# FROM DICTATORSHIP TO DEMOCRACY: METAPHORS IN THE INDONESIAN POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION TOWARDS THE POLITICAL DISCOURSE PRACTICES IN THE MEDIA

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## Abstract

"Jurnal "From Dictatorship to Democracy: Metaphors in the Indonesian Political Transformation towards the Political Discourse Practices in the Media" menunjukkan bagaimana bahasa sebagai salah satu instrumen kekuasaan disampaikan oleh orang-orang yang memiliki kekuasan, yakni penggunaan metapora dalam wacana politik oleh politisi Indonesia dan mass media dalam ranah sosial-politik. Beberapa contoh metapora disajikan dalam budaya, sastra dan wacana politik mulai era orde lama sampai era reformasi. Perubahan struktur politik, kebebasan pers dan kebebasan berekspresi yang tidak diperoleh masyarakat selama orde baru menimbulkan sikap uporia publik yang berlebihan. Bahasa pers tidak lagi malu-malu, seragam, dan eufemisme. Pers cenderung mengutamakan berita-berita kritik tentang politik dengan bahasa yang lugas, polos, bombastik, sensasional, hiperbol, dan metapora. Berdasarkan data yang terkumpul (Harian Kompas edisi 2011-2012 dan televisi TV-One) dengan teknik sampel bertujuan diperoleh 911 metapora konseptual. Dalam hal ini, metapora digunakan; (1) sebagai "instrument of power" atau alat politik melalui wacana, dan (2) mengungkapkan ide, nilai, sikap sebagai bagian dari strategi retorika politik untuk mencapai tujuan para politisi. Di samping itu, pemilihan frame oleh politisi lebih menitikberatkan kepada aspek-aspek yang menguntungkan mereka dalam menjalankan kekuasaan, memperoleh legitimasi dan dominasi dalam wacana politik. Jurnal ini menggunankan teori semantik kognitif dan analisis wacana kritis.

*Kata Kunci: metapora, semantik kognitif, analisis wacana kritis, frame, alat politik*

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Background

This paper investigates the metaphors orchestrated by politicians in the Indonesian sociopolitical domain. The background to the paper is about the deployment of metaphors within political discourse and the reporting of political events in mass media since the

Reform Era. The Reform Era began in 1998, and  was a transformation of political power from the military or New Order regime (President Soeharto) to the civil one. There are three essential things which characterise the Reform Era; a restoration of a democratic political system, freedom of expression and freedom of press. The changes of Indonesian political structure, along with press freedom and freedom of civilians have given rise to a variety of changes in the patterns of communication alongside the Legislative, Executive and Judicial. Opinion Differences, criticsm and political aggressions have become a common situation in the Indonesian political discourse.

Unlike in the Soeharto's regime where people were prohibited to talk about politics. There was not any freedom of civilians and press freedom. The Houes functioned as a rubber stamp assembly and its representative was popularly known as "5D"; *datang, duduk, diam, dengar, duit* (come, sit, be silent, listen and money). The press was under highly control and functioned as an extension of the government. As a result, the press was shackled in the uniformity of its contents, features and language. News coverage was based on what the authorities said with a frozen language sytle, bashful and full of euphemism which is aimed to disguise the real meaning and intent of media reports. For example, instead of reporting the government has raised the price of fuel, the media has to report that 'the government has decided to adjust the price of fuel', and, instead of writing that there were labour protests or conflicts, the media has to note that 'the factory wokers have some disagreements'. For three decades the Indonesian press was used to cover up scandals, mismanagement and to hide facts and ignore unpleasant realities (Toety, 2007).

Nowadays, there are no censorship, banning or bridling and licence cancellations is applied to the National Press anymore. The press is free to develop its news features, contents and language. A lay man also talk about politics, criticise or insult the government. These major reforms provoked euphoria in public sphere, parliament and media. Consequently, the freedom has always been misused and it has been leading inevitably to a complex situation. On behalf of democracy, rights and freedom, the people may violate social, cultural and moral norms. With respect to the matter, it is needed effective ways to introduce or promote the democracy. One of the ways is by means of press. The press has important roles in helping the government to promote the democratic principles through its news reports and programmes on the one hand. The press also may contribute to creating a heated social, cultural and political tension on the other. Press freedom is relative although each media confidently announces its own particular motto or mission, such as *Harian Kompas* claimed it has the 'Mandate of People's Conscience'. In this sense, the word 'free' can have a different

meaning in ways of how the media develop. That is, the press freedom becomes blurred when those in authority feel that the media is exerting too much influence, is too critical of government, or is competing with government as an outlet for sensitive information. Although the regime is already changed where the political atmosphere is open to public, there is no assurance that media is free from influences from internal factors or external ones.

This media condition opens a space for power groups or politicians to exercise the power, promote the political agenda and create positive self esteem or role models. The more power groups commonly have more access to the media than the less power group. Currently, the politicians (legislators) and political experts always have a place in the media compared to economists, educators, doctors, etc. The political news and political talk shows in televesion channels for instance have become of interest to the public. Everyone can talk about politics like a child who has a new toy, a fever of politics. The programmes become a space for public to know and evaluate the performance and behaviour of their representatives in the parliament and is as a means of political education.

Wodak and Meyer (2001) argue that political discourse is commonly implicit or hidden. In the Indonesian context, the implicit character of political discourse is often open to contradictory or conflicting situation. A variety point of views may appear through the implicit things, such as anxious, unpleasant, suspect, being fooled or threatened, etc. Moreover, there is a term in politics that "Thing cannot be said openly to the public though everybody knows the thing". Generally, the situation is often influenced by language use differences, views, political interest and the media roles. For instance, the expression "manuver politik ikan teri" (teri fish/tiny fish political maneuver). This expression was uttered by a legislator from the Democratic Party as a criticsm to the coalition party when discussing the corruption (graft) issue in the bailout of *Bank Century* [1] in the parliament. The coalition party responded the attack with the expression "manuver politik ikan salmon" (salmon fish political maneuver). Actually, the corruption case of *Bank Century* is the domain of law, not politics, but the legislators intentionally brought the case to the domain of politics and made it to be a public discourse. The mass media covered and repeated the issue with various perspective. Every news hour brought a new state of affair about the issue.

Norris (2000) states that politics is concerned with power to make decisions, to control resources and to control other people. One of the ways to understand how power is exercised is to look at the features of language used by politicians in the mass media.

[1] *Bank Century* is the name of bank bailed out in 2009. The bailout process was indicated as a corruption action. The case is still under investigation of the court and the parliament until now.

Politicians commonly choose their words carefully. They believe in the power of language (Beard, 2000), "language as thought control" (Derrida, 2001: 76), "a shaper of thought" (Evans & Green, 2006: 119) and as "a window into the mind" (Langacker, 1991: 10). In addition to selective language features, politicians also build a team, hire professionals for political campaign and cooperate with media. The politicians study some issues and understand how to talk about them. They even do research on how best to express their ideas. These things can be seen in UK-based research; for example, Maitland and Wilson (1987) and Wilson (1990), focus mainly on personal pronouns employed by three British politicians and investigate the pragmatic manipulation of pronouns within various political contexts. Their studies show how pronominal choices reflect the thinking and attitude of politicians toward particular political topics and political personalities. Beard (2000) also describes how British politicians use metaphor and metonymy in framing their political propaganda in the media and business agenda.

In relation to the Indonesian politicians language use in the media, the writer is interested in exploring the metaphors and their roles in the political discourse. Based on the writer observation, metaphorical expressions are much found in the media, particularly in the political discourse. The metaphor use in the formal situation can be said as a new trend of language use which is opposite to *Pusat Bahasa* (Indonesian Language Office) policy[2]. There are two things can be assumed in relation to the metaphor use, particularly by politicians. First, the metaphor is as an instrument of power or as a political tool through discourse. Second, the metaphor is aimed to reveal their ideas, attitude, values and as part of rhetorical strategies to get their point accross and reach their goals as the political speakers. Perhaps, this situation is similar to the US political discourses that are mostly accomplished via metaphor and metonymy, like the President Bush pronounced his enemy as AXIS AND EVIL in (Leeuwen, 2008) and the works undertaken by Lakoff such as HERO AND VILLAIN, WAR AS A FAIRY TALE (Gulf War; part 1, 1991, part 2, 2003), MORAL POLITICS: Conservative versus Liberals (1995, 2001), 11 September METAPHOR OF TERROR (2001) and Framing the debate metaphor: it's all GOP (2004). Those works identified some issues related to American politics, cultural models and positive characteristics of American people category.

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[2] *Pusat Bahasa* (Indonesian Language Office) rules the use of *bahasa Indonesia* in formal and informal situation. The mass media is a formal place like office, school, etc and thereby should use formal (frozen style) *bahasa Indonesia*. Metaphor is perceived as an informal language stlye used in literary works and daily life (informal situation).

The theoritical heart of this paper is firmly based on critical approaches to language as a social interaction. The analysis will draw primarily from two important strands of critical socio-political research; Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), Metaphorical Frame Analysis (MFA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The CMT and MFA applied in this research are source from cognitive linguistics, particularly originated by George Lakoff & Mark Johnson (1980/2003). According to Lakoff & Johnson (1980/2003), metaphor and metonymy are not just figures of speech, but they actually play a primary role in human cognitive activities and shape our understanding of the world around us. They assert that although we may not be explicitly speaking in metaphor, we are mostly thinking in terms of metaphor. Further, they claimed that metaphoric thought delves deep into the human conceptual level of consciousness and, in turn, influences speech at the textual level.

Through the definition of metaphor; "understanding one conceptual domain in term of another conceptual domain" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003: 2), they named their theory as Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). That is, metaphor has two conceptual domains; source domain (B) and target domain (A). In ways of understanding A in term B involves a conceptual mapping or is called as metaphorical mapping. Lakoff (2004) then develops the CMT to be Metaphorical Frame Analysis (MFA) to explain the US political discourse. So, MFA is a combination of metaphor and frame analysis. The "manuver politik ikan teri" and "manuver politik ikan salmon" mentioned before are one of the examples of frames termed as A FISH WAR EVENT FRAME. Kövecses (2006: 64) defines frame as "a structured mental representation of a conceptual category".

However, Lakoff discussions about metaphors in the American politics which can influence speech at the textual level is not linked to the discourse functions (e.g., Lakoff's *Gulf War*, 1991/2000; *Metaphor of Terror*, 2001; *Frame the Debate*, 2004, etc). Those works just treated metaphors as a matter of language and thought, not as a matter of language and discourse. Unlike Lakoff, this paper incorporates CDA to expose the role of metaphors in the discourse by looking at the public discourse in which they are disseminated. Some CDA scholars describe CDA reflecting a heightened sensitivity to the ways political elites exploit language to construct and to produce asymmetrical and oppressive social hierarchies of power (see e.g., van Dijk, 1997, 2000; Fairclough, 1989; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Recently, CDA research on political discourse in media has tended to analyse explicitly hidden political move[s] on the part of political elites so that conventionalised hierarchies may be challenged and eventually dismantled (van Dijk, 2000; Lauerbach & Fetzer, 2008; Leeuwen, 2008; Meadows, 2005). Fairclough & Wodak (1997: 273) explain that discourse and society are

locked in a dialectical relationship: "every instance of language use makes a contribution to reproducing and/or transforming society and culture, including power relations".

Given both approaches, it is seen that CMT and CDA share common assumptions. One of the common threads is in relation to the perspective that human social interaction, especially via linguistic discourse, is a site of the political struggle for resources (Fairclough, 1989; Wodak and Meyer, 2001). CMT and CDA also share the notion of acknowledgement of the potential influence of power to shape the discourse and society in ways to make sense of experience and understand reality. CMT and CDA are concerned with surface evidence of implicit conceptualisation. Charteris-Black (2004) brought the two approaches together by making the instinctive connection with his term "Critical Metaphor Analysis". Charteris Black's critical metaphor analysis aims to explore conventionalised social hierarchies as they appear in linguistic references to conceptual metaphors (Charteris Black, 2004: 34).

Thus, these approaches are employed to explain how policians exploit metaphors for their own political end. Metaphors have potential as a political tool and CDA plays its role in looking at the public discourse in which they are disseminated. In this sense, CMT and CDA are applied to tease out the ideological issues embedded in the Indonesian political discourse, for example a conflict alongside the participants of the discourse: legislators, president, lawyers, etc. Based on the writer observation, the conflict alongside the participants of the discourse is not just about representations of political debate; it is about the use of power and influence to construct public opinion. Therefore, this paper approaches metaphor as social and situated, as a matter of language and discourse, and not just as a matter of thought; that is, how this connects to its role in the discourse in which our lives are constructed and lived.

This paper employs a qualitative methodology using a purposive sampling technique. The primary data of this paper is taken from *Harian Kompas* 2012-2013 edition and an Indonesian television chanel (TV-One). As this paper investigates metaphors in the sociopolitical domain, the appropriate discourse for this matter is political discourse. The political discourse is selected through eight topics; politics, graft or corruption, law enforcement, cases or scandals, government (president), legislators, corruptors, democracy. The selection of the topics is based on the most frequently monitored topics in media output.

## 1.2 Rationale

Metaphor is a popular means of simplifying complex concept. It enables us to make sense of abstract concept by drawing parallels to concepts that are more easily accessible to us. Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003: 56) argue that we typically conceptualise the

nonphysical in term of physical. The metaphor is an instrument of power and a cognitive instrument that creates reality. Lakoff and Johnson initiated the new study of metaphor over thirty years ago. Many scholars from a variety of disciplines have since contributed to this work over the years and have produced new important results in the study of metaphor (e.g., Naomi, 1987, 1991; Leonard, 1988; Steen, 1994, 1997, 2007; Ning Yu, 1995, 1998; Gibbs, 1999, 2005; Tunner, 2000; Zonoto, Shopia et al, 2008). However, the developement of metaphor study remains silence in Indonesia. It should be noted that, in the development of linguistic study in Indonesia, metaphor is still regarded as figurative language. Some Indonesian linguists (e.g., Badudu, 1995; Ramlan, 1985; Kridalaksana, 1993; Tarigan, 1992; Parera, 1994; Samsuri, 1995; Chair, 2000, etc.) view metaphor as a linguistic phenomenon or "a matter of extraordinary" rather than "ordinary language", "a matter of word" rather than "thought and action" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; 2003).

In addition, metaphor is regarded as a new feature in *bahasa Indonesia* in the formal situation which is opposite to the language policy issued by *Pusat Bahasa* (Indonesian Language Office). This institution has policies and rules related to problems of language, linguistics and literature, including ethnic languages and foreign languages. This institution applies prescriptive principles for *bahasa Indonesia* usage; formal and informal, good and true, grammatical and ungrammatical, acceptable and unacceptable. According to the institution's point of view, sentences, such as; *Indonesia sedang sakit* (Indonesia is sick), *Indonesia menangis* (Indonesia is crying), *Polisi memburu teroris* (Police hunt the terrorists) are wrong sentences in the formal context of *bahasa Indonesia*, except in the literary works. The mass media should use a formal (frozen style) *bahasa Indonesia*. There fore, this research tries to investigate metaphors as an effort to establish a current study of metaphor in Indonesia.

Currently, the metaphors are much used in the media, particularly in the political discourse. This paper picks out the political discource because the politics has become of interest to the public since the Reform Era. The politics is the most heated discourse compared to other discourses. This situation enables the legislators and political elites frequently appear in the media. It is known that political discourse in the media is mediated and implicit. One of the implicit things is motivated by metaphors. Metaphor is a way of speaking implicit (Gibbs, 1999) and an instrument of power and a cognitive instrument that creates reality (Tunner, 2000). Thereby, this paper tries to uncover the hidden political discourse understandable to the readers or public. That is some reasons why the discussion about metaphors in the Indonesian political discourse is important.

## 1.3 Problems and Objective

## 1.3.1 Problems

Metaphors and discourse are multidisciplinary field which approaches language and discourse as a social interaction. Metaphorical discussion should be ideally related to other tropes, such irony, simile, metonymy, etc. To talk about metaphor is directly involved in talking about conceptualisation, categorisation and language frame. These large topics seem to be over loaded in this paper. The discussion about metaphor is limited to the language frame, conceptual metaphor and its roles in the discourse. There fore, this paper has to be able to answer the following questions:

1. How do the politicians frame their language? And why?
2. What metaphors do politicians use in the political discourse?
3. What is the role of metaphors in the discourse?

## 1.3.2 Objective

In order better to specify the analysis, the objective of this paper are:

1. To explain how the politicians frame their language and why they frame their language in that way.
2. To clasify metaphors used by the politicians in the political discourse.
3. To explain the roles of metaphor in the political discourse.

## 1.4 Benefit

This paper may give benefit practically and theoretically. Practically, this paper is useful for readers to know about the Indonesian political discourse or those who are interested in studying the Indonesian politics and metaphors. In particular to the legislators, political elites and government, this paper may contribute to improving thier knowledge of language and discourse on the one hand. This may also improve social or people trust to legislators, political party, judicial board and government on the other. The mass media often presented the bad news or critical news about those things and the *Lembaga Survei Indonesia* (Indonesian Board for Survey) announced the people trust to politics, law enforcement and government decreased drastically from 2010-2012. This research provides the explanation about the things.

Theoretically, the paper can contribute to establishing a current study of metaphor in Indonesia. The metaphors in this research is limit to the sociopolitical domain and thereby, it

is not sufficient enough to establish a current study of metaphors. Although the theories, views or concepts given base on cognitive linguistics which gives birth to a modern study of metaphor, it is necessary to do other research on other metaphors in the Indonesian context. This paper can be used as a reference, especially for Indonesian linguists and students to do research on metaphors, like culture, education, learning and teaching, etc. In particular to my students in the Faculty of Language and Arts, Department of *Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia* State University of Medan, Indonesia, this research may improve their knowledge about the cognitive linguistics, semantic cognitives, metaphors and CDA.

## 2. Theoritical Background
### 2.1 Cognitive Linguistics view on Metaphor

Like other schools, Cognitive Linguistics (CL) studies language for its own sake. They attempt to  describe the language and account for its systematisation, its structure, the functions it  serves and how these functions are realised by the language system (Evan & Green, 2006). CL studies language stems from the assumption that language "reflects patterns of thought" (Evan & Green, 2006: 5). Because language reflects pattern of thought, this means that to study language from this perspective is to study patterns of conceptualisation. Evan and Green (2006: 5) state that language offers a window into cognitive function, providing insights into the nature, structure and organisation of thoughts and ideas. They assert that the most important way in which CL differs from other approaches to the study of language is that language is assumed to reflect certain fundamental properties and design features of the human mind. It means that linguistics is not just about "knowledge of the language, but language itself is a form of knowledge. Kövecses (2006: 2-4) said that cognitive linguistics is far more than a theory of language; we can perhaps think of it as a theory of "meaning making" which is consists of three elements; language, mind and culture.

The study of metaphor was introduced since the ancient Greece within the discipline known as rhetoric (Recoeur, 2003). People at the time only used metaphors for rhetorical purposes. The study of metaphor was focused on practical instruction in how to persuade others of a particular point of view by the use of rhetorical devices (Evans & Vyvyan, 2006). Metaphor was one of the devices which was termed tropes by the rhetoricians. Aristotle (in Gibss, 2000) defines metaphor as the act of giving a thing a name that belongs to something else. The metaphor treated as the most important form of figurative language use. This view stood still until 18 century and then in the 19 century Lakoff and Johnson innitated a new study of metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003). They showed convincingly that metaphor

is pervasive both in thought and everyday language. They assert that our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. Metaphor structures and guides how we perceive, how we think and what we do. Their work has been defined in part of cognitive linguistics. Many scholars from a variety of disciplines have since contributed to the study of metaphor over the years and have produced new and important results.

In this respect, metaphor was born under cognitive linguistics, precisely cognitive semantics. Cognitive semantics was born as a reaction against the objectivist semantics views on meaning and its relation to a reality. Objectivist semantics employs correspondence theory of truth: "a successful match is called true; an unsuccessful match is called false" (see. e.g. Saeed, 2004: 79-88; Sweetser, 1990: 4). Cognitive semantics rejects the objectivist semantics view which argues that "we have no access to a reality independent of human categorisation and thereby the structure of reality as reflected in language as a product of human mind" (Saeed, 2004: 301). Linguistic truth and falsity is relative to the way an observer construe a situation or reality in which is based on his/her conceptual framework. Cognitive semantics is primarily concerned with investigating conceptual structure and process of conceptualisation with assumptions: 1) conceptual structure is embodied (the embodied thesis), 2) semantic structure is conceptual structure (the semantic structure thesis), 3) meaning representation is encyclopedic and 4) meaning construction is conceptualisation (Evan & Green, 2006). The assumptions are as a guiding principle for cognitive semantics to deal with meaning, thought and reality.

In rejections to the traditional views of metaphor, Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003) claim that: 1) metaphor is property of concepts, not of words, 2) the function of metaphor is to better understand certain concepts, not just for aesthetic-artistic purpose, 3) metaphor is often not based on similarity, 4) metaphor is used effortlessly in everyday life by ordinary people, and 5) metaphor is an evitable process of human thought and reasoning. So, metaphor is not simply a matter of words or linguistic expressions but concepts (: thinking one thing in terms of another).

## 2.2 Conceptual Metaphor

Lakoff and Johnson (2003) point out our conceptual system is largely metaphorical. According to CL view, metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain. In this view, metaphor is seen as derivatively a linguistic phenomenon: "it exists in language only because it exists in thought" (Kövecses, 2005: 8).

Metaphor is characterised by conceptual domains (source domain and target domain), that is, a schematic form A is B where A (more abstract concepts) serves as a target domain, which is comprehended through a source domain B (more concrete/physical concepts) as in "*Achilles is a lion* "(Evan & Green, 2006: 293).

Kövecses (2002: 4) defines that source domain is the conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain, while the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the target domain. The system is called as conceptual metaphor. Referring to the example *Achilles is a lion*, this metaphor is based on the comparison of two categories and is not explicitly marked (Aristotle's time known as implicit comparison). This contrasts with simile in which the comparison is overtly signaled by the use of *as* or *like*; *Achilles is as brave as lion*; *Achilles is brave like a lion*. Grady (1997a, 1999) terms 'perceived resemblance' to describe the comparison and name this kind of metaphor as resemblance metaphor. It is because the resemblance is not physical; Achilles does not actually look like a lion. Instead, it is based on cultural knowledge which holds that lions are courageous and then put the quality of lions (courage and ferocity) into human quality (Achilles) to describe the braveness of Achilles in the fight. Lakoff and Turner (1989) call this as image metaphor for metaphor based on physical resemblance.

However, most of the research on conceptual metaphor tradition has not been primarily concerned with metaphor resemblances. But, tend to focus on the kind of everyday language. That is, to show the process of understanding in terms of what it could mean for a concept to be metaphorical and for such a concept to structure an everyday activity. For example, the concept ARGUMENT and the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR taken from Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 4). This metaphor is reflected in human's linguistic behaviours when doing argumentations with a wide variety of expressions. The nature of the relationship between the conceptual metaphors and the linguistic expression is described: the linguistic expression as ways of talking and the conceptual metaphors as ways of thinking.

## 2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

Several research of metaphor roles in the US political discourse particularly undertaken by Lakoff have identified some issues related to American politics and cultural model and positive characteristics of American people category. He applied CMT to explain for examples; HERO and VILLAIAN, WAR AS A FAIRY TALE (Gulf War; part 1, Lakoff, 1991, part 2, 2003), MORAL POLITICS: Conservative versus Liberals (1995, 2001), 11 September METAPHOR OF TERROR (2001) and Framing the debate metaphor: it's all

GOP (2004). Those works described political powers to control the discourses and social cognition are mostly accomplished via metaphorical and metonymical references to human's conceptualisation (e.g. metaphorical mappings between SADDAM and TERRORIST domains and SADDAM and MONSTER). One of the general conclusions can be taken from several publications of Lakoff is metaphoric thought delves deep into our conceptual level of consciousness and in turn influences our speech at the textual level. Lakoff asserts that although we may not be explicitly speaking in metaphor, we are most certainly thinking in terms of metaphor. Metaphor is not merely a matter of language, but thought and action.

However, the Lakoff's research still leave rooms for discussions particularly the discursive functions of the discourse, the relationship between discourse and power, contexts, dominance, legitimation and ideology. The explanation about the US political discourses would be better linked to the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political contexts (e.g. Van Dijk, 1991, 1993, 1997, and 2009). For instance, the calls the US coalition for war against terrorists and Iraq are accomplished via metaphor and metonymy, but ignore the aspects of the discursive construction of the US legitimation and purpose.

Van Leeuwen (2008: 105) asserts that every system of authority attempts to establish and to cultivate the belief in its legitimacy. The most important vehicle for these attempts is language. President George W. Bush for instance legitimises aggressive policies by pronouncing his enemies as an "axis of evil". It is similar to frame analysis; focus on word meaning in which people conceptualise it, not classify it as a production of dominance and legitimation through the discourse. Again, the structure of argument is war (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003) has identified a number of words or phrases in doing argument. But, they did not classify the kinds of agents or actors as CDA does. Actually, the things take part in the production of the power and legitimacy through the discourse (e.g. Wodak, 2001; Van Dijk, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2006; Van Leeuwen, 2009).
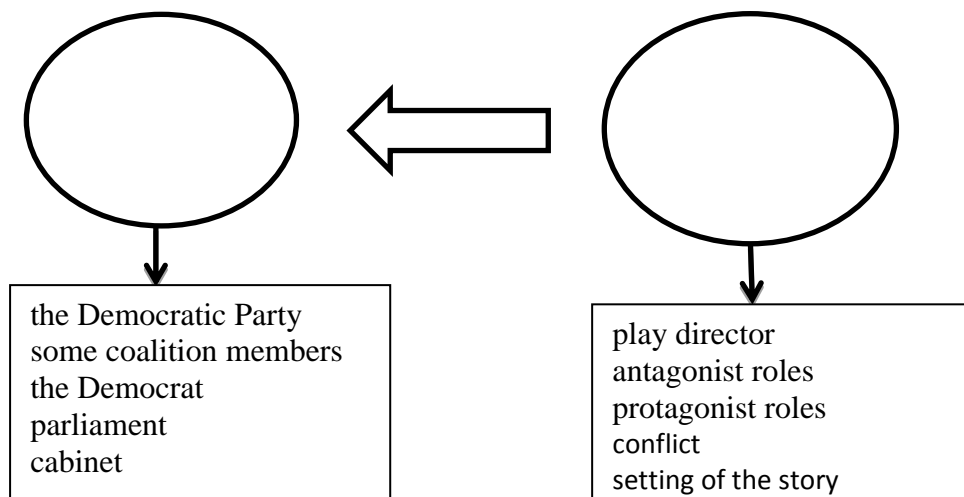
Lakoff's conceptual metaphor SADDAM AS A MONSTER, KUWAIT AS A VICTIM, IRAQ AS VILLAIN and AMERICA AS A HERO are as a social action constructed in the discourse which argues reasons to go in the war (the goal of the discourse). This is one of the ways to construct public opinion by language framing. However, such frames have their function through discourse. Van Dijk (1997) argues that the ability to control discourse is positively correlated with the ability to influence thoughts and actions of other groups. If controlling discourse is a first major form of power. Controlling people's mind is the other fundamental way to produce dominance and hegemony (Van Dijk, 1997). In

this respect, it needs to approach metaphor as social and situated, as a matter of language and discourse, and not just as a matter of thought; that is, how this connects to its role in the discourse in which our lives are constructed and lived. In this sense, CDA is employed to expose conventionalised social hierarchies, social power abuse, legitimation, dominance, etc through the discourse. So, the notion of 'critical' in CDA is understood as "having distance to data, embedding the data in the social and taking a political stance explicitly" (Wodak and Meyer, 2001). However, CDA and CMT are not a conflict theory but complement each other.

## 3. Framework Analysis

To unearth the metaphorical linguistic expressions taken from the eight topics, the metaphorical expressions are listed and grouped according to their sources. Metaphor is defined to understand one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003). In this respect, the metaphor has two conceptual domains; source domain (B) and target domain (A). When one conceptual domain is understood in terms of another conceptual domain, we have a conceptual metaphor. So, the word 'to understand' is used to characterise the relationship between the two concepts (A and B). In the context of this research, 'concept' is a representation of knowledge or any coherent segment of human experience. In the ways of understanding A in terms of B, the metaphor typically employs a more abstract concept as target and a more concrete or physical concept as its source. The relationship between A and B is in this sense that constituent elements of A correspond to constituent elements of B. The correspondences are achieved via a set of mapping. So, the conceptual metaphors can be given by means of the formula A is B or A as B, where A and B indicate different conceptual domains as presented in the diagram 1 below with the conceptual metaphor POLITIK SEBAGAI DRAMA/SANDIWARA (Politics as a drama/theatre).

**Diagram 1: sytematic correspondence or mapping between concepts of metaphor**



the Democratic Party
some coalition members
the Democrat
parliament
cabinet

play director
antagonist roles
protagonist roles
conflict
setting of the story

Based on the diagram (1), source domain B is used to understand the target domain (A). The relationship between constituent elements of B and A is described via conceptual mapping between constituent elements of B and A. For example, when we use the sentences; 'Koalisi Kebangsaan di parlemen dan kabinet *disutradarai* oleh *Partai Demokrat*' (The coalition of 'kebangsaan' in the parliament and cabinet is *played director* by the *Democratic Party*) and '*Konflik* di tubuh koalisi dipicu oleh *peran antagonis* beberapa anggota koalisi' (The *conflicts* in the coalition were triggered by *antagonistic roles* of some coalition members), the expressions 'disutradarai' (played director), 'konflik' (conflict) and 'peran antagonis' (antagonistic roles) refer to a film, drama or theatre.

In this context, the words 'Partai Demokrat' (Democratic Party) obviously refers to a protagonist actor and 'beberapa anggota koalisi' (some coalition members) are antagonist actors. This mapping is achieved via the word 'konflik' (conflict). The word 'parlemen' (parliament) and 'kabinet' (cabinet) refer to a setting of the story. So, when we hear the sentences in the appropriate context, we will interpret it to be about 'politik' (politics), not about film or drama for we know that the speaker of the sentences have in mind not real as a play director, antagonist and protagonist, but a politician, and is not a film conflict, but political debate or conflict of opinion. In this respect, the abstract concept 'politik' (A) becomes more concrete via the noun 'drama' or 'theatre' (B). As politics is understood in such a way, we have the conceptual metaphor POLITIK SEBAGAI DRAMA/SANDIWARA. As this metaphor is bound with the politics and discourse contexts in which the televisions and newspapers cover and repeat the issues, the metaphor then is not treated as a matter of language and thought, but as social and situated and as a matter of language and discourse. Therefore, this research combines CMT and CDA approaches to language (metaphor) as a social interaction.

## 4. Discussion

### 4.1 Metaphor in the Indonesian Culture and Discourse from the Imperialism Era to the Reform Era

The study of metaphor in Indonesia still adopts a traditional view; metaphor is a figurative language, extraordinary language and a seasoning language exploited by politicians and poets (Samsuri, 1995). Actually, metaphors had been used in Indonesia for along time as everyday language, not just in poetry and political rhetorics, but also in discourse. People use

metaphor as a cultural practise in the cultural events, such as in a wedding party (Ritonga, 2005). In a wedding party, it is common for close relatives of the bride to give some advice. The advice is often expressed through metaphor as a way to be more polite and to show how to be an eloquent speaker. For example, expressions (1-2) in Batak Angkola (BA) ethnic[3] in a wedding ceromony below.

(1) *Maranak sapulu pitu*, *marboru sapulu onom* (BA).
(to have 17 sons, to have 16 daughters).

(2) *Aek mangalir, batu so* (BA).
(While the water flows, the stones remain unshaken).


Such tradition or advice is not only practised in the Batak ethnics, but also other ethnics, like Java, Malay, Aceh, and the like. Example (1) does not really mean the bride should have a very big family. It is seldom for people to have 17 sons and 16 daughters. Before there was a government family programme, the Batak ethnics had commonly many children like, 6, 7 or  12, not 33. The expression (1) is a family expectation for the bride to have a prosperous family. For the Batak ethnic's conceptualisation, a child is as luck; every child has his/her own fortune. So, many children mean to get better luck and make parents to work hard. The expression reflects the CHILD IS LUCK metaphor. Example (2) is advice for the bride that she should be a person who likes to study in the life, listen to good advice and not to be a talkative person. The word 'Aek' (water) symbolises a person (life), 'mangalir' (flow) symbolises the lesson or advice given. Then, 'batu' (stones) symbolises a person's brain, and 'so' (stop) means 'not working'.

The good thing we can see from the example (1) is why the Batak ethnic compares or conceptualise the situation 'how water flow at the river which stone in it' to understand the life. It is because they make use of their experience as farmers who are very familiar with the nature of the environment. They live in the countryside with mountainous area, plant rice, raise fish, swim at the river, etc. That is an example how they make sense of their experience as what Lakoff said as experience of gestalt (Gestalt psychology). The conceptual metaphor of (2) is LIFE IS WATER.

Another example is Dutch language frame in the form of metaphor when colonialising Indonesia. The frame was as a discursive tool propagandised by Dutch to all Moslems and a

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[3] Batak Angkola is one of ethnic groups in North Sumatera, Indonesia. There are six groups of Batak ethnic; Batak Toba, Mandailing, Angkola, Karo, Simalungun and Pakpak.

number of Islamic schools as a preventive way to counter the political movement of Indonesian intellectuals. For example:

(3) *Dunia adalah penjara bagi orang yang beriman*.
   (The earth is a jail for those who have faith)


This language framing (2) was effective in making Indonesian people just studied to strengthen faith and worship God (heaven), not to think of ways to fight for the freedom (world). As a result, the establishment of the unity of Indonesia was a long process. In the era of imperialism, one of the remarkable Indonesian poets, Chairil Anwar (1922-1949) also used some metaphors in his works, such as "Aku" (March, 1943), "Persetujuan Dengan Bung Karno" (1948), "Diponegoro" (1943), "Krawang Bekasi" (1948), etc. Those works portrayed a heroic spirit and a life tragedy under colonialsm and aftermath of Indonesian independence. One of his popular poem was "Aku" which one of its lyrics is quoted below as an example of metaphor:

(4) *Aku ini binatang jalang* (...)
   (I am a wild animal)


## 4.1.2 Old-Order Regime (President Soekarno 1945-1966)

The first President of Indonesia, Soekarno is famous for his political orator. The following examples are taken from his English speech in Commemoration of National Reawakening Day 20 May 1962 in the palace of Jakarta (5) and his comment (6) reported by the newspaper, *Harian Merdeka* (1962).

(5) Spirit of the tiger in the heart of the Indonesian nation is dead, as the result of hundred years of imperialism (p.4)

(6) *Imperialisme (...) Belanda meninggalkan kotoran-kotoran di seluruh bumi nusantara. Kotoran-kotoran itu harus dibersihkan agar menjadi bangsa yang maju dan mandiri.*
   (Imperialism (…) Dutch has left us its dirt in all over Nusantara. We had to clean the dirt to be a great nation and independent).


The phrase 'spirit of the tiger' (5) is used metaphorically in order to achieve some artistic and rhetorical effect. Perhaps we would also add that what makes the metaphorical

identification of 'spirit of the tiger' with 'dead' possible is based on the experience of Indonesian people's struggle for independence. This example may be quite similar to the example of metaphor taken from Kövecses (2002: vii): "Achilles is a lion or Achilles is a lion in the fight". Achilles as a *lion* is based on the legend in the epic movie of *The Troy*. Then, it can be inferred that *spirit of the tiger* and *dead* have something in common, namely, their wildness, bravery and strength.

Example (6) is a piece of text taken from articles on *Harian Merdeka* in relation to the commemoration of Indonesian Independent day. This metaphorical expression is also aimed to encourage the spirit of the people to work hard together to be a great nation and more independent. The word 'dirt' is used metaphorically which means to highlight what the Dutch had done to the people and the nation of Indonesia during its colonialism.

## 4.1.3 New Order (President Soeharto 1968-1998)

President Soeharto administrated Indonesia in a dictatorial way for 30 years where the military became the power centre. President Soeharto used metaphor in his speech to control social behaviour, language and thought.

(7) *Pancasila and UUD 1945 adalah harga mati.*
(The five basic principles of the Republic of Indonesia and the 1945 constitution are not negotiable thing)


The president Soeharto was a strong supporter of *Pancasila* and the 1945 constitution. Soeharto secured a parliamentary resolution in 1983 which obliged all organisations in Indonesia to adhere to *Pancasila* as a basic principle. He also instituted *Pancasila* indoctrination programme that must be regularly attended by all Indonesians, from primary school students to university students and office workers. In practice, however, the vagueness of *Pancasila* was exploited by Soeharto's government to justify their actions and to condemn their opponents as "anti-Pancasila". Example (7) is a form of indoctrination and a warning to all Indonesian people.

The metaphor (7) is *Pancasila* and *UUD 1945* conseptualised as luxury things, but not for sale. If the phrase *harga mati* (7) is translated freely one word by one word; *harga* means 'price' and *mati* means 'dead'. The phrase *harga mati* is actually from a shooping term known as 'fixed price'. However, in this context the phrase *harga mati* does not refer to the shopping term where people still can buy the thing though it has a fixed price tag on it. The meaning of *harga mati* here is something non-negotiable. Under Soeharto regime, anyone

who tries to change *Pancasila* and *UUD 1945* was put in the category of "anti-Pancasila": rebel, communist, enemy of state and betrayer. The punishment for those in the categories could be life imprisonment or dead sentence.

In the New Order, people were prohibited to talk about politics. There was not any freedom of civilians to express and state their opinions. Under his regime, there were many political prisoners. There was not press freedom either. The press was under highly control of the government which functioned as an extension of the government, covered the good sides of the government and supported the national development only. If any press covered the government scandals or critical reports, the press would automatically be muzzled, bridled, closed down and licence cancellation. Example (8) below is a form of Soeharto's control over the press. The metaphorical expression (8) is the word *dikebiri*, mapped onto the word *pers*. The word *dikebiri* in the *bahasa Indonesia* dictionary is a passive verb word, its means 'to be castrated'. In this context, the word *dikebiri* does not refer to a male animal or human, but refer to the phrase *pers yang bandel* (uncooperative press). The action 'to castrate' in this sense is to close down the press. As a result of the control, the press distortions happened where the press lost its ability to detect fact from fiction, truth from lies and national interests from corrupt elite interests.

(8) *Pers* yang bandel *dikebiri.*
     (The uncooperative *press* is closed down)

## 4.1.4 The Reform Era (1998-present)

By the early 1996, dissatisfaction and complaints about the excessive and arbitrary control of Soeharto were escalating and becoming more wide-spread. However, the government stood firm and gave no way to open a wider corridor of freedom, even the repression continued, for example, "Black Saturday", July 27 event and human rights violations (East Timor and Aceh). The situation further worsened when the 1997 Asian crisis reached Indonesia, highlighting the corruption, nepotism and collusion of the New Order. During 1997-1998 a massive riot broke out Indonesia. Finally, on the historic day of 21 May 1998, Soeharto was forced to step down and the Reform Era began.

The Reform Era has provoked euphoria not only in mass media, but also in parliament and society. for example;

(9) *Korupsi* kok *berjamaah* (How the corruption is practiced in collective ways)

(10) *DPR* adalah *anak TK.*
  (Legislators are kindergarten students)


Example (9) is a social criticsm to the legislators or government elites who involved in the corruption practices reported by media. The commitment to eradicate corruption proclaimed by the politicians was just a lip service. The rate of corruption grew significantly and law appeared powerless to catch the corruptors. By seeing the situation, the speaker used a metaphorical expression (9) to make sense of the corruption practice situation in this country. In the *bahasa Indonesia* dictionary, the word *berjamaah* means a group of people gathered together in a religious building for worship or prayer. This activity is usually commanded by an *imam* (a leader of communal prayer). In this context, the word *berjamaah* (congregate) is mapped onto the word *korupsi* (corruption) which results the metaphor KORUPSI SEBAGAI IBADAH (Corruption as a good deed). This metaphor implies; 1) the corruption practices are done collectively and systematically (discipline) and 2) it is something impossible to catch or prevent people from doing their religion.

 Example (10) was a comment from President Abdurrahman Wahid about the incident in the Parliament building. The situation was out of control. The legislators slammed chairs, knocked tables, made noise through microphones and even climbed the table to protest. At the time, the political communication between the parliament and the president was not very good. Abdurrahman Wahid then expressed his criticism to the situation metaphorically that legislators are equal to the kindergarten students.

**4.2 Conceptual Metaphor**

So far, we have discussed ten examples of conceptual metaphor. There are eight political genres discussed in this paper; politics, government, legislators, corruptions, law enforcement, corruptor, cases or scandal and democracy. The table 1 below show a numbers of conceptual metaphors extracted from *Harian Kompas 2011-2012 edition* and TV-One.

**Table 1: Whole kinds of the conceptual metaphors from 10 topics**

| THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS | N |
| --- | --- |
| THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF CORRUPTION | 384 |
| THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF POLITICS | 192 |
| THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF LAW ENFORCEMENT | 133 |
| THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF CASE/SCANDAL | 62 |
| THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF DPR | 52 |
| THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF GOVERNMENT/PRESIDENT | 38 |
| THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF DEMOCRACY | 35 |
| THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF CORRUPTOR | 15 |
| **Total** | **911** |

The most frequent cluster of lexical items based on the data which serve as the source domains for the target domain of 'korupsi' are *musuh* (enemy), *penyakit* (disease), *budaya* (culture), *tindak kejahatan* (criminal action), *kotoran* (dirt), *kanker* (cancer), *sistem jaringan* (network system), *aksi kolektif sistemik dari atas-bawah* (a top-down systemic collective action), *virus*, *wabah* (germ), *perusak ekonomi* (economic destroyer), *tindakan yang dilarang agama* (action forbidden by the religions) and *perusak akhlak dan moral bangsa* (a destroyer of nation morality and attitude). By adding the words; enemy, disease, culture, etc to the word 'korupsi', we get conceptual metaphors; KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH, PENYAKIT, BUDAYA (Corruption as an enemy, disease, and culture). Some examples of the conceptual metaphors in the table 1 are given below.

(11) KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH PUBLIK/NEGARA (Corruption as a public/state enemy)

Saya berdiri di baris terdepan untuk *memberantas korupsi.*
Sudah saatnya kita bersikap *perang terhadap korupsi.*
*Korupsi adalah musuh yang paling sulit diberantas di negeri ini.*
*Maraknya aksi unjuk rasa antikorupsi merupakan perlawanan terhadap peraktik korupsi* di negeri ini.
*Presiden SBY geram* dianggap tidak kompeten *melawan* para pelaku korupsi.

(12) POLITIK SEBAGAI TEMPERATUR (Politics as a temperature)

*Suhu politik kian memanas* mendekati kampanye final pemilihan pilpres dan legislatif. Konflik antara eksekutif dan legislatif menunjukkan *iklim politik yang tidak sehat.* Kasus Nazaruddin membawa *angin segar bagi parpol lain*, namun bagi Partai demokrat sebagai *angin putting beliung* yang menghancurkan citra partai penguasa.
*Prakiraan media dan pengamat tentang temperatur politik meningkat tajam* saat kepulangan Nazruddin sama sekali tidak terbukti.

(13) DPR SEBAGAI TIKUS (DPR as a mouse)

*DPR* pura-pura basmi korupsi, padahal *mereka* juga *tikus-tikus yang menggerogoti uang rakyat.*
*Banyak tikus-tikus anggaran yang berkeliaran di DPR.*
*Beberapa tikus Senayan* terlibat kasus pemilihan Deputi senior BI.

(14) DEMOKRASI SEBAGAI PERTARUNGAN KEKUASAAN (Democracy as a fight for the power)

*Mobilisasi masa dalam aksi demonstrasi* menuntut reshuffle kabinet *mengancam* kekuasaan SBY.
Koalisi partai di DPR dan Pemerintah untuk *melanggengkan kekuasan atas nama demokrasi.*

(15) HUKUM SEBAGAI BISNIS (Law as a business)

*Hanya orang yang berduit yang punya hukum.*
Mafia hukum dan mafia peradilan *memperjualbelikan perkara.*
*Palu hakim ternyata sangat mahal harganya.*
*Peradilan adalah surga bagi orang-orang berduit.*


**4.3 Metaphor-Base-Reframing: A Cultural and Political Discourse Conflict**

Politicians commonly select and use the words carefully. They frame the political issues in several different ways, such as the Democratic Party's frame "ikan teri" (teri fish/tiny fish) and "oragsme politik" (political orgasm) versus the Golkar Party's frame "ikan salmon" (salmon fish). The different choice of frames motivates new ways of understanding the politics in terms of ANIMAL and SEXUAL ACTIVITY. Based on the both frames, we get the metaphor POLITIK SEBAGAI PERTARUNGAN (Politics as a war/fight).

The animal and sexual activity frames have increased the political tension along side the coalition party either in the discourse or in the parliament. Some members of coalition framed The Democratic Party as *ikan salmon* (salmon fish) when discussing the corruption

cases of bail out of Bank Century in the parliament. The members of coalition indirectly-implicitly accused the Democrat involved in the case of Bank Century via the word 'ikan salmon'. The categorisation of *ikan salmon* in this context is fat and nutritious in which 'fat' refers to the majority party (the Democrat and the ruling party) and 'nutritious' means involve in the corruption practices.

The Democrat responsed the coalition frame with the *ikan teri* (teri/tiny fish) and *orgasme politik* (political orgasm) frames. The Democrat percieves the political attack from the coalition mean nothing at all. This meaning interpretation is portraited from the *ikan teri* (teri/tiny fish) frame. The categorisation of *ikan teri* is a seafish, tiny and live in herd. This fish categorisation is put into the coalition parties (small, minority parties and allied force). Then, the *orgasme politik* frame means the coalition wish (efforts) to shake or impeach the president (the ruling party) is a dreaming for there had been a political agreement in the coalition parties in the parliament and government to support the president until the 2014 election. Thus, the politics is a domain where alternative framings and reframing are rife. The politics commonly uses the cognitive device of metaphor-based reframing. The choice of a particular frame may divide members of a society into subcultures and political camps.

As those metaphorical frames are bound with the politics and discourse contexts in which mass media also cover and repeat the issues, the metaphor variations give rise to a contradictory and conflicting situation. This situation often gives rise to cultural and political debates among participants of a culture. The domain of politics is certainly conducive to such conflict of opinion and is often extended to the discourse conflicts as a battlefield of the participants of the discourse. The main purpose of the frames is to convince the audiences/public of their truth concerning the issues and influence others as the table 2 below.

**Table 2: metaphorical frames of corruption (graft/bribery)**

| Metaphorical Frames of Corruption | Status of the Speakers/Participants | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | DPR | President | Media | Experts | Other |
| musuh (enemy) | + | + | + | + | − |
| tindak kejahatan (criminal action) | + | + | + | + | − |
| aib/noda/malu (stain/dirt/shame) | + | + | + | − | − |
| penyakit (disease); virus, cancer, | + | − | + | + | − |
| budaya (culture); euphoria, etc | + | − | + | + | − |
| aksi sistemik atas-bawah (top-down systemic actions) | − | − | + | + | − |
| sistem jaringan (network system) | − | − | + | + | + |
| bisnis politik (a political business) | − | − | + | + | + |
| Tanaman (plant); fertilised, grow, | + | − | + | + | − |
| makanan/buah (food/fruit) | − | − | + | + | + |
| hewan (animal): mouse, crocodile | − | − | + | + | + |
| aksi kolektif (collective action) | + | − | + | + | − |
| alat pemersatu bangsa (a united nation instrument) | − | − | + | + | − |
| a destroyer of economic, moral and attitude of the nation | + | + | + | + | + |

**Note**:  DPR          = legislatures; DPR/DPRD (legislative)
President    = president, government (executive)
Experts      = academicians, politicians and artists
Other         = viewers, public, etc

The table 2 divides the metaphors of corruption into five of the most frequented frames based on social factors of the speakers. The mark (+) means has the frames and (−) does not have the frames. If the DPR, president, mass media, experts and others have the same frames, it means they share the frames and vice versa. The table 2 shows mass media have all frames that mean the corruption issues have become a public discourse produced by the mass media. It is perceived as mass media independency to accommodate all social interest.In the table is seen the frames the speakers employ to understand corruption events in the Indonesian political context are very general and specific. For particular contexts, DPR, president and experts conceptualise the corruption events by means of the Indonesian political frames; politics, military, economic and law, like KOMITMEN PEMBERANTASAN KORUPSI (The eradication corruption commitment). That is, the corruption is framed as an enemy and criminal action which destroy the economic, moral and attitude of the nation. These frames are conceived as a neutral speaking about corruption.

The neutral way speaking of corruption is that the corruption issues are not framed to attack other participants. The participants agree with the conceptualisation to put the corruption as the public/state enemy. This way is to convince and influence the people to fight the corruption practices. But, on the other contexts, DPR and president do not share other frames, such as a top-down systemic action, network system, political business, food, fruit, animal and a unifying nation instrument with experts and others. It is because those frames do not benefit them and threat their social status, power and position. The DPR only share the frames; disease, culture, plant and collective action with the experts, but not with the president. The DPR shares the frame; stain/dirt/shame with the president to make sense that the corruption issues break their image or self-esteem.

The selective frames used by the DPR and president are as the opponent position with the experts and public of which have lower social status. This emphasis leads inevitably to a deep misunderstanding and social and political conflicts along side the participants of the discourses. The reason is that the experts and public look at the corruption events in a very different light; they employ the negative stereotypes or prejudice frames, such as a top-down systemic action, network system, political business, food, fruit, animal and a unifying nation instrument. Those frames are used not only to make sense the corruption events but also to criticise and attack the DPR and president position. In this respect, the experts feel advantageous position where the mass media always involve them in the discursive events. Although the public or laypeople have a very few chances to get involve in the discursive events, they rationalise the contexts of corruption events by following the legitimation produced by the experts and mass media, that is, because the experts say so.

In the other context, the participants of the discourse employ very different frames in term of a secret code of communication. They frame a corruption practice as KOMUNIKASI BUAH DAN MINYAK PELUMAS (the communication of fruits and oil machine). The terms; *apel Malang* (Malang apples), *apel Washington* (Washington apel), *semangka Palembang* (Palembang watermelon) and *minyak pelumas* (oil machine) are used to avoid vulgar language in ways of practicing the corruptions. The public know the meaning after KPK finds evidences of communication in BB of the defendants. Actually, the frames are developed from the network system, systemic and collective action of the corruption practices. The frames are used to maintain the secret network system in term of communication among the corruptors.

Obviously, some categorisation members of fruit are fruits, texture, shape, colour, vitamin, domestic and foreign fruits, etc. The 'apel Malang' (Malang apple) is a fruit from Malang city (Indonesia) in which is symbolised as Indonesian rupiah currency. The 'apel Washington' (Washington apple) is a fruit from Washington (U.S.A) that is symbolised as U.S. dollar currency. Then, both currencies are blended in the fruit 'semangka Palembang' (Rp and the $ U.S.). However, the word 'semangka Palembang' is not only symbolised as money, but also is related to the context of corruption practice in the building construction process of *Wisma Alit* (athletic building) in Palembang Indonesia. To connect the frames with the corruption practice is in this way; fruit is eaten by the human and money is needed to buy the fruit. Then, 'minyak pelumas' (oil machine) categorisation is not a real liquid product to make the machine work easier and smooth. The function of the oil machine is metaphorically mapped onto the bribery practices.

**5 Conclussion**

The paper "From Dictatorship to Democracy: Metaphors in the Indonesian Political Transformation towards the Political Discourse Practices in the Media" has given a new look about the power of languages exhibited by the power persons through the political discourses. The paper collects 911 data of metaphors from *Harian Kompas* 2011-2012 edition and TV-One. The choices of frames are much taking account of the advantage and disadvantage political aspects for the politicians. The frames "corruption as a disease, cancer, enemy, culture and network" are the most frequent conceptual metaphors across the source of data.

The various metaphorical frames show the participants of the discourses do not use one coherent set of frames in understanding politics. Some of them may share the same frames, reframe or may not share the frames at all. Consequently, the metaphorical frames used by them for a particular context leads inevitably to a contradictory or conflicting situation. In addition, the choice of the particular frames is also aimed to divide members of a society into subcultures, political camps and social status.

The roles of metaphor are clearly seen when the metaphors are treated as social and situated, as a matter of language and discourse, not just as a matter of thought. The metaphor role in the discourse is as a part of the patterns of meaning-making that keep the discourse contexts alive and active. The words get their vigorous via the metaphors. That is, the metaphors raise awareness of languages as instrument of power and thereby attempt to have an impact on the power relations and contribute to lifting the inequality. In other word, the

metaphors can get their power and role if they are empowered by the discourse functions and at the same time are continually reinforced by the mass media.

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