

# Symbolic Conflict In Political Discourse: Case Study In ‘People Power’ Discourse Post General Election 2019 In Indonesia

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## Symbolic Conflict In Political Discourse: Case Study In 'People Power' Discourse Post General Election 2019 In Indonesia

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### Abstract-

The aftermath of Indonesian general election 2019 generated the discourse on People power triggered by the dispute between Jokowi-Amin supporters and Prabowo-Sandi's. This article describes (1) how symbolic conflict on people power produced by both competing parties is, and (2) why they fought on the discourse of people power, while the study also examined relationship mid discourse, supply chain system, symbolic conflict and people power with mediating effect of politics. This study is qualitatively approached by using pragmatics framework. The data were collected through documentation technique, derived from the broadcasted speech on YouTube found after general election 2019. The collected data were analyzed by the interactive model of Miles dan Huberman. Considering the fact that political discourse contains a variety of interests, the researchers applied discourse conflict analysis coined by Bourdieu, comprising two sorts of discourse, namely prior discourse and counter discourse. Based on data analysis, the study discovers some findings as follow; *first*, symbolic conflict on people power discourse takes place in two forms, i.e.: (1) introducing a single in-group's meaning, perspective, and values, and (2) rejecting the meaning of the other group's logic and perspective. *Second*, the strategy of symbolic conflict is *meconnaissance*; i.e. euphemism and censorization. *Third*, symbolic conflict on people power discourse motivated by (1) the desire to win the election, (2) difference of habitus, and (3) difference of political goal.

**Keywords;** *people power, discourse, symbolic conflict, meconnaissance, politics.*

### 1. Introduction

The discourse of "people power" appeared in the end of simultaneously held five-year periode of general elections for state legislators as well as for president of Indonesia. This discourse was issued by the supporters of paired presidential contestants and was triggered by several suspected cheatings percieved as being structured, sistematic, and massive which potentially benefited the paired presidential contestants. Such suspected unfair treatments during the election process, e.g.: fake list of legalized voters and the mobilization of governments' officers, Police officers, Indonesian Armforces and the CEO of BUMN had been legally protested and reported to the general election supervisors but there was no significant follow-up [1]. Since all protesting efforts considered in vain, they rejected the final result of the vote-count for president declared by Indonesian general election comission and decided not extend the legal protest to national Constitutional Court, but instead, they planned to initiate people power through supply chain system. Several national figures supporting paired contestants continuously cried for people power because the election was considered unfair and coloured by many frauds. Therefore, people had to do something in order to obtain their constitutional justice by means of illegal mechanism since they believed that the law enforcers inclined to supporting the incumbent, i.e. paired contestants [2].

In short, the symbolic conflict occurred between those who supported paired contestants 01 and paired contestants 02, pejoratively called as *kecebong* and *kampret* respectively. The latter prepared for doing people power as their candidates were not elected as president since they assumed that the process of election via supply chain system had been unfairly conducted and their reports on electoral violations to the general election authorities were in vain. In turn, they consider to generate people power which they defined as the people's

movement to demand a fair and just general election via non-legal channel [3]. They considered that people power was constitutionally acceptable as means of succeeding the regime advocating foreigner's interests, being hostile to moslems by criminalizing ulemmas, and cheating the general election. For them, the current regime has made some policies benefiting foreign investors of China, but not Indonesian people [4]. The investment has been widely opened for Chinese investors who bring along their workers to Indonesia. Several mega-projects like *Transjakarta Bus* purchasing, rapid train installment, highway construction, and so on are granted to them. In addition, the supply chain system regime is deemed inconsistent with their promises stated during electoral campaign in 2014 [5].

## 2. Literature Review

Every country is very much associated with its democratic mechanisms, the association of people are therefore significant in admiring to strengthen the course of political discourses. Parties that come into power are supported by the group of peoples that induce votes for the better developments in their countries. It is found positive disclosure to the international powers about the strong elective structure, whereby some effective means of gathering people through supply chain system for any party can be helpful to choose a single party system. Conflicts always arise between two parties, where there are two party system, the range of peoples are diverted towards any parties. The symbolic conflicts arises if the supply chain system is arising with significant means, the improper supply chain system is the major course of causing such conflicts. The parties that came up to rule the countries are always linked to the votes of general public, where the actual power is always linked with people of the countries [6].

On the other hand the *kecebong* assumed that people power was illegal and the *kampret*'s allegations, on which the current regime is the advocator of chinese investors' interests, islamic phobia, and cheater of the general election need to be proved and validated. They view that the fake list of legalized voters has been clarified and well accomplished by general election comission. The allegation on the advocator of foreign investors' interests was rebutted by the success of Jokowi to buy back government' companies acquired by foreigner. Meanwhile, the opinion about regime's islamic phobia was weakened by the facts that the criminalized ulemmas were proved guilty in the trial process. Finally, the allegation on cheater of the general election can not be proven during the trial process in National Constitutional Court [7].

The spirit of achievement is a very important value in shaping the national character of students. Therefore students need to be motivated to always improve their academic and vocational achievements so they have life skills. This achievement will also bring the good name of the school in the life of society at large. Achievement is the key to the success of an educational institution. Achievement must be maintained or must be improved so that schools become stronger and more qualified so that they are in demand by education stakeholders. This condition will make students feel they have readiness (the ability to compete) in improving themselves in the learning process. The spirit of achievement possessed by students will have an impact on improving the quality of self and institutions in the Islamic Elementary School Al-Munawar Tulungagung.

The value of worship is essentially the realization of the values of the teachings of Islam as a tradition in the behavior and culture of the school organization which is followed by all school members. Internalization of worship values developed at Islamic Elementary School Tulungagung is closely related to habituation of students to say greetings to fellow peers at school and to teachers, habituation to pray before and after learning in class, reading Al-Qur'an every day at school, memorizing short letters, performing duha prayers and praying in congregation at school.

Attention to this quality is a commitment developed in an institution driven by the principal as a leader. Quality is an advantage that must be achieved by schools. Effective schools are schools that are successful in learning and are able to just between quality and fairness standards. Quality refers to the high performance of students. The intended justice is related to not differentiate between gender, economic and social status, ethnicity, and so on.

Dare to try and never give up is one of the values taught to students of Islamic Elementary School Tulungagung. This value contains an element of fighting spirit to achieve achievement in the whole learning process at school. Students must dare to face challenges and try to solve these challenges properly. Students dare to try to solve the challenges faced and never give up both in the learning process in the classroom and outside the classroom. This courage and the value of giving up are the foundation that students must-have in every

learning process in school in order to be able to obtain the knowledge, experience, and skills needed by students for a better future.

Self-motivation is an intrinsic value developed in order to actualize students' self to achieve good performance in the learning process at school. This culture must be developed based on values that are relevant to the spirit of the school's vision and especially the alignment to the learning process as the primary mission of the school.

<sup>6</sup>  
The strategy of developing a religious culture in shaping the nation's character of students at Al-Munawar Tulungagung Islamic Primary School can be implemented with the following steps: (a) it starts with the socialization of policies that have been formulated in a participatory manner to all students and the community. This socialization was carried out by the principal together with the teacher to all school residents, (b) form teamwork to carry out programs to strengthen religious culture in schools so that they can be carried out properly. Team Work as a motivator in strengthening this religious culture has a very important position in its implementation, (c) practicing and getting used to running the core values of Islamic teachings to students in daily life at school as a manifestation of the learning process based on Islamic teachings, (d) give a good example to students in all learning activities held at school continuously in accordance with the guidance and teachings of Islam, (e) every weekend an evaluation of the process has been carried out with the aim of obtaining feedback about the obstacles that arise and efforts to resolve them. The term *symbolic conflict* is introduced in the work of [8]. Bourdieu views that words gain power from their speaker or executor. For him, language is of social practice, occurring as the dialectical result between interior and exterior internalizations. In other words, language use is of dialectical interaction via supply chain system between linguistic market and linguistic habitus [9]. The former refers to an arena where various discourses are manifested while the latter means the tendencies of linguistic practices owned by social actors. The authority owned by a social actor does not suddenly appear but it is actually of social investment he gained. As such, language is closely related to symbolic power.

Symbolic power acquired via the process of symbolic conflict, that is a competition for a power against the other social actor rivals, especially about their existence, views, perceptions, and appreciations. It is caused by the different world views, perspectives, and values. It aims at obtaining power and demonstrates the most prevailing world views and being the rightest to gain legitimacy from the people, which is named as *doxa* [].

Symbolic power is able to conceal its true form, violence, and bullying in such a way that it can make other social actors be unconsciously dominated. Gaining the domination needs objective mechanism, i.e. making the dominated group unaware of entering the dominating circle and become obedient. Such a mechanism is called symbolic violence by Bourdieu. It operates by mechanism of *meconnaissance*, that is the concealing process to become "the way it should be". Such mechanism operate in two ways, i.e.: Euphemism and censorization. Euphemism makes the symbolic violence become soft and insidious while censorization makes symbolic violence become the form of preserving upright values [10].

Both parties always compete for domination to win people's votes by involving themselves in the symbolic conflict in the last general election. Such symbolic conflict was carried out by publishing books, holding seminar, visiting pesantren, posting campaign boards, banners, creating printed or electronic media, setting up volunteer group and social foundations [11].

Language can represent social and political behaviours of human. The discourse mode used by the incumbent and the challenging candidates are normally different although generally it normally contains an instinct of dominating, negotiating, even conflicting. The discourse modes used by them characteristically rhetoric-persuasive, either rational-persuasive, emotional-persuasive, or dogmatic-aggressive [12]. The electoral victory of *Barisan Nasional* (coalition of several parties in Malaysia) is, among other, caused by their ability to empower language in their political manifesto [13].

The conflict is frequently coloured by tensions and even hoaxes addressed to each other groups. If such a conflict in the presidential election campaign is not well-managed and wisely responded, democracy may contribute to the national disintegration rather than a means of solving the problems of the nation. However, from the dialectic perspective, all those forms of conflicts are the democratic process to select the national leader accepted by the majority of people [14].

Various studies have endorsed significant findings of power that prevail in the political courses, therefore an information mechanism always helps to induce positive images to the international powers. Variety of factors



prevail to measure the symbolic conflicts that prevail between the parties in election, while elaborating the Indonesian elections, discourse is the main factor that prevail in party systems [15]. The symbolic conflict not hinders but clear the scenario between the parties that are striving for the sake of power in politics. Supply chain system not only via various studies helped plenty of conflict eradications but also have elaborated the issues in clear views that are specified in the past studies. Supporters of parties are the major contributors for electing of the parties that strive to be elected, while the lack of supply chain system always put some improper aspects that results in the strong conflicts for the sake of powers for people casting votes [16].

The writers need to clarify that the terms *kecebong* and *kampret* in this article are used for the sake of academic presentation, considering that those terms have connoted negatively for both parties. Thus they might trigger inconvenience in the part of the readers. Hence, the writers merely play the role of observers and use them for the academic interest only, instead of intending to stigmatize either one of the groups.

This article aims at describing and explicating the phenomenon of symbolic conflict in the people power discourse as the aftermath of 2019 general election in Indonesia. Specifically, this article aims to (1) describe the forms of symbolic conflict in the people power discourse as the aftermath of 2019 general election, (2) describe the strategies of symbolic conflict in the people power discourse as the aftermath of 2019 general election, and (3) explain the factors motivating the symbolic conflict in the people power discourse as the aftermath of 2019 general election [17].

**H1:** These is positive association among the discourse and people power.

**H2:** These is positive association among the supply chain management and people power.

**H3:** These is positive association among the symbolic conflict and people power.

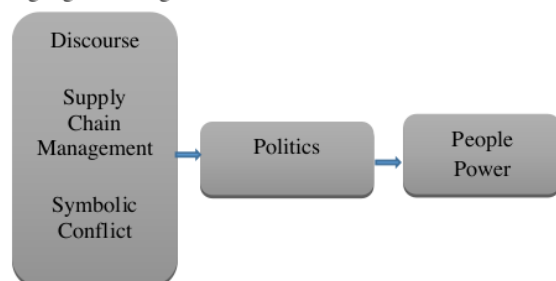
**H4:** Politics has positive mediation among the links of discourse and people power.

**H5:** Politics has positive mediation among the links of supply chain management and people power.

**H6:** Politics has positive mediation among the links of symbolic conflict and people power.

### 3. Research Methods

For the data collection, this study adopted the questionnaire method while for the data analysis, this adopted the PLS-SEM. The discourse (DC) has 12 items, Symbolic conflict (SC) has 4 items, politics (PT) has 6 items, supply chain management (SCM) has 8 items and people power (PP) has 5 items. These variables are highlighted in Figure 1.



**Figure 1:** Theoretical Framework

### 4. Findings

The output show that high linkage among the items and valid the convergent validity be <sup>13</sup> the loading and AVE are higher than 0.50 and CR and Alpha are larger than 0.70 and these states are shown in Table 1.

**Table 1:** Convergent Validity

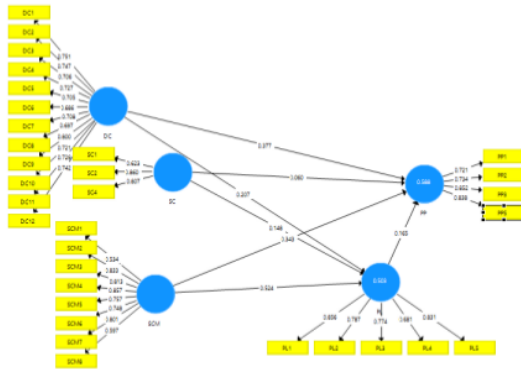
Items	Loadings	Alpha	CR	AVE
DC1	0.751	0.919	0.931	0.529
DC10	0.721			
DC11	0.729			
DC12	0.742			

DC2	0.747			
DC3	0.706			
DC4	0.727			
DC5	0.705			
DC6	0.686			
DC7	0.708			
DC8	0.697			
DC9	0.800			
PL1	0.856	0.847	0.891	0.621
PL2	0.787			
PL3	0.774			
PL4	0.681			
PL5	0.831			
PP1	0.721	0.798	0.867	0.622
PP2	0.734			
PP3	0.852			
PP5	0.838			
SC1	0.623	0.746	0.811	0.593
SC2	0.860			
SC4	0.807			
SCM1	0.534	0.888	0.910	0.563
SCM2	0.833			
SCM3	0.813			
SCM4	0.857			
SCM5	0.757			
SCM6	0.748			
SCM7	0.801			
SCM8	0.597			

The output show that no high linkage among the constructs and valid the discriminant validity because ratio of Heterotrait Monotrait are not larger than 0.90 and these states are shown in Table 2.

**Table 2:** Heterotrait Monotrait Ratio

	DC	PL	PP	SC	SCM
DC					
PL	0.546				
PP	0.742	0.704			
SC	0.239	0.417	0.344		
SCM	0.577	0.719	0.758	0.335	



**Figure 2:** Measurement Model Assessment

The regression analysis show that DC, and supply chain management have positive association with the people power and accept H1 and H3. Moreover, PL has positive mediation among the links of DC and PP, supply chain and PP and SC and PP. These figures are mentioned in Table 3.

**Table 3:** Path Analysis

	Beta	S.D.	t-values	p-values
DC -> PL	0.207	0.046	4.531	0.000
DC -> PP	0.377	0.041	9.151	0.000
PL -> PP	0.165	0.050	3.272	0.001
SC -> PL	0.148	0.044	3.352	0.001
SC -> PP	0.060	0.034	1.731	0.084
SCM -> PL	0.524	0.045	11.561	0.000
SCM -> PP	0.343	0.047	7.232	0.000
DC -> PL -> PP	0.034	0.013	2.703	0.007
SC -> PL -> PP	0.024	0.010	2.391	0.017
SCM -> PL -> PP	0.086	0.029	2.976	0.003



Figure 3: Structural Model Assessment

## 5. Discussions

Many authors contributed significant findings of positive discourse to the people that strive for power, while the symbolic conflict can be easily reduced if the mechanism of supply chain system can be specified. Politics relates to the general public that elects the people which can be beneficial for the future of such people, while the supply chain system allows some significant values which provides assertions of commitments. Researchers not only specified conclusive facts but also enhanced the broader area that can be beneficial for the general public which allow clear paths that are to be followed or can results effectively.

## 6. Conclusions

Based on the findings of the study, we draw several conclusions as follow: *First*, in political world, competition for people's political support is a prioritized agenda to win the general election. Many texts are prudently produced in order to benefit the actors' own group but to degrade other group. Political discourse becomes symbolic fight. It operates in two forms: i.e. (1) Introducing a single in-group's meaning, logic, and value, and (2) rejecting the other meaning, logic, and value.

*Second*, the strategy of symbolic fight used by the actor is *meconnaissance*, covering *euphemism* and *censorization*. Euphemism is operated by mitigating and implicating meaning. Meanwhile, *censorization* is operated by logicalization, positization, and naturalization.

*Third*, the factors motivating symbolic fight in people power discourse after the election was held can be given as follow: (1) the intention to win the election, (2) the difference of executor's habitus causing different perspectives, mindsets, etc., and (3) the difference of discourse executor's interest. In fact, what is struggled by the supporters of both competing parties is winning the general election and owning a president for the sake of their own interests.

The study of symbolic conflict between the parties not only elaborated the possible facts that rely between the public but also to the people that intervenes for the sake of power. Discourse of power induces positive findings towards the election discourses, in fact the symbolic conflict can clear the positive views to the people that struggle for power. Politics play vital role in ruling countries, while the supply chain system positively mediates between the people of power and the discourse of conflicts with some political grounds. The successful interlink between the elected factors of supply chain system helps power system to implement strong controls to meet the effectiveness.

For Amin Rais, the advisor of party 02 who first stated the discourse of 'people power', the general election coloured by a lot of frauds would make the folk suffer from some losses because they got an untrusted leader.



This discourse is also endorsed by Eggy Sujana who was the prominent figure in *Badan Pemenangan Nasional (BPN)*, the success team of 02. His statement is quoted below..

"Jika semua kecurangan ini diakumulasi, setelah jam 19.00 atau 20.00 <sup>11</sup> akan dimumkan apakah ada kecurangan yang serius. Maka analisis yang sudah dilakukan pemimpin kita <sup>11</sup> Amien Rais, kekuatan people power itu mesti dilakukan, setuju? Berani?" ["If all the frauds are accumulated, after 19.00 or 20.00 there will be an announcement on serious electoral frauds. Thus, the analysis already made by our leader Amin Rais, the force of people power must be carried out, agree? Dare you?"] (<https://www.gatra.com/detail/news/411028/politic/prabowo-kalah-eggi-sudjana-serukan-people-power>).

That is the statement given by Egy Sudjana to the supporters of Prabowo-Sandi. The discourse above only introduces a single meaning and logic. The constructed logic is *If the general election is full of frauds, the government is dishonestly elected*. Thus, essentially people suffer from loss since they have a lying leader. Consequently, people need to join the movement for the sake of justice.

The following discourse is a counter-discourse of the previous one. It is also contains a single meaning and logic. See it below. <sup>7</sup>

"Oleh karena itu, tidak salah juga jika kemudian muncul gerakan rakyat melawan *people power* nya Amien Rais, yakni *people fight* yang secara moral dan fisik akan mempertahankan NKRI dari kerusakan dan kebinasaan negeri yang akan dilakukan oleh *people power* nya Amien Rais tersebut," jelas Inas. [That's why, it is also not wrong when there is a people movement rising as to oppose the *people power* of Amin Rais, that is *People Fight*, to defend the Unity of nation morally and physically from serious destruction due to the *people power* which will be done by Amin Rais'] <https://nasional.sindonews.com/read/1401842/12/bpn-sebut-people-power-tnk-lontarkan-people-fight-1557132719>

The text above show that people power is rejected because people power movement is only done by those who politically support 02 and to face and block this movement, *people fight* will be also done by the supporters of 01. For the sake of nation unity, party 01 will carry out the counter-movement named *people fight*.

Supporters of 02 assume, "People Power" is needed by the people for the sake of justice since the general election is full of frauds and it is constitutional. But, for 01 supporters, "People Power" is illegal and unconstitutional. In other words, "People Power" is a political power beyond the state (Rose & Miller, 2010).

The prior-discourse and contra-discourse above can be categorized into the discourse mode of emotional-persuasive, that is it generates the emotion rather than the rationale of people (Hendrajati, 2009). This discourse is typically of a fight to win the people' support. In another occasion, dogmatic-aggressive mode is also frequently issued, such as the mentioning of the party of God for the those within the coalition and the mentioning of the party of Devil for the opponent <sup>25</sup>ition. The terms used is always in opposite side. It is in line with some diction used in pros and cont to *lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT)* discourse (Farida, 2019).

In addition to introducing a single meaning, logic and prespective, symbolic conflict in people power discourse is also expressed by rejecting other meanings, logics, and perspectives. The following discourse made by Rizig Shihab is relevant for this proposition.

*Kecurangan terstruktur, sistematis, dan massif (TSM) ini membuat rakyat marah di mana-mana. Jangan sampai kemarahan ini berubah menjadi people power.* [The structured, systematic, and massive fr <sup>23</sup> made people get mad everywhere. We don't expect such an anger turns out to be a *people power*] (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IFWXIOLrO5Q>).

In the discourse above, there is an effort of rejecting another meaning, perspective, and logic done by making an analogy on accumulated electoral frauds which was claimed as to make people angry and it would yield dishonest leader. Thus, the discourse maker insists justice to refuse being fooled by the cheating leader.

The following text is of a counter-discourse for the one made by Rizig Shihab above.

"Sebenarnya mereka sedang menjual nama rakyat demi kepentingan, padahal belum tentu rakyat Indonesia memiliki pemahaman yang sama dengan narasi yang dibuat oleh kubu paslon 02," [In fact, they are selling the people's name for their own interest, while Indonesian people do not always have the same interpretation as the team of paired contestants 02 did.] (<https://nasional.sindonews.com/read/1401842/12/bpn-sebut-people-power-tnk-lontarkan-people-fight-1557132719>).

In the previous text, the executor (Inas) attempted to refuse *people power* by several reasons, i.e. the reality shows that Indonesian people voting for paired contestants 01 and advocating the democracy are of the majority.

And thus it implies that, in fact, Inas did not reject *people power*; the rejection is done by implicating that the group of people as calimed by Rizig Shihab is not clear at all. As such, Inas assumed that the discourse on *people power* is meant to provoke riots on behalf of people. The true goal aimed at is that they indeed sell people for their own political interest. The electoral frauts they accused of also done by paired contestants 02. Such a fraut did not significantly correct the result of general election. This is claimed by Mahfud MD, the ex chairman of Constitutional Court jurors, as follows.

*Pernyataan people power itu agak provokatif, ya. Menurut saya, itu kan berangkat dari kecurigaan. Ada dua hal menurut saya, satu curiga KPU ini akan diperalat oleh satu kekuatan politik. Yang kedua, mungkinantisipasi untuk mencari alasan kalau ternyata kalah. Tapi, apa pun alasannya, itu tidak sehat bagi demokrasi kita* [An issue on people power is quite provocative. In my opinion, it starts from suspicion. There are two things, I assume; First, general election commission is used to benefit one political force. Secondly, there might be a way to a 22 pate if they cannot win the election. But whatever the reason is, it is not healthy for our democracy.] (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yrKDrk8qJgA>).

One of the strategies used in symbolic fight in *people power* discourse is euphemizing and making vague meaning. This ustarategy is used by Amin Rais after he is interrogated as the witness on the case of Eggy Sujana. He said to the journalists in Central office of Regional Police of Metro Jaya, Jakarta, friday (24/5/2019) as

4llows:

*Jadi yang saya kembangkan sesungguhnya people power enteng-entengan, bukan seperti people power yang mau mengganti rezim atau menjatuhkan presiden, itu sama sekali jauh* [So, what I issued is indeed 'soft' people power, not the one which is used to take take over the power from the regime or to take over the presidential power.]

4 (<https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4564250/amien-rais-ini-people-power-enteng-entengan-bukan-mau-jatuhkan-presiden>).

Gerindra party also occationally issued a people power discourse which has been recently clarified by BPN team as the movement of people's fight-back by way of supervising voting points and vote counting up to nationall level, 3cluding suing the result of presidential election to national Constitutional Court. (<https://keepo.me/news/muncul-di-saluran-youtube-fpi-habib-rizieq-suarakan-perlawanan-lewat-people-power/>).

In the discourse above, Amin Rais and Gerindra intentionally use the strategy of euphemizing the meaning of *people power* in Indonesia by stating *soft* people power and not to insurgue the regime dan people's sovereignty. Likewise, the vice Chairman of Gerindra claimed that *people power* means the intention to conduct a people's supervision in the voting points so that the people's votes are not manipulated to give a victory to a particular paired contestants (see:01).

The text above was countered by the other party by producing a text which uses the same strategies, namely euphamism and disguising meaning. The following text produced by Jokowi is interesting to ponder:

*Kemarin people power 180 juta orang menggunakan hak pilihnya. Ya, people power di situ. Mekanisme Undang-Undang sudah jelas. Kok masih mau turun ke jalan. Sabar, ditunggu saja pengumuman resmi KPU.* ['The last time is of the execercise of people power; 180 millions people use their rights to vote. That's a true people power. The constitutional mechanism is clear. Why bother going down the road? Be patient, just wait and see the official declaration from genera 20ection commission'. ] (<https://kaltim.tribunnews.com/2019/05/06/hadang-wacana-people-power-ala-amien-rais-tn-jokowi-maruf-siapkan-gerakan-tandingan?page=4>).

Jokowi is the presidential candidate 01 and he is the incumbent as well. The texts he produced is normative and by so doing he can maintain his authority. The discourse mode of Jokowi is rational-persuasive, that is the people power to elect a leader democratically and costitutionally is manifested via general election. Such a people power will yield *legitimate power*. Such a phenomenon is in line with the findings of some researches on the relation between language and power.

To obtain people's political support, the reasons and goals of people power movement must be clearly constructed. Therefore, some reasons were made in order to gain people support. In politics, the same as in debate, argument should seem sound and logical. Even, in some arguments we find some fallacies, such as argumentum ad hominem.

Positivization was also done by government era of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and the chairperson of BEM in that era. For the government, *Bantuan Khusus Mahasiswa –BKM* (special financial aid for college

students) is a form of concern with the poor students, affected by the increased price of fossil fuel. On the other hand, for *BEM*, that aid was a sort of bribery for the students not to criticize and do public protest on the increased price of fossil fuel in that era.

Symbolic fight on people power discourse occurring as the aftermath of general election 2019 in Indonesia at east influenced by three factors, i.e.: a desire to attribute a victory for their presidential candidates of 02, the difference of discourse executors' habitus and the difference of discourse executors' interests.

One of the factors triggering conflicts between the supporters of 01 and 02 is the desire to win. It is usual that the ultimate goal of general election is achieving power. The produced discourses benefitting their own party and inflicting their opponent. Even, all strategies are implemented, including hoaxing, utilizing religious symbols and ideology to attack the political opponent to attribute victory to their party. There are claims from the supporters of 02 emphasizing that there will be no *people power* if 02 win the election. It means that, politically their goal is to win 02 couples. It is in line with some political movements, which is to win the election or to gain political power. The statement of Riziq Shihab below is interesting to consider.

*Sungguh pun demikian, kami tak menginginkan people power. Kami berharap KPU akan mengumumkan kemenangan Prabowo-Sandi. Sehingga ada suksesi kepemimpinan yang berjalan dengan damai dan konstitusional* [Indeed, we don't want to have people power. We hope that KPU will declare Prabowo-Sandi's victory; so there will be a peaceful and constitutional succession in the country.] (<https://kepo.me/news/muncul-di-saluran-youtube-fpi-habib-rizieq-suarakan-perlawanan-lewat-people-power/>).

Traced further from political affiliation, the discourse executors fight and compete for *doxa*, which can be classified into supporters of 01 who are pejoratively called as *kecebong* and the supporters of 02 pejoratively called as *kampret*. Different habitus lead to difference discourse production. "Habitus" is a 'sense of one's place...a sense of the other's place'. It influences to one's perceptions of the positions (or 'place') of oneself and other people in the world. These perceptions influence the actions and interactions with places and people. It is a complex processes correlates the physical, the social and the mental.

Their positions during the current election are 01 as the challenger and 02 as the incumbent. Ideologically, the supporters of 01 are the nationalist while 02 are the religious. Such a categorization is based on their claims and statements. The group of 01 voiced more on nationalism, Indonesian interest, diversity, Pancasila, nation unity, etc. On the other hand, the group of 02 cried more on the folk welfare, moslems, shari'a of Islam, and obeying Ulemma' *fatwa*. In every claim and action, this group touched the religious issues and asking for the supports of their ulemmas. They had held *ijtima' ulama* three times during the process of general election. Both contestants and their loyal supporters are the influencers and the buzzers which compete in lobbying people to vote their respective contestant.

Politics is all about an interest and power. As such, the discourse of politics must be assumed to have a political interest behind its production. The supporters of paired contestants 01 must be suspected that all texts they produced have hidden goal and are aimed for the victory of paired contestants 01. And vice versa, the supporters of paired contestants 02 do have similar intentions as they produce a political discourse. Political interest is much influenced by social network. In some cases, social network development participation of people in politics.

In terms of an intention of obtaining the power, Nietzsche teaches us that basically every man wants to controll others (*the will to power*). As such, he suspects that a political discourse is constructed for the purpose of gaining a power.

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