcomings as president.

Mocanu (2015: 14) stated that there are obvious violations of conversational maxims by the politicians. This happens because politics does not necessarily aim to give information, or at least it is not the sole purpose of political language.

Research Question

From the background laid above, this research seeks to answer these following questions:

What type of non observance of CP is dominant in the interview?

How does non-observance of CP help construct politicians' political agenda?

Purpose of the Study

To find out the type of non-observance of CP that dominant in the interview.

To find out how non-observance of CP helps construct politicians' political agenda

Scope and Limitation

This research is limited to analyzing two interviews taken from programs on Kompas TV; namely 'Kompas Petang' and 'Aiman'. The interviewees will be two different Indonesian politicians; they are Fahri Hamzah (former member of PKS party) as a contra-government politician, and Ahmad Basarah (from PDIP) as pro-government politician.

The purpose of selecting such interviews is to provide authentic material in applying and analyzing Grice's theory of conversation, especially in political-themed communication.

The Significance of Research

This research can contribute as one of the references in learning about cooperative principle in communication, in general; and especially in political-themed communication. The result of this study can be used to prove the relation of Grice's four maxims with each other (i.e. maxim of quality to the other three maxims), and its application in analyzing political communication. In practical use, this study is expected to give a comprehension

about communication in general and specifically political communication. Communication sometimes is not as simple as a person (A) is asking something to another person (B), and he (B) will immediately give the proper answer. Sometimes in communication, like in political communication, there are things to be considered before giving any replies. The result of this study is expected to show that this is really happened, and it is something important to be counted for when communicating with other people.

B. Research Method

Sources of Data

This study will use secondary source of data, which is video recordings downloaded from KompasTv official website and KompasTv official channel. Those videos will be made into transcriptions.

This study uses purposive sampling by Cohen, Manion and Morrison, (2007: 114) in which the researcher chooses sample for specific purpose. This study uses interviews of two Indonesian politicians, namely Fahri Hamzah and Ahmad Basarah on KompasTV. These two are chosen because of their background. Fahri Hamzah' background is PKS (contra-government party), and Ahmad Basarah is from PDIP (pro-government party). Ten responses from each of them will be collected. The form of the data will be sentences (utterances said by Indonesian politicians).

Method of Data Analysis

For the first research question, this study will show types of non observance of CP found in the interview by using table. This study will use descriptive qualitative method based on theoretical framework by Thomas

(Kondowe, Ngwira and Madula, 2014:42) to identify the type non-observance in the data. Then this study will count the percentage of each type of non observance by applying Chaipreukkul's (2013: 235) formula, which is, "[the number of each type of non-observance and the rhetorical techniques / the total number of all types of non-observance and the rhetorical techniques appeared in the transcripts) x 100%]". This will show which type of non-observance is dominant.

Finally, for the second question this study will explain how this non-observance of CP helps the two politicians' in sharing their political agenda through interviews on television programs.

C. Result

Types of non Observance of CP

Thomas (Kondowe, Ngwira and Madula, 2014:42) stated that there are five types of non observance of CP, namely violating, flouting, opting out, infringement, and suspending the maxim. Here are the types of non observance of CP in the interview of Indonesian politicians (complete data of interview can be seen in appendix) and the percentage by applying Chaipreukkul's (2013: 235) formula:

No	Types	Frequency	%
1	Violation	20	52
2	Flouting	12	32
3	Opting out	3	8
4	Infringement	0	0
5	Suspending	0	0
6	Observance	3	8
Total		38	100

Analysis

Types of non Observance of CP

There are 5 types of non observance of CP namely violating, flouting, opting out, infringement and suspending the maxim which are analyzed from the interviews. It is found out from the data that violating and flouting the maxim are often utilized by the two politicians. It is so because violating and flouting the maxim are in line with the nature of political communication itself. This study will explain why there are types of non observance of CP which emerge regularly and why there are types which don't emerge at all in the data. Here is the analysis of each type of non observance of CP on the data:

Violation

Violation is dominant in the interview because like Catellani and Bertolotti (2012: 2) and Dylgjeri (2016, p. 92) said that the power of arguments often employed by politicians to acclaim, to attack or to defend themselves in certain conditions sometimes use vague manner of communication. Violation of CP according to Thomas (Kondowe, Ngwira and Madula, 2014:42) is when a speaker doesn't observe a maxim intentionally to give misleading information. No wonder violation is dominant in the interview because the questions posed by the host of KompasTV often attack the politicians' standpoint. This is clearly can be seen in Fahri Hamzah's interview, although it can also be seen in Ahmad Basarah's interview. To defend themselves in that situation, the two politicians employ violation of CP and give misleading information to avoid straightforward blow to their standpoint, image, or the image of their political party.

Host: Mr. Fahri, my first question is about the content of your tweet, "KPK caught Attorney from Bengkulu for 10 million and an auditor from Jakarta for 40 million; in total 50 million. The money isn't from the state, but all people make a fuss in getting back small pocket money," what do you mean Mr. Fahsi.. Mr. Fahri?

Fahri: So this will open the eye of the public about the myth and irrational things of the so-called anti-corruption movement in Indonesia. This is because the old, true definition of corruption has been abandoned by KPK. KPK no longer depends on the audit from...

Fahri Hamzah clearly violates maxim of relevance by saying something which is not related to the question (and in a lengthy explanation). The question is about his tweet, but the answer he gives instead is how people were wrong for all this time about KPK. The information given in the answer is not appropriate with the question asked.

Flouting

Flouting a maxim according to Thomas (Kondowe, Ngwira and Madula, 2014: 42) is when a speaker disobeys a maxim intentionally to convey indirect information; this in turn can generate implicature. Krogstad (2001: 111) stated that truth is not the main thing seek in political communication, rather the communication is done to get power, influence and various other interests of those politicians. This is why flouting the CP, like violation, is also regularly found in the data. Different from violation which is used to defend themselves, flouting the CP is used by the two politicians to affirm their view and political standpoint. Here is the example of flouting the CP found in the data:

Host: I say.. When you say independent, it certainly becomes a hassle when the President is still being

pestered by political parties. I say this.. When selecting Chief of Police Komjen Budi Gunawan, the President even has to form an Independent Team to say that he did not want to appoint Budi Gunawan. Even now he still doesn't want to

Ahmad: You must separate the decision-making process and the decision itself. When Mr. Jokowi makes a decision, he is can ask anyone's opinion, including asking the opinions of the parties in KIH. Ideally, he can ask the state institutions because MPR leader can gather various state institutions for the implementation of Pancasila and the Constitution. But it is not forbidden for Mr. Jokowi to ask for opinions from groups or other organizations.

Here, Ahmad Basarah is flouting maxim of quantity. He gave an example of a process in MPR to imply that it is better for The President to listen to associate institutions (it means DPR, which consist of members from political party). Although he does say it is not a problem if The President wants to hear advice from other group of people, but the implication that he made is that The President should consult political party first. In this case, his party which is a pro-government party should be the priority of that consultation.

Opting Out

According to Thomas (Kondowe, Ngwira and Madula, 2014:42) opting out a maxim is when a speaker is unwillingly to cooperate in a particular maxim, like when someone chooses not to answer a question. The emergence of opting out the CP in the data is just 3 times out of 38 (8%). Opting out a maxim is chosen if someone doesn't want to reveal any information. In the case of politicians, opting out a maxim is used when they want to conceal something or if the information can damage their political position, so it is better not to answer the question. Here is the

example of opting out a maxim found in the interviews:

H: So, do you have the complete data Mr. Fahri?

F: You'll see everything will be revealed in the inquiry by the DPR. I myself, in the past, reported about Newmont divestment.

In this question Fahri Hamzah is opting out the maxim. He closes the conversation by saying something like "you'll know it yourself" or "you'll see it for yourself." He chooses to conceal the information he has (or doesn't have).

Infringement

Thomas (Kondowe, Ngwira and Madula, 2014:42) stated that infringement of a maxim is an act of disobeying a maxim through imperfect linguistic performance, like in the case of a child, a drunk, or a foreigner. Unlike the other type of non observance of CP, infringement is not deliberately done by the speaker. For example of infringement of a maxim is as follows:

English speaker: Would you like your meat to be half-cooked or well done?

Non-English speaker: "Yes"

The example shows that in answering question of how he wants the meat to be cooked, the non English speaker said yes. This is not a deliberate act of not cooperating in the conversation, but this is because the non English speaker lacks proficiency in English.

This is why infringement of a maxim is not found in the two interviews because this condition of imperfect linguistic performance isn't expected to be done by the two politicians. They were not drunk, they are fluent adults, and they are native speakers of Bahasa Indonesia, in which the interviews are conducted.

Suspending the Maxim

According to Thomas (Kondowe, Ngwira and Madula, 2014:42) suspending a maxim is

when those who are involved in a conversation expected the non-fulfillment of a maxim. Like in a joke when the audience know or has anticipated that the comedian will tell them something which is untrue to make the story funny. Here is an example of suspending the maxim:

A: Do you know that Jokowi turns out to be gay?

B: You kidding? THAT Jokowi?

A: Yeah, that one; the one with long hair and works as secretary of our village.

Here A is intentionally not observing the maxim to make a joke. He first said it as if he talks about Jokowi the president, but turns out it is the other Jokowi.

This is why suspending a maxim is not found in the data. The two politicians are expected to answer the questions with factual answers. They are not expected to make silly jokes, because the interview really wants to know their opinion about certain issues. On the other hand, the two politicians won't make silly jokes because those interviews give them opportunity to share their political agenda to the people.

Violation of CP and Construction of Political Agenda

H: Mr. Fahri, my first question is about the content of your tweet, "KPK caught Attorney from Bengkulu for 10 million and an auditor from Jakarta for 40 million; in total 50 million. The money isn't from the state, but all people make a fuss in getting back little pocket money," what do you mean Mr. Fahsi.. Mr. Fahri?

F: So this will open the public eye about the myth, and irrational things of the so-called anti-corruption movement in Indonesia. This is because the old, true definition of corruption has been abandoned by KPK. KPK no longer depends on audit from...

Clearly Fahri Hamzah avoids to give straightforward answer to the question about his own statement on twitter. He doesn't want to touch that statement of his (i.e. KPK is only getting back pocket money) which underestimates KPK's work. He knows that people will support the fight against corruption no matter how little or big the money is involved. Because it can give more damage for his image, Fahri Hamzah doesn't want to discuss his statement on twitter further. Because of this, he then violates the CP and avoid to give straightforward answer.

H: You have not answered my question, is it okay if Komjen Budi Gunawan not appointed as Chief of Police? Is PDIP okay with that?

A: Wait, before answering that, so the public is not confused in seeing our political position. What we think in our recommendation to the government is in the context of the appointment of the Chief of Police, the President should pay attention to the relationships between state institutions, the President should note the relevant law with the appointment

Here Ahmad Basarah avoids answering the question about his party's insistence of making Budi Gunawan Chief of National Police. He knows that it will make negative impression on public if he makes it clear that PDIP insist on involving in this decision of Chief of National Police. So in order not to further damage his party's image, he violates the CP and avoids the question. He clearly said "so the public is not confused in seeing our political position" which means that he is aware of his party's image.

The two examples show how violation of CP is employed by the two politicians to avoid the question in order to save their face and image on public.

Flouting of CP and Construction of Political Agenda

H: While the [wiretapping] law has not yet been made, [we can] use KPK's *lex specialis* law, so there is no real problem, is there Mr. Fahri?

F: Violence within marriage Mr. Aiman.. is a crime. Suppose you allow people to look at your household on a regular basis. Then there is something in the household, your privacy, which can be used as an evidence of a crime. Then every day from 250 million people of Indonesia and about 100 million Indonesian households can we get criminals...

Here Fahri Hamzah is implying that wiretapping by KPK is illegal. Although KPK has its own law about wiretapping the convicts, but still Fahri Hamzah considered that as an illegal act. He used example of 250 million people and 100 million households in Indonesia to convince people that this act of wiretapping is dangerous to anyone in Indonesia.

This notion from Fahri Hamzah about KPK is doing an illegal work is very dangerous for KPK. Wiretapping, which leads to OTT (the operation of arresting people who are caught red handed), is one of KPK's trump card. In just 2016 KPK had arrested 56 convicts from this operation. If wiretapping is made illegal like what Fahri Hamzah implied in his speech, then many convicts will be scot-free from KPK. This can make KPK less effective in taking their action. On the other hand, it may well be good news for people like Fahri Hamzah and his colleagues in DPR.

H: It is difficult to say that PDIP is not involved in the government led by President Joko Widodo. First came Prabowo, then the second is the formation of the Independent Team. Looks like The President is looking for new friends because he is being pressured from right and left, included by PDIP. What is your opinion of this?

A: My opinion is, like what was stated by the law of our country. That the President and Vice President are the products of political parties, since Article 6a paragraph 2 says that the

candidate of Presidency and the candidate for the Vice Presidency will be elected if they are with a political party or a coalition of political parties.

Ahmad Basarah is implying that his party did not give pressure to the President. It is normal that his party is involved in the government. By saying that President and Vice President is the product of political party, he implied that his party has made Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla became President and Vice President. Then it is not wrong for his party (i.e. PDIP) to demand something in return.

He strengthens his argument by quoting the law in order to proof that his standpoint is not wrong. He implies that the policy taken by his party is right. He implies that although the President has prerogative, it is right for PDIP to involve in his decisions.

The two examples show that flouting of CP is utilized by the two politicians to affirm their political standpoint. Fahri Hamzah wants to affirm that there are things in KPK which are wrong and illegal, while Ahmad Basarah wants to affirm that it is normal for his party to involve in President's political decision.

D. Conclusion

Political communication is different from other types of communication, because to consider many aspects like image, political position, and political consequences. One of mediational means used by politicians to convey their agenda is news and television. Politicians are often being not cooperative in conversation when conveying their political agenda.

The two Indonesian politicians' (Fahri Hamzah and Ahmad Basarah) interviews on KompasTV show that they often employ non observance of CP to construct their political agenda. Flouting of maxim is used to reaffirm their political standpoint, while violating of maxim is used to save their face or image on public.

Suggestion

Studying communication can help us to know what someone really means in his

utterance. This is very critical when it comes to politicians. We have to know what they really mean or what the implication of their utterance is to avoid fatal misunderstanding.

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