

Pragmatic Analysis of Language Politeness & FTA/FSA Strategies in The East Java Gubernatorial Debate 2024

Hadi Asrori

Universitas Airlangga Surabaya Indonesia

hadiasrori0@gmail.com

Abstract:

Political debates in regional head elections serve not only as a platform for the exchange of ideas but also as a reflection of the communication strategies employed to build image and garner public sympathy. In this context, the selection of words and modes of expression becomes paramount, particularly in upholding ethics and language politeness. This study aims to analyze the forms of language politeness in the East Java Gubernatorial Election debate of 2024 using a pragmatic approach. The primary focus of this research is on Leech's (1983) politeness principles, which encompass six maxims: "Tact Maxim", generosity, appreciation, modesty, agreement, and sympathy, as well as identifying their violations. Furthermore, this research examines Face Threatening Acts (FTA) and Face-Saving Acts (FSA) based on Brown & Levinson's (1987) theory. The methodology employed is qualitative descriptive, utilizing observation and note-taking techniques on the transcripts of three debate sessions. The results indicate that of the 67 data instances, Candidate Pair 1 (Luluk–Lukman) predominantly adhered to the "Tact Maxim" and generosity, Candidate Pair 2 (Khofifah–Emil) excelled in the maxims of appreciation and modesty, while Candidate Pair 3 (Risma–Hans) exhibited a greater tendency towards the maxims of agreement and sympathy. Various forms of FTA and FSA were also identified, reflecting each candidate's communication strategy in constructing their political image. This study reinforces the significance of politeness and pragmatic strategies in political discourse as a means of maintaining harmony, strengthening identity, and ethically influencing public opinion.

Keywords: pragmatics; language politeness; Leech's maxims; Face Threatening Acts (FTA); Face Saving Acts (FSA).

Abstrak:

Debat politik dalam pemilihan kepala daerah bukan hanya menjadi ajang adu gagasan, tetapi juga cerminan strategi komunikasi yang digunakan untuk membangun citra dan menarik simpati publik. Dalam konteks ini, pemilihan kata dan cara bertutur menjadi sangat penting, terutama dalam menjaga etika dan kesantunan berbahasa. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis bentuk kesantunan berbahasa dalam debat Pemilihan Gubernur Jawa Timur 2024 dengan menggunakan pendekatan pragmatik. Fokus utama kajian ini adalah prinsip kesantunan menurut Leech (1983), yang meliputi enam maksim: kebijaksanaan, kedermawanan, penghargaan, kesederhanaan, kemufakatan, dan simpati, serta mengidentifikasi pelanggarannya. Selain itu, penelitian ini juga mengkaji Tindakan pengancam wajah (Face Threatening Acts/FTA) dan tindakan penyelamat wajah (Face Saving Acts/FSA) berdasarkan teori Brown & Levinson (1987). Metode yang digunakan adalah deskriptif kualitatif dengan teknik simak dan catat terhadap transkrip tiga sesi debat. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa dari 67 data tuturan, Paslon 1 (Luluk–Lukman) dominan dalam maksim kebijaksanaan dan kedermawanan, Paslon 2 (Khofifah–Emil) menonjol pada maksim

penghargaan dan kesederhanaan, sedangkan Paslon 3 (Risma–Hans) lebih banyak menunjukkan maksim kemufakatan dan simpati. Ditemukan pula berbagai bentuk FTA dan FSA yang mencerminkan strategi komunikasi masing-masing paslon dalam membangun citra politik. Penelitian ini memperkuat pentingnya kesantunan dan strategi pragmatik dalam diskursus politik sebagai cara untuk menjaga harmoni, memperkuat identitas, dan memengaruhi opini publik secara etis.

Kata kunci: Pragmatik, Kesantunan Berbahasa, Maksim Leech, Face Threatening Acts (FTA), Face Saving Acts (FSA)

ملخص البحث:

لا تُعد المناظرات السياسية في الانتخابات المحلية مجرد ساحة لتبادل الأفكار، بل تُعد أيضًا انعكاسًا لاستراتيجيات التواصل المستخدمة لبناء الصورة وجذب تعاطف الجمهور. وفي هذا السياق، تصبح انتقاء الكلمات وأسلوب التعبير أمرًا بالغ الأهمية، خاصة في الحفاظ على الأخلاق وأدب اللغة. يهدف هذا البحث إلى تحليل مظاهر أدب اللغة في مناظرة انتخابات محافظ جاوة الشرقية لعام 2024 باستخدام المنهج البراغماتي. يركز هذا البحث بشكل رئيسي على مبدأ والذي يشمل ستة قواعد: الحكمة، والكرم، والتقدير (Leech، 1983) الأدب اللغوي كما حدده ليتش والتواضع، والاتفاق والتعاطف، بالإضافة إلى تحديد حالات انتهاك هذه القواعد. كما يتناول (Face Saving Acts FSA) وأفعال إنقاذ الوجه (FTA - Acts Face Threatening) البحث أيضًا أفعال تهديد الوجه اعتمد البحث على (Brown & Levinson، 1987) استنادًا إلى نظرية براون وليفنسون. المنهج الوصفي النوعي باستخدام تقنية الملاحظة والتدوين لنصوص ثلاث جلسات من المناظرة أظهرت النتائج أن من بين 67 خطابًا، برز المرشحان الأولان (لوكمان) في استخدام قاعدة الحكمة والكرم، بينما تم 'يز المرشحان الثانيان (خُفيفة-إيميل) في قاعدة التقدير والتواضع، وأظهر المرشحان الثالثان (ريزما-هانز) تفوقًا في قاعدة الاتفاق والتعاطف. كما تم العثور على أشكال تعكس الاستراتيجيات الخطابية الخاصة بكل مرشح في بناء صورته FSA و FTA متعددة من السياسية. يعزز هذا البحث أهمية أدب اللغة والاستراتيجيات البراغماتية في الخطاب السياسي كوسيلة للحفاظ على الانسجام، وتعزيز الهوية، والتأثير الأخلاقي على الرأي العام

الكلمات الأساسية: البراغماتية 1؛ أدب اللغة 2؛ قواعد ليتش 3 (FTA) أفعال تهديد الوجه 5 (FSA) أفعال إنقاذ الوجه

INTRODUCTION

A campaign is a communication activity designed to influence a large number of people within a specified timeframe. In political communication, campaigns are conducted by individuals, groups, or political organizations to sway decisions within society. Furthermore, a campaign also represents the efforts of electoral participants or designated parties

to persuade voters by conveying their vision, mission, programmes, and self-image. Generally, campaigns serve as strategic communication tools to shape public opinion and behavior (Wibowo, 2024). A campaign consists of a series of planned communication actions aimed at creating specific effects on a large audience, carried out continuously over a defined period (Ruslan, 2008).

Referring to the aforementioned definitions, it is evident that the stages of a campaign hold significant urgency in providing a participatory space for citizens, particularly voters. This is crucial as it is during the campaign phase that voters can assess the extent to which the ideas proposed by candidates can impact national and state life. Moreover, this stage offers voters the opportunity to gain deeper insights into the candidates' concepts (Rasji et al., 2023). Essentially, this underscores that the campaign is a critical phase that acts as a bridge for disseminating ideas and concepts to voters, thereby directly affecting voter participation. Given that a decline in voter participation is something that must be minimized, if not avoided, a reduction in voter turnout could potentially undermine the legitimacy of both general and regional elections, posing a threat to the quality of democracy in Indonesia.

Similarly, during the gubernatorial election campaign in East Java, which took place in Surabaya, three stages of debates were conducted involving three pairs of candidates. The first pair consisted of Hj. Luluk Nur Hamidah, M.Si (Bu Luluk) and H. Lukmanul Hakim, M.Si (Pak Lukman), whose vision is a prosperous and competitive East Java that is inclusive, environmentally aware, and globally oriented (Rohman, 2024). The second pair comprised Dra. Hj. Khofifah Indar Parawansa, M.Si (Bu Khofifah) and Emil Elestianto Dardak (Pak Emil), who envision a progressive East Java that is just, prosperous, superior, and sustainable, aiming for a Golden Indonesia by 2045 (Setiawan & Rusiana, 2024). Lastly, the third pair include Tri Rismaharini (Bu Risma) and KH. Zainul Azhar Asumta (Gus Hans), with a vision of a clean East Java aimed at achieving a just, prosperous, and civilized society (Setiawan & Wardianto, 2024).

Each of these three debate stages presented different themes. The first debate session was held at Graha Unesa Surabaya on 18 October 2024, focusing on the theme of social transformation and the enhancement of local resource productivity for the welfare of the East Java community. This was further divided into seven sub-themes: competitiveness and economic added value, education, health, demographics, poverty and inequality,

digital society, social resilience, and the strengthening of local culture and identity (Nusa, 2024). The second debate took place at Mall Grand City Surabaya on 30 October 2024, with the theme of effective and innovative governance and inclusive public services for justice in East Java, subdivided into eight sub-themes: culture and modern bureaucracy, innovation in governance, transparent, inclusive, and just public services, public participation and community empowerment, harmonization of local legal products, and meaningful participation (JatimNewsroom, 2024). The final debate session occurred on 19 November 2024, also at Mall Grand City, focusing on the theme of infrastructure, environmental sustainability, and energy, divided into eight sub-themes: transportation and telecommunications infrastructure, housing infrastructure, clean water, and sanitation, electricity infrastructure and renewable energy, equitable connectivity between regions, integrated spatial planning, climate change, mining, and ecological commitment, as well as supervision and enforcement of environmental law.

Undoubtedly, during the debates, each candidate endeavored to articulate their ideas and proposals, promoting themselves to convince the audience of their suitability based on the visions and missions presented or in response to questions posed to each candidate. In gubernatorial elections, candidates often employ communication strategies that encompass three main forms: acclaim (self-praise), attack (criticism of opponents), and defense (self-defense). The objective of these strategies is to influence public opinion and garner voter support (Wahyuningsih, 2021).

Nevertheless, it is crucial for each candidate to maintain politeness in communication with other candidates as a model and ethical example in discourse. Politeness in language during gubernatorial debates is vital as it reflects the ethics and professional attitudes of the candidates, which can influence voters' perceptions and decisions. The use of respectful language and appropriate communication strategies not only demonstrates respect towards opponents but also enhances credibility and fosters a positive image in the eyes of the public. Consequently, the application of linguistic politeness can create a constructive and informative debate atmosphere, thereby assisting voters in making informed decisions (Nuraini et al., 2020).

In the context of the 2024 East Java Gubernatorial Election, public debates serve as a crucial platform for conveying visions and missions while shaping political images. The discourse employed not only carries literal meanings but also implies pragmatic strategies that influence public perception. An examination of politeness principles, as proposed by

Leech (1983), along with face-threatening acts and face-saving strategies (P. , & L. S. C. Brown, 1987), becomes essential for understanding the strategic use of language in the political arena. However, there is a lack of research that specifically analyses linguistic politeness in regional political debates through a comprehensive pragmatic approach. Therefore, this study aims to analyze the forms of linguistic politeness and their violations, as well as face-threatening and face-saving strategies in the 2024 East Java gubernatorial debate, utilizing a pragmatic approach.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Pragmatics is a branch of linguistics that examines the meaning of language within the context of its use, including how utterances can influence and be influenced by social situations (Leech, 1983). In the context of political debates, pragmatics enables us to understand how communication strategies are employed to construct an image and influence public opinion. This is akin to linguistic politeness, which is a principle in communication aimed at maintaining harmonious social relationships by respecting interlocutors. According to Leech (1983), linguistic politeness involves maxims such as tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, and sympathy, which help to mitigate potential conflicts in communication. Furthermore, (Watts, 2003) emphasizes that politeness is not solely based on linguistic rules but is also influenced by social and cultural norms within a society. Thus, linguistic politeness becomes a crucial element in establishing effective communication and maintaining a balance in social relationships.

Linguistic politeness pertains not only to rules but also encompasses five strategies. These five strategies are: (1) performing speech acts straightforwardly, without circumlocution, while adhering to principles of cooperation; (2) employing positive politeness strategies; (3) utilizing negative politeness strategies; (4) executing off-record speech acts; and (5) refraining from speech acts or remaining silent (Grice, 1975). Rahardi (2005) states that Leech categorizes the principles of politeness into six, which consist of: (1) the maxim of tact (minimizing the cost to others and maximizing the benefit to others); (2) the maxim of generosity (minimizing the benefit to oneself and maximizing the cost to oneself); (3) the maxim of approbation (minimizing criticism of others and maximizing praise of others); (4) the modesty maxim (minimizing praise of oneself and maximizing criticism of oneself); (5) the maxim of agreement (minimizing disagreement between oneself and others and maximizing agreement between oneself and others); and (6) the maxim of sympathy (minimizing antipathy between oneself and others and maximizing

sympathy between oneself and others). These principles are vital in social interactions, as they create a harmonious atmosphere and foster mutual respect among individuals (Ho & Hook, 2022).

Linguistic politeness relates to the language used to maintain an individual's face in social interactions, whether through positive politeness (demonstrating respect and closeness) or negative politeness to avoid imposing on the interlocutor (Brown & Levinson, 1986). Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) are a concept introduced by (Brown, 1987) in their theory of politeness, which focuses on how speakers maintain their self-image (face) and that of their interlocutors in social interactions. In this theory, "face" is divided into two types: positive face, which is the desire to be appreciated, liked, and accepted by others, and negative face, which is the desire to be free from imposition and to have the freedom to act. Speech acts that threaten either of these two types of face are referred to as Face Threatening Acts (FTAs). Speakers typically employ various strategies to minimize the impact of FTAs, such as bald on-record (direct without mitigation), positive politeness (demonstrating closeness), negative politeness (maintaining social distance), and off-record (implicit and indirect). In the context of political debates, FTAs often arise when a candidate directly criticizes, opposes, or embarrasses their opponent, making mitigation strategies essential for preserving one's image in the public eye.

In communication, Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) and Face-Saving Acts (FSAs) frequently occur in social interactions, including political debates. For instance, when a candidate states, "My opponent's programmed is unrealistic and difficult to implement in practice," this constitutes an FTA, as the Utterance may threaten the image or credibility of the opponent. However, if the candidate adds, "Nevertheless, I appreciate their efforts in designing policies that are community-oriented," this serves as an FSA, as it functions to alleviate the negative impact of the criticism and maintain a good relationship with both the interlocutor and the audience. In a political context, the use of these politeness strategies is crucial for maintaining a positive image and garnering public sympathy (Brown & Levinson, 1986).

Previous research has examined linguistic politeness, focusing on how speakers select specific language strategies to achieve effective oral communication. This involves how language is strategically employed for particular social and communicative purposes (for example, expressing opinions without causing offence, or enhancing confidence while speaking). Both studies indicate that speakers consciously choose certain linguistic forms

to achieve effective communication. In the educational realm, Language Learning Strategies (LLS) are employed by students to develop speaking skills, while in a political context, politeness principles are used to uphold the image and relationships among presidential candidates. This similarity reinforces the notion that pragmatic strategies and linguistic awareness are crucial aspects of successful oral communication, whether in formal or public contexts (Chandran et al., 2023; Lubis & Baroroh, 2022).

Continuing with previous research, which discusses Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) and Face Saving Acts (FSAs), findings indicate that forms of face threats can include criticism, disagreement, commands, coarse emotions, inappropriate terms, and silence in response to praise. Strategies for Face Threatening Acts can be bald on-record (direct): contradictions, accusations, interruptions, and insinuations, with types of face threats categorized as positive face threats (criticism, insults, interruptions) and negative face threats (commands, requests, insinuations) (Jamal, 2021; Kasenda, 2018).

From the aforementioned research, it can be concluded that there has been considerable investigation into linguistic politeness and the forms of face threats (FTAs) employed. However, the studies have yet to combine Leech's principles of linguistic politeness concerning the maxims of politeness and their violations with Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) and Face-Saving Acts (FSAs) as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1986). Therefore, this represents the research gap that distinguishes my study from previous investigations, as it aims to analyze the principles of politeness and their violations while considering the aspects of face threats and face-saving acts.

RESEARCH METHOD

To examine the linguistic phenomena, present in all debate sessions during the 2024 East Java gubernatorial election, this study employs a qualitative descriptive method. This method has been selected as it allows the researcher to comprehensively depict and analyze data within this context (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). It is particularly suitable for articulating verbal interactions or speech within the political domain, especially in political debates. The data collection process utilizes the Listening Technique. According to (Sudaryanto, 2015), the listening method is an approach to observing language through direct observation of language use or via recorded media. To identify various pragmatic strategies and politeness principles employed by the candidates, the debate videos are examined thoroughly (Sudaryanto, 2015). In addition to the Listening Technique, transcripts of the

first, second, and third debates in the 2024 East Java gubernatorial election are recorded, followed by the identification, sorting, and selection of sentences that embody principles of politeness and their violations, as well as instances of Face Threatening Acts (FTA) and Face-Saving Acts (FSA).

The primary data is sourced from YouTube videos under the account name KompasTv. The links to the debates are as follows: the first debate (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4d12etpIwpk&t=3319s>), the second debate (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6klvTti74Ac&t=2037s>), and the third debate (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bER11eIA3y0&t=5063s>). Each utterance in the debates is categorized for data analysis. This method aids the researcher in understanding politeness and pragmatic principles in political communication (Krippendorff, 2004). To ensure data validity, cross-checking is conducted between the original transcripts and the videos, alongside references from relevant literature.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the analysis conducted, it was found that there are 67 instances of adherence to linguistic politeness, characterized by 15 instances of the “Tact Maxim”, 15 instances of the maxim of generosity, 11 instances of the maxim of approbation, 8 instances of the modesty programmes maxim, 9 instances of the maxim of agreement, and 9 instances of the maxim of sympathy.

First Candidate: Luluk and Lukman

The adherence to the “Tact Maxim” in the 2024 East Java gubernatorial debate revealed a total of 15 instances articulated by all gubernatorial candidates in East Java. Among these, candidate pair Luluk and Lukman exhibited the highest frequency, with 7 instances of the “Tact Maxim”, surpassing the other two pairs. Candidate pair two demonstrated only 4 instances of the tact maxim, while candidate pair three also recorded 4 instances. Of the 7 instances identified from candidate pair 1, the researcher elaborates on 2 instances of tact maxim and 2 instances of the maxim of generosity, along with their violations, which represent the tact maxim from the other two candidate pairs. The following are excerpts that illustrate the achievements of linguistic politeness in terms of the tact maxim and generosity, which were the most frequently observed from the other two candidate pairs.

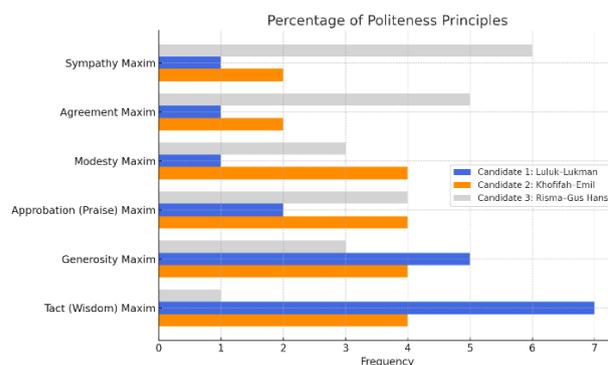


Figure 1: Recapitulation of the Findings of Maksim Leech in all Debate Sessions for the East Java Gubernatorial Election 2024

Tact Maxim

The tact maxim is one of the six principles of politeness according to Leech. This principle emphasizes the importance of speaking or acting in a manner that does not offend or embarrass others. In the context of communication, this maxim relates to the use of polite language and the avoidance of words that may be considered rude or inappropriate. The fundamental idea of the tact maxim is that every participant in a conversation should adhere to the principle of minimizing self-gain while maximizing the benefits for others.

Compliance with the tact maxim in the East Java 2024 gubernatorial debate yielded 15 instances articulated by the candidates for governor of East Java. Among these 15 instances, the first candidates, Luluk and Lukman, exhibited 7 instances of the tact maxim, which is more than the two other pairs of candidates. However, from the 7 instances identified from candidates Luluk and Lukman, the researcher only elaborates on 3 instances of the tact maxim and 3 instances of the maxim of generosity, along with their violations, which represent the other two pairs of candidates. The following are excerpts illustrating the achievements of language politeness based on the tact maxim, focusing on the most frequent instances from candidates 1 and their violations.

For candidates Luluk and Lukman, the tact maxim identified focuses on avoiding Utterance that are detrimental or embarrassing to others, as well as communicating in a manner that benefits all parties involved. For these candidates, many of their Utterance avoid personal attacks and instead focus on objectives that are beneficial to the community.

Utterance: "We come here as candidates for governor and deputy governor. We have the intention and determination for East Java to be better, fairer, more prosperous, and more flourishing." (25:53 – 26:05, First Debate).

Based on the principles of politeness, this Utterance falls within the tact maxim, which

encourages the speaker to minimize harm to the interlocutor and maximize benefits for them. In this utterance, the speaker does not offend others (such as political opponents) but instead prioritizes the interests of the people of East Java by emphasizing their vision, intention, and determination. This Utterance is characterized as polite and ethical, as it does not engage in verbal attacks and remains focused on positive and constructive matters. From the perspective of Face Threatening Acts (FTA), it differentiates between two types of "face": Positive Face (the need for acceptance, appreciation, and being liked) and Negative Face (the need to be free from pressure and intrusion). In this Utterance, there is no threat to the interlocutor's face, no threats against anyone's face, and no criticism, attacks, or sarcasm directed at others. This utterance supports the speaker's own positive face by demonstrating care and commitment to improving the conditions in East Java. The speaker aims to build a positive image as a prospective leader whose intentions and determination are genuinely for the people.

Utterance: "...what we need to develop is effective communication and also a transformative leadership so that we can involve... we can invite and coordinate..." (1:47:08 – 1:47:51, Third Debate).

The above Utterance falls under the tact maxim, as its fundamental principle is to encourage the speaker to minimize harm and maximize benefits for others. In this utterance, candidates 1 invite all parties to collaborate and coordinate, without blaming or cornering anyone. The speaker does not impose their will but rather emphasizes cooperation: "we can involve... we can invite..." This phrase invites everyone to participate, without coercion. It demonstrates respect for the rights and roles of others, which is at the core of the tact maxim. The underlying message is that this utterance respects the independence and roles of others in the decision-making process, thus adhering to the tact maxim.

In the analysis by Brown & Levinson, this utterance is classified as a Face-Saving Act (FSA) aimed at positive face, which is the need to be accepted, valued, and regarded as part of a group. In this Utterance, the speaker fosters a sense of togetherness, exemplified by the use of words such as "we", "involve", "invite", and "coordinate". This indicates that the interlocutor is invited to be part of the solution, rather than being blamed. There is no direct threat to the identity, performance, or honor of others, thus it does not contain an FTA. The speaker merely seeks to build a good relationship, demonstrate commonality, and create social and emotional closeness.

Utterance: "...what we need to develop is effective communication and also a transformative leadership so that we can involve, we can invite, and we can easily coordinate with the district and city governments..." (1:47:09 – 1:47:21, First Debate).

The tact maxim dictates that the speaker should not impose their will and should, as much as possible, respect the listener while demonstrating a desire to provide benefits. In this Utterance, the speaker does not issue commands or assign blame; rather, they offer collaborative solutions that involve others: "we can invite... we can involve...". There is no use of coercive language; instead, it emphasizes the ease of communication to ensure that everyone is included and can work together effectively, thus aligning with the tact maxim.

The Utterance is also classified as a Face-Saving Act (FSA) aimed at the positive face of the audience, as positive face is the need for an individual to be valued, accepted, and regarded as an important part of a group or collective action. The use of the word "we" indicates openness. The speaker aligns their position with that of the audience (the community and local government). This builds social solidarity rather than dominance. The collaborative invitation (involving, inviting, coordinating) does not attack or threaten but rather reinforces the role and position of the listeners (district/city government and citizens). This also exemplifies a form of positive politeness, where the speaker attempts to build a positive relationship, showcasing shared values and common goals. There are no elements of bald-on-record or implied threats, nor any FTAs that threaten negative face (freedom to act), and there are no insinuations, commands, or criticisms directed at others. In conclusion, this Utterance constitutes a Face Saving Act aimed at the positive face of the audience by valuing their position and role, employing positive politeness strategies, and demonstrating a desire to collaborate rather than unilaterally dictate.

Maxim of Generosity

The maxim of generosity necessitates that the speaker prioritizes the benefits of others while minimizing personal gains. Candidate Pair 1 demonstrates considerable concern for the welfare of the community, without highlighting their own interests.

Utterance: "...one of the aspirations of Mrs. Luluk and Mas Lukman for the future is to present 1 million SMEs in East Java by leveraging digital technology and utilizing digital marketing..." (2:22:28 – 2:22:43, First Debate).

The fundamental concept of the maxim of generosity is "Minimize personal gain and maximize benefits for others." The main subjects are "Mrs. Luluk and Mas Lukman," but

the focus is not on their personal interests; rather, it centers on "presenting 1 million SMEs." This represents a commitment to providing direct economic benefits to the community, rather than self-promotion. The utterance does not discuss the advantages that the candidates will gain but instead emphasizes their substantial contributions to society. Thus, this utterance adheres to the maxim of generosity as it focuses on providing ease, empowerment, and significant benefits to the people (SMEs), without showcasing personal gains.

In terms of FTA/FSA analysis, by stating they will present 1 million SMEs, the candidates acknowledge the crucial role of the community as economic actors. This serves to enhance the positive face of the audience, as they are positioned as the main actors in economic advancement and those deserving of state support, since the candidates attempt to align themselves with the interests of the people and emphasize shared values and goals. Therefore, it can be concluded that this utterance is a form of Face-Saving Act aimed at preserving the positive face of the community through promises of empowerment.

Utterance: "If we are entrusted by the people of East Java, it is essential for us to solidify our commitment that job opportunities will be accessible, fertilizer will be easy to obtain, and education and healthcare will be free, with affordable basic necessities." (27:05 – 27:29, First Debate).

The primary focus of this utterance is not on the candidates' benefits but rather on what the community will receive if they are elected. Phrases like "job opportunities will be accessible," "education and healthcare will be free," and "affordable basic necessities" all indicate an intention to provide economic and social benefits to the people, rather than promoting themselves personally. This utterance offers concrete solutions to the economic issues faced by the populace, without any tone of arrogance or self-aggrandizement. Thus, it can be stated that this utterance complies with the maxim of generosity, as it demonstrates a commitment to maximizing benefits for the people of East Java without self-promotion. Furthermore, from an FTA/FSA perspective, this utterance does not attack anyone and instead addresses the basic needs of the community. The use of the phrase "If we are entrusted..." represents an acknowledgment of the authority and role of the citizens. By promising important matters (jobs, education, healthcare), the candidates elevate the positive image of the community as a party that deserves to be championed and served. Consequently, it can be concluded that This exemplifies an FSA strategy aimed at preserving the positive face of the audience, as it affirms that they are important and deserving of a better quality of life. The strategy employed is positive politeness: fostering

closeness and promising solutions that directly address the needs of the people.

Utterance: "...fertilizer will be easy to obtain, farmers will be happy, education and healthcare will be free, basic necessities will be affordable..." (27:16 – 27:29, First Debate).

This utterance contains a direct promise to facilitate access to fertilizer, education, healthcare, and essential goods. There are no Utterances indicating personal benefits for the candidates. The entire content of the utterance instead reflects a desire to provide direct benefits to the underprivileged (farmers, the general public). Phrases like "fertilizer will be easy to obtain, farmers will be happy" emphasize the intention to provide ease and welfare. This utterance adheres to the maxim of generosity, as its entire focus is on delivering direct benefits to the people, rather than self-promotion. From an FTA/FSA perspective, this utterance does not threaten anyone and instead reinforces the positive face of the audience (the community) by making promises to meet their basic needs. The phrase "farmers will be happy" acknowledges the crucial role of farmers in development, thereby enhancing their image as primary actors in the economy. Indirectly, this utterance also reflects positive politeness, as it highlights a sense of togetherness and empathy towards the genuine needs of the people. Hence, this utterance serves as a Face-Saving Act aimed at preserving the positive face of the people, affirming that they are significant, worthy of advocacy, and deserving of attention. The candidates utilize positive politeness to build a close and supportive relationship with the audience.

Violations of Maxim

The violations identified in the East Java gubernatorial debate conducted by the First candidate, Luluk and Lukman, include:

Utterance: "This is somewhat paradoxical, given the reality in the East; the unemployment rate is actually exacerbated by vocational schools. This means, I apologize, Mrs. Khofifah, that there is no well-thought-out planning." (01:04:21 - 01:04:44, Second Debate).

This utterance linguistically violates several politeness maxims, particularly the tact maxim, respect, and agreement. It also constitutes a Face Threatening Act (FTA) against the positive face of the interlocutor, as it delivers a direct and quite harsh criticism of Khofifah's policy planning. Although the context of the debate permits rebuttals, the manner of delivery contains the potential for conflict and linguistic discourtesy, especially if not balanced with adequate mitigation.

A detailed explanation reveals that regarding the tact maxim, the principle is:

"Minimize harm to others, maximize benefits." The objective is to ensure that the speaker does not hurt or offend the listener. A violation occurs because the speaker directly blames the opposing party (Mrs. Khofifah) for the lack of preparedness in planning. The expression "there is no well-thought-out planning" is an attacking judgement that is not presented in a more neutral or gentle manner. In terms of the maxim of approbation, the violation occurs due to the absence of an effort to acknowledge any positive aspects of the opponent's policies or programmes before delivering criticism. The criticism is presented frontally, without any pause or prior appreciation, which could trigger perceptions of arrogance or rudeness. Regarding the maxim of agreement, the violation occurs because this utterance displays an open disagreement with the previous argument, where instead of acknowledging some points and rebutting others (a persuasive strategy), the speaker outright dismisses the entire point absolutely by labelling it paradoxical.

In terms of face, this constitutes a threat to the positive face of Mrs. Khofifah, namely her image, reputation, and professional competence as a leader and policymaker. It also includes an FTA, where the Utterance "there is no well-thought-out planning" implies that Mrs. Khofifah's policies are unstructured, unfounded, or even failed. This threatens Khofifah's respect and self-esteem in the eyes of the public, particularly as it is delivered in an open forum (debate). The phrase "I apologize, Mrs. Khofifah" is, in essence, a mitigation strategy; however, in this context, it is an attempt to temper the issue but is insufficiently strong, thus still creating a significant problem. The apology seems to serve merely as a formality, rather than a balancing act to soften the critical tone.

Utterance: "I met with the leaders of the pesantren in Bangil, Pasuruan; they have complained for years about damage and pollution from waste in the village. However, let alone solutions, they are not even heard by the provincial government. Therefore, we should never take pride in receiving so many awards; what is the point of awards if the poor struggle to manage KTP, struggle to manage BPJS, let alone struggle to obtain permits? According to ICW data 2023, East Java has the highest number of corruption cases in Indonesia." (01:14:25 - 01:15:20, Second Debate).

The above utterance contains violations of the tact maxim, respect, and agreement. Why? Because the criticism is delivered directly and very harshly (offending a specific party), there is no effort to maintain the honor of the interlocutor or government institution, and there is no attempt to show agreement or a neutral stance. This Utterance directly offends the provincial government and explicitly states their incapacity; the provincial government receives no recognition whatsoever; rather, it is demeaned with diction such

as "let alone being heard..." and "what is the point of awards...". There is no effort to express understanding or agreement with the party being criticized. The tone of the utterance is confrontational.

This utterance is an example of a Face Threatening Act (FTA) against the positive face of the East Java provincial government. According to Brown & Levinson's theory (1987), the positive face refers to the individual or institution's need to be valued, respected, and socially acknowledged. When Luluk & Lukman state, "let alone solutions, they are not even heard," linking it to the bureaucracy that complicates the lives of the people and mentioning the highest corruption data in Indonesia, they directly tarnish the good image of the provincial government. This is clearly an attack on the public's perception of the interests and reputation of that institution.

The question arises as to why Candidate Pair 1, Luluk and Lukman, exhibit more instances of the tact maxim and Generosity compared to the other two candidates? This is because their communication strategy tends to be audience-oriented and emphasizes the values of empathy, concern, and service. In Leech's politeness theory (1983), the tact maxim is characterized by the speaker's efforts to avoid imposing their will on the listener, while the maxim of generosity is evident when the speaker focuses more on the benefits to others than to themselves.

In the context of political debates, Luluk and Lukman frequently employ friendly and cooperative utterances, such as "we can involve," "we want to ensure that the people easily access education and healthcare," or "we want to empower SMEs." Such diction choices indicate a genuine intention to make a meaningful contribution without demanding direct reciprocation and avoiding a blaming or condescending attitude towards others. This contrasts with the other candidates, who in several segments tend to use a more confrontational or competitive communication style, which tends to violate the tact maxim (for instance, through direct sarcasm or sharp criticisms of political opponents or the government).

Additionally, this is influenced by their vision, which has been explained in the background as "East Java that is Prosperous and Competitive, Inclusive, Environmentally Conscious, and Globally Minded." Examples such as "fertilizer will be easy to obtain, farmers will be happy...", "we will present 1 million SMEs," and "we want to involve all parties" reflect a communication style that aligns with creating an inclusive and

empowering environment in their vision. They do not merely present plans but communicate them in a manner that is embracing, non-patronizing, and full of empathy, reflecting their vision of welfare and togetherness.

Second Candidate, Khofifah-Emil

In second candidate, Khofifah-Emil, the maxim of appreciation and the modesty maxim are more prominently observed. The second candidate pair exhibit six instances of the maxim of appreciation, while the first candidate pair presents only two instances, and the third candidate pair shows four instances. In terms of the modesty maxim, Candidate Pair 2 demonstrates four instances, Candidate Pair 1 shows one instance, and Candidate Pair 3 reveals only three instances. Thus, the total number of instances of appreciation and modesty is greater for Candidate Pair 2, Khofifah-Emil. However, the researcher has selected three instances of appreciation and three instances of modesty from Candidate Pair 2, Khofifah-Emil, which represent the most dominant maxims found in the other two candidate pairs.

Maxim of Appreciation

The maxim of appreciation focuses on the attitude of valuing the interlocutor by providing praise and respect, both towards individuals and their viewpoints. The aim is to create a harmonious atmosphere in communication. The elaboration is as follows:

Utterance: "Thank you to all the people of East Java... our farmers, our fishermen, our livestock breeders have worked extraordinarily hard." (28:36-28:38, First Debate).

The maxim of appreciation (Approbation Maxim) asserts that the speaker should "minimize expressions that belittle others and maximize praise towards others." The use of the phrase "thank you" at the outset indicates direct recognition of the role of the community, particularly the working groups in the primary sector (farmers, fishermen, livestock breeders). The expression "have worked extraordinarily hard" is a form of direct praise (explicit approbation) for their performance and contributions. The speaker does not convey criticism, complaints, or demands towards the community; rather, they provide a wholly positive affirmation. The word "we" implies emotional closeness and inclusivity between the speaker and the people. This utterance strongly adheres to the maxim of appreciation, as it maximizes praise for the roles of ordinary people, enhances the image of the listeners without belittling anyone, and creates an appreciative and harmonious atmosphere in the interaction.

The type of action in this utterance includes a Face-Saving Act (FSA) concerning the positive face of the community. Positive face refers to an individual's desire to be valued, recognized, and considered significant within a social group. Meanwhile, FSA is an action that affirms the identity and positive contributions of the interlocutor, thereby strengthening their self-image. The speaker emphasizes that community groups (farmers, fishermen, livestock breeders) are crucial pillars of development, elevating their social image. The utterance contains a strategy of positive politeness, which demonstrates respect and appreciation, acknowledges common interests and social closeness, and does not create distance between the speaker and the listener.

Utterance: "We express our gratitude... for all our hard work, for all our sincere efforts, for our collective synergy." (25:26 – 25:48, Second Debate).

The speaker begins with "we express our gratitude" as an explicit form of appreciation towards others. The phrases "for all our hard work, for all our sincere efforts" not only emphasize technical performance but also moral values (sincerity) that are affective and carry positive emotional connotations. The phrase "our collective synergy" underscores that success is the result of collective effort, rather than individual or elite group contributions. This utterance strongly adheres to the maxim of appreciation, as it maximizes praise for the contributions of all parties openly while avoiding unilateral claims or self-aggrandizement.

This utterance also falls under the category of Face-Saving Act (FSA) concerning the positive face of collaborators. Returning to the concept of positive face, it reflects the need to feel valued and accepted. This utterance elevates the role of the listeners (collaborators, the community, bureaucratic teams) as the main contributors to success. By emphasizing the phrase "our work," the speaker employs positive politeness to demonstrate social closeness and express solidarity and cooperation. This is a very strong form of FSA, as it preserves the social honor and self-esteem of the listeners collectively.

Utterance: "We are grateful because this is the work of all parties, not just one party, but all parties..." (2:27:03 – 2:27:10, Third Debate).

This utterance aligns with the maxim of appreciation, highlighting collective collaboration rather than singular leadership. The phrase "not just one party, but all parties" is a direct effort to avoid self-praise, demonstrating adherence to the principle of politeness. Thus, the speaker consciously refrains from praising their own achievements and instead emphasizes the contributions of everyone as a whole. This is characteristic of

the maxim of appreciation, as it indicates a high level of respect for others.

In this utterance, it also pertains to FSA regarding the positive face of the community and bureaucratic entities. The speaker avoids actions that could threaten the image of others or appear negative, preferring to showcase that everyone can speak and contribute rather than highlighting themselves. By asserting that success is achieved through "all parties," all layers (the community, bureaucracy, stakeholders) feel appreciated, involved, and significant. This represents a form of positive politeness and FSA strategy, as it strengthens positive social identity and maintains good interpersonal relationships.

Violations of the Maxim of Appreciation

Utterance: "...that is what we have actually done, not what we will do."
(48:52 – 48:59, Second Debate).

Returning to the fundamental concept of the theory, the maxim of appreciation emphasizes that speakers should: "minimize expressions that belittle others and maximize praise towards others." The phrase "not what we will do" is articulated clearly and emphatically towards political opponents who lack a track record or are merely proposing programmes. This indirectly diminishes or belittles the position of other candidates, implying that they can only engage in discourse without concrete evidence. Although this utterance aims to highlight one's own achievements, it does so by undermining the value of others, thereby violating the principle of respect towards interlocutors. This utterance contravenes the maxim of appreciation as it asserts one's superiority while implying the weaknesses of others.

Thus, such actions are classified as a Face Threatening Act (FTA) against the positive face of other candidates. Positive face reflects an individual's desire to be valued and accepted socially. By stating "we have done, not what we will do," the speaker refuses to acknowledge or appreciate the good intentions of their opponents, implying that they are unworthy. The utterance from Candidate Pair 2 in this section demonstrates a violation of the maxim of appreciation and contains face-threatening actions (FTA). Although implicit and subtle, this utterance creates a negative perception of the other candidates, which may be seen as a communication strategy in the debate, yet it remains contrary to the fundamental principles of politeness. Furthermore, no violations of the modesty maxim were found.

Modesty Maxim

Utterance: "We would like to convey that the issue of waste is a problem that must be addressed together..." (51:04 – 51:12, Second Debate).

In the context of political debate, it is quite common for candidates to prominently highlight their achievements or programmes. However, in this utterance, Candidate Pair 2 does not position themselves as the primary hero or problem-solver; rather, they invite the community to act as active partners in resolving environmental issues, particularly waste management. The use of the phrase "we would like to convey" is humble in nature, contrasting with utterance like "we have solved" or "we have succeeded," which typically imply superiority. The phrase "a problem that must be addressed together" indicates an awareness of the complexity of the issue and the limitations of power, as well as a willingness to involve others. This is a clear manifestation of self-downgrading, which is central to the modesty maxim this utterance also falls under the category of Face-Saving Act (FSA) as it asserts that the community plays a vital role in problem resolution, not dismissing or lecturing them, but rather inviting them to participate on equal terms. Phrases such as "must be addressed together" serve to align the social positions between leaders and the populace, thereby avoiding face-threatening acts (FTA) towards the audience and fostering an impression of inclusivity, activity, and collaboration.

Utterance: "...we also wish to convey that we provide BOSDA for Madrasah Diniyah (Madin)..." (54:00 – 54:05, Second Debate).

This utterance clearly communicates information about the religious assistance programmed (BOSDA) for Madrasah Diniyah (Madin). However, it is not delivered in a self-aggrandising manner, such as saying "we have been hugely successful in providing BOSDA." Candidate Pair 2 opts for simpler and more modest language, namely "we would like to convey...". This expression does not convey a sense of superiority or a desire for praise; instead, it allows the community to assess the benefits of the programmed for themselves. This reflects a polite and humble attitude, in line with the Modesty Maxim, as it does not highlight personal success or achievement, but rather respects the recipients (the Madin institutions) without belittling them or portraying them merely as dependents. Furthermore, this utterance subtly indicates that the candidates are not seeking praise but are more focused on the intention to provide benefits.

This utterance is also classified as a Face-Saving Act (FSA), particularly in relation to the positive face of the Madin group. Positive face refers to an individual's or group's desire

to be valued, considered important, and acknowledged for their role in society. In this utterance, Candidate Pair 2 conveys that they provide BOSDA to Madin in a respectful and appreciative manner, not in a commanding tone or from a position of superiority. They do not impose a demand for gratitude, do not imply that Madin is a weak entity or merely a recipient of aid, and do not present themselves as the most deserving party.

Utterance: "We are building link and match, it is not simple..." (1:03:03 – 1:03:08, Second Debate).

This sentence signifies that Candidate Pair 2 (Khofifah–Emil) has endeavored to create a harmonious relationship between the education sector and the workforce, and that this endeavor is not an easy or simple task. "Link and Match" is a term commonly used in the realms of education and employment. "Link" means to connect, in this context connecting schools/campuses/vocational training with the needs of industry or the job market. Meanwhile, "Match" denotes suitability or compatibility. Therefore, what is learned in school aligns with the skills required in the job market. The phrase "it is not simple" indicates that they are not selling a dream or promising instant solutions. Indirectly, this implies a reality and a gradual process that is being undertaken. This falls under the modesty maxim, which suggests that speakers should not excessively praise themselves and should demonstrate humility when discussing themselves and their actions. "We are building link and match; it is not simple..." indicates that Candidate Pair 2 does not claim to have achieved great success or to be the best at establishing a connection between education and the workforce. On the contrary, they acknowledge that this process is challenging and not necessarily quick to complete.

This utterance avoids unilateral or exaggerated claims. By stating "it is not simple," the candidates do not insist that they are the most successful or the best. This protects the audience from undue pressure or inflated expectations, as they are not selling sweet promises that are instant. Additionally, they convey honesty and realism, demonstrating that they understand the complexities of the education and employment issues. In doing so, the positive face of the listeners is respected, as they are not regarded as a mass that can be deceived or have their issues oversimplified. Furthermore, this also shows empathy towards the community's situation, as the speaker acknowledges that many people are aware that aligning education with employment is not an easy task. Thus, the candidates build an emotional connection (positive politeness) by showing that they also comprehend and experience these difficulties. In conclusion, this utterance represents a form of Face-

Saving Act (FSA) towards the positive face of the audience, as it does not lecture or exaggerate, respects the intelligence and knowledge of the listeners, and fosters an image of a leader who is realistic and open to challenges, rather than merely focusing on image.

Why are the maxim of appreciation and the modesty Maxim more prevalent in Candidate Pair 2 Khofifah-Emil? 1) The personal character and communication style of Khofifah-Emil, where Khofifah is known as a gentle, religious, and diplomatic figure, with extensive experience in social and religious fields. Emil Dardak is also recognized as a young politician with a moderate and technocratic communication approach. This character leads Candidate Pair 2 to tend to avoid aggressive styles and instead prefer grassroots, appreciative, and humble linguistic style, which is pragmatically reflected in the maxim of appreciation and Modesty Maxim. 2) The expressions found adhere to the maxim of appreciation, as they praise and value the contributions of others rather than highlighting themselves or placing blame. In accordance with the modesty maxim, they do not present themselves as great figures standing alone, but rather as partners of the community. This becomes a communication strategy that reinforces a more open leadership image, rather than an individualistic one. 3) As incumbents, Candidate Pair 2 does not need to attack or boast about themselves overtly, as they are already known to the public; they have a tangible track record that can be communicated calmly and factually, without needing to "sell dreams" or showcase controversies. This approach aligns better with politeness in the form of praise towards the people and their working team, rather than self-aggrandizement. 4) This is closely related to their vision of "Together, East Java advances..." which significantly influences the speech patterns of Candidate Pair 2. Keywords such as "together," "fair," "prosperous," and "sustainable" are manifested in expressions that respect the contributions of all parties (in accordance with the maxim of appreciation), avoid self-praise (in line with the modesty maxim), and build an image of leadership characterized by cooperation, participation, and grounded in reality.

Third Candidate: Risma & Hans

In third candidate, under the leadership of Risma and Hans, a significant presence of the maxim of agreement and the maxim of sympathy is observed. There are 5 maxims of agreement for Candidate Pair 3, while Candidate Pair 2 has only 2 maxims, and Candidate Pair 1 also has 2 maxims. Regarding the maxim of sympathy, Candidate Pair 3 has 6 maxims, Candidate Pair 2 has 2 maxims, and Candidate Pair 1 has 1 maxim. The total number of maxims of agreement and maxims of sympathy is notably higher in Candidate

Pair 3, Risma and Hans. However, the researcher has selected 3 maxims of agreement from the total of 5, and 3 maxims of sympathy from the total of 6, which represent the dominant maxims used by the other two candidate pairs.

Maxim of Agreement

The maxim of agreement focuses on the effort to reach maxim of agreement between the speaker and the listener, minimizing differences between the two. In this case, Candidate Pair 3, led by Risma and Hans, presents 5 maxims of agreement and 6 maxims of sympathy, surpassing the other two candidate pairs in their utterance during all debate sessions of the East Java gubernatorial election. The explanations are as follows:

Utterance: "Let us motivate each other if Allah grants us the opportunity..."
(1:27:59 – 1:28:05, Third Debate).

This utterance is made by Candidate Pair 3 (Risma–Gus Hans) as an invitation to the public that if they are entrusted and elected as the leaders of East Java, they wish to encourage everyone to motivate each other, work together, and collaborate in facing various challenges. Thus, it is not only the government that should act, but the citizens are also invited to be actively involved. This represents a Face-Saving Act (FSA) towards the positive face of the community, as the public is invited to contribute and engage actively, rather than being perceived as passive. From a perspective of positive politeness, it builds emotional closeness and solidarity between the leaders and the citizens. Returning to the fundamental concept in Brown & Levinson's theory, the positive face reflects the desire of an individual or group to be regarded as important, recognized in their existence, and valued for their contributions. Meanwhile, FSA represents a type of utterance aimed at protecting or maintaining the dignity of others, ensuring that they feel respected and accepted. Therefore, this utterance is classified as an FSA towards the positive face of the community, as the citizens are not viewed as passive recipients of aid; rather, they are actively involved and deemed significant in the development process, with their dignity preserved through equal and cooperative invitations. This utterance falls under the maxim of agreement, as it employs inclusive terms such as "we" and "together" to foster a sense of collaboration, emphasizing the importance of disaster response as a collective responsibility, not merely a government duty. This utterance reinforces a cooperative atmosphere and social of agreement.

Utterance: "As long as we can synergise, the problem lies in our ability to synergise and eliminate sectoral and regional egos." (2:17:04 – 2:17:11,

Third Debate).

In this utterance, Candidate Pair 3 (Risma–Gus Hans) emphasizes that the success of any programme or development cannot be achieved alone, especially not by a single party or group. They assert that all parties must collaborate and refrain from assuming they are the most correct or the most important. The phrase “as long as we can synergies...” indicates that they encourage collaboration rather than blame-shifting. Furthermore, when they mention “eliminating sectoral and regional egos,” it signifies their desire for every institution or region in East Java to work in unison rather than in isolation, supporting one another. They do not issue commands, cast blame, or claim superior knowledge. Instead, they invite all parties to come together and seek solutions collaboratively. This exemplifies a spirit of agreement, wherein decisions or actions are taken based on mutual agreement and cooperation among all parties, rather than unilateral decisions.

Returning to the fundamental concept that the maxim of agreement states, “Speakers should maximize agreement and minimize contention.” This means that in conversation, one should highlight commonalities and the spirit of cooperation, rather than differences or conflicts. The rationale is as follows: 1) Inviting synergy building of agreement. The phrase “we can all synergies” is an invitation to collaborate and unify towards a common goal, rather than pursuing individual agendas. This reflects an effort to create understanding, not to highlight differences. 2) Not blaming any party. In this utterance, Candidate Pair 3 does not blame the government, regions, or specific groups. They acknowledge that the issue lies with sectoral egos, but they express this in a neutral and open manner, avoiding accusations. 3) A more relaxed and open tone. The use of the phrase “we can all” indicates that the speaker also feels involved, not positioning themselves above or outside the issue. This is characteristic of the maxim of agreement: fostering a sense of togetherness in problem-solving. This utterance fits within the maxim of agreement as it avoids conflict or contention, promotes cross-sectoral and regional cooperation, and employs language that invites all parties to agree and work together, without coercion or blame.

This utterance also constitutes an FSA (Face-Saving Act) towards the positive face of the audience, as the positive face represents the need of every individual or group to be valued, accepted as part of the group, and regarded as important or meaningful in collective efforts. How does this utterance preserve the positive face of the audience (FSA)? 1) The use of the phrase “we all” signifies openness. It does not put anyone in a corner, but includes

the speaker in the issue. This strengthens the sense of togetherness, rather than highlighting power differences. 2) No direct blame is assigned, and there is no threat to the face. Although there is criticism regarding "sectoral egos," it is conveyed neutrally and generally. There are no direct accusations towards institutions or individuals, thus preserving anyone's image. 3) Inviting synergy strengthens the audience's role. The audience (the public, local institutions) is positioned as a crucial part of the solution, rather than as a source of problems. This acknowledges their contributions and capacities, reinforcing their positive face. In conclusion, this utterance represents a Face-Saving Act towards the positive face of the audience, as it is conveyed openly and transparently, without blame. It creates an impression that all parties are important and must unite, avoiding confrontation and enhancing the sense of being valued and accepted together.

Utterance: "Good governance is when we invite everyone to participate from the beginning to the end of the process." (2:24:48 – 2:24:59, Third Debate).

The third Candidate employs the phrase "inviting everyone to participate," emphasizing a consultative and collaborative approach. There are no words of coercion, instruction, or claims that only they know the direction of policy. This utterance indicates that they do not wish to make unilateral decisions (top-down), but desire the involvement of all layers of society from the outset of the policy process. This reflects a spirit of agreement (mutual agreement). This utterance fulfils the maxim of agreement as the speaker emphasizes cooperation and the involvement of all parties, avoiding any impression of superiority in decision-making, and encouraging a spirit of active participation and equality.

Why does this utterance preserve the positive face of the community? 1) It openly invites the community. By using the words "we" and "everyone," Candidate Pair 3 demonstrates that the community is not merely an object or spectator, but an important factor in development. 2) It positions the community as part of the solution; participation from the beginning shows recognition of the community's capacities, rather than just following the end results. 3) The candidate conveys ideas in a friendly manner and equalizes positions, so the community feels valued and deemed important. There are no threats, pressures, or commanding tones, thus avoiding Face Threatening Acts (FTA). This utterance is a form of Face-Saving Act towards the positive face of the community, as it enhances the sense of being valued, builds emotional closeness with the public, and encourages active involvement that strengthens social and political legitimacy. Furthermore, within the maxim of agreement, no violations of the maxim are found.

Maxim of Sympathy

The maxim of sympathy focuses on reducing antipathy and enhancing sympathy between the speaker and the interlocutor. In the third candidate pair, Risma and Hans, six instances of the maxim of sympathy were identified, which is more than in the other two candidate pairs, based on their utterance throughout all debate sessions for the East Java gubernatorial election in 2024. The explanations are as follows:

Utterance: "Fishermen and farmers are more important than us... Therefore, the provincial government will pay that to the central government if it is indeed necessary." (53:29 – 53:5, Second Debate).

This utterance demonstrates a profound empathy towards the living conditions of fishermen and farmers, depicted as impoverished and oppressed groups. The candidates emphasize that they prioritize the welfare of the underprivileged over personal or central government interests. They are even prepared to bear the financial burden to alleviate the suffering of fishermen, which is a direct expression of sympathy. This utterance can be classified as a Face-Saving Act (FSA) aimed at preserving the positive face of the underprivileged communities, wherein Candidate Pair 3 elevates the dignity of farmers and fishermen as significant actors. This reinforces their positive image as deserving individuals who should be prioritized. This strategy does not demean but rather appreciates and affirms their contributions, in line with positive politeness.

Utterance: "If the central government wants to draw from our already impoverished fishermen, then we will pay for those fishermen's Non-Tax Revenue." (49:33 – 50:09, Second Debate).

This utterance reveals a genuine concern for the plight of small fishermen and indicates that the candidates are ready to protect and assist them directly. The phrase "our impoverished fishermen" acknowledges the difficulties faced by the community and demonstrates the government's willingness to be a protector rather than merely a regulator. This Utterance meets the maxim of sympathy as it conveys empathy, concern, and a commitment to safeguarding vulnerable groups such as fishermen, without treating them as passive objects or political tools. This attitude represents politeness in the form of solidarity and support for the weak. This Utterance also constitutes an FSA towards the positive face of the community (fishermen). It reflects care for the image and dignity of fishermen, showing that they will not be left to bear the burden alone. The candidates act as protectors, not rulers, thereby reinforcing the sense of being valued by the state.

How Does This Utterance Save the Positive Face of Fishermen? Acknowledgment of the dignity of fishermen. By referring to "our impoverished fishermen," the candidates acknowledge the difficult conditions faced by fishermen without blaming them. This demonstrates empathy rather than a condescending view. In other words, fishermen are not portrayed as a burden but as individuals worthy of advocacy. Furthermore, it shows protection and support. The phrase "we will pay..." indicates that the candidates are taking responsibility rather than shifting blame or burden onto the community. This gives the impression that fishermen are not left alone to confront problems, thus preserving their dignity and sense of security. Lastly, it avoids Face Threatening Acts (FTA). There are no elements of blame, demands, or criticism directed at fishermen; rather, the candidates avoid actions that could damage their image or hurt their feelings.

Utterance: "The welfare of the poor is more important than our own..."
(53:29 – 53:36, Second Debate).

This utterance conveys emotional resonance, as it prioritizes, as it places the interests of the impoverished above personal or political interests. It indicates that the candidates feel compassion for the situation of the underprivileged and genuinely wish to advocate for their welfare, carrying a high moral and empathetic value, characteristic of the maxim of sympathy.

This Utterance constitutes an FSA towards the positive face of the poor community. According to Brown & Levinson's theory, positive face is the need for an individual to feel valued, acknowledged, and considered important by others or by the state. When the candidates assert that the interests of the community take precedence over their own, they consciously lower their position as figures or leaders. This is termed symbolic sacrifice, as the speaker is not promoting themselves but rather demonstrating humility and social advocacy. Theoretically, this is a form of positive politeness strategy that elevates others as the focus of attention and upholds their dignity. In the context of political debates, the poor are often positioned merely as recipients of aid or subjects of policy. However, in this Utterance, Candidate 3 does not position the underprivileged as passive recipients but as parties more important than the political elite themselves. This restores their dignity, allowing them to feel valued and recognized as integral parts of development, rather than mere spectators or victims of policy. This Utterance fosters closeness between leaders and the people. The impoverished community feels that they are not only viewed statistically or economically but are acknowledged in a human and moral sense. This strengthens their

recognition by the public, or the justification of the candidates as "down-to-earth" and empathetic leaders, rather than merely technocrats. Therefore, this Utterance is a form of FSA towards the positive face of the poor community, as symbolically, the candidates demonstrate humility (self-downgrading) to elevate the honor of the underprivileged. This attitude conveys the message that the community is not merely recipients but the primary subjects of development who must be respected and prioritized.

CONCLUSION

This research demonstrates that the principle of linguistic politeness plays a significant role in political discourse, particularly in the context of the East Java gubernatorial debate in 2024. From a total of 67 utterances analyzed according to Leech's (1983) theory of politeness maxims, it was found that the majority of utterances adhered to the principles of politeness, while a small portion contained violations. The maxim most predominantly employed by Candidate Pair 1 (Luluk–Lukman) was that tact maxim and generosity. Candidate Pair 2 (Khofifah–Emil) tended to emphasize the approbation and modesty maxims”, whereas Candidate Pair 3 (Risma–Hans) frequently exhibited the maxims of agreement and sympathy. Furthermore, through the analysis of Face Threatening Acts (FTA) and Face-Saving Acts (FSA) based on Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory, it was revealed that each candidate pair employed different pragmatic strategies in constructing their image and social relations with the audience. Candidates who utilized FSA extensively tended to foster emotional closeness and demonstrate empathy, while FTA was strategically employed within the context of political competition.

Overall, the findings of this study affirm that political debates serve not merely as platforms for the presentation of programmes, but also as pragmatic stages where linguistic strategies are employed to influence public perception, maintain self-image, and build or sustain power in a courteous and measured manner.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bogdan, R. C. , & Biklen, S. K. (1992). *Qualitative Research for Education: An ntroduction to Theory and Methods*. Allyn and Bacon.
- Brown, P. , & L. S. C. (1987). *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, P. , & Levinson, S. C. (1986). *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usag*. Cambridge University Press.

- Chandran, T. N., Jayaprakash, S., Subramaniam, S., Vanathayah, S. M., & Hashim, H. (2023). Identifying Language Learning Strategies (LLS) For Speaking Skill: A Study among Year 5 English as a Second Language (ESL) Learners . *International Journal of Academic Research in Business & Social Sciences*, 13(6), 1739–1809. Ho, M. Y. , L. S. , & Hook, J. N. (2022). Development and Validation of the Forbearance Scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment*.
- JatimNewsroom. (2024, November 3). KPU : Tata Kelola Pemerintahan Jadi Tema Debat Pilgub Jatim Kedua. Dinas Kominfo Provinsi Jawa Timur.
- Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (2nd ed.). . Sage Publications.
- Leech, G. N. (1983). *Principles of Pragmatics*. Longman.
- Lubis, C. N., & Baroroh, H. E. (2022). Kajian Pragmatik Kesantunan Berbahasa Dalam Debat Kelima Calon Presiden Indonesia 2024. *J Urnal Lingue : Bahasa, Budaya Dan Sastra*, 6(2), 190–207.
- Nuraini, O., Sumarwati, & Setiawan, B. (2020). Strategi Kesantunan Bahasa dalam Debat Perdana Pemilihan Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur DKI Jakarta. *Linguistik: Jurnal Bahasa Dan Sastra*, 2(1), 114–129.
- Nusa. (2024, October 19). Sederet Catatan dari Debat Perdana Pilkada Jatim 2024, Hangat Soal Madura. *Tempo.Co*, Jakarta.
- Rasji, Singhs, A. D., & Hamonangan, D. (2023). Analysis of the Influence of the Idea of a Closed Electoral System on Citizen Political Participation. *QISTINA: Jurnal Multidisiplin Indonesia*, 2(1), 172–477.
- Ruslan. (2008). *Manajemen Public Relations dan Media Komunikasi*. PT Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Setiawan, A. D., & Rusiana, D. A. (2024, October 29). Visi Misi Khofifah Emil di Pilkada 2024 : Jatim Maju Berkelanjutan. *Kompas.Com*.
- Setiawan, A. D., & Wardianto, G. K. (2024, October 24). Menilik Visi Misi Risma- Gus Hans. Jatim Resik untuk kesejahteraan warga. *Kompas.Com*.
- Sudaryanto. (2015). *Metode dan Aneka Teknik Analisis Bahasa*. Sanata Dharma University Press.
- Wahyuningsih, i. (2021). Analisis Wacana Kritis Pada Debat Pilwakot Surakarta Putaran Kedua Tahun 2020. *Jurnal Estetik, Jurnal Bahas Indonesia*, 4(1), 17–36.
- Watts, R. J. (2003). *Politeness*. Cambridge University Press.
- Wibowo, K. (2024). Kampanye Partisipatif Dalam Pemilihan Umum Tahun 2024. *Jurnal Pengawasan Pemilu*, 109–118.