

The Subliminal Messages of Political Infrastructure of President Joko Widodo : An Deconstruction Analysis by Jaques Derrida

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Abstract - The various mega projects implemented in Indonesia, in fact, that is a manifestation of political infrastructure by this regime. Political infrastructure is a text or discourse that has various meanings. The purpose of this research is to find one of the possible meanings subliminal messages that reside in the discourse.

This study is a qualitative reflection of a discourse of political infrastructure by Jaques Derrida's theory of deconstruction. This theory is in charge to uncovering possibilities of subliminal messages of the discourse or a text. Subliminal message is a message from a text obtained, using deconstruction horizon to catch the meaning. The text in question is the political implementation of infrastructure as reported in the media. The selected news is the depth news or investigative news, come from various national media.

The results of this study are the implementation of political infrastructure carried out by Jokowi, has been a sublimation of corruption. This sublimation occurs because the community is more dazzled to the physical appearance of the project. Sublimation has occurred in the interests of mega projects supported by the Chinese businessmen with various corporate units. Another subliminal message that China becomes a guide of Jokowi political regime, which in the context of this research is the guide of infrastructure. The increasing of Indonesia debt would ease the country of "bamboo curtain" to influence political policy of our Republic.

Keywords - *Subliminal Messages; Political Infrastructure; Deconstruction.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The acceleration of equity development in Indonesia is a way to provide adequate infrastructure in every archipelago. Jokowi regime tried hard to build infrastructure in the hope, that it can be spur economic equality domino effect. The infrastructure projects in question are ports, highways, and airfields pioneer and railway lines. From the political infrastructure, the one interesting thing is the simultaneous done, on the major islands of Indonesia. Mega projects of railroad and highway driven in Sumatra, Kalimantan, Java, Sulawesi and Papua.

Many mega projects simultaneously done would require a big budget and implementing the (supposed) qualified peoples in their field. In the visible dimension, implementation of political infrastructure has resulted in immediate physical building, and its can be enjoyed for

activities that give the acceleration of economic development. But, this study will look into the possibilities that are present in a whole series of the policy. The possibility can be a discourse / text or other realities that are not recognized Indonesian society because reality is sublimed by a grand narrative that straddled. The grand narrative is magnificent lighthouse of infrastructure conducted by Jokowi regime.

Political infrastructure development can be considered as a necessity in a contemporary Indonesia. The state of infrastructure in Indonesia has not been considered sufficient to drive the economy of the people evenly to all parts of the country. It is seen by the president Jokowi as a gap that can be used to realize his policy in the field of infrastructure. Jokowi sees economic sluggishness between regions in this country due to economic accessibility factor of each region with other

area. That is a reasonable action of a leader, in an equitable welfare management effort.

Then, a sovereign, when the manifestations of this policy are a reality, certainly there will be other reality associated with it. If the political infrastructure is being carried out intensively, it is a discourse that can be raised another discourse, and it cannot be separated from the execution of the policy. The "another text", theoretically could be found likely through efforts to dismantle the infrastructure of political text. One way of looking for possible other realities of the text is dismantled by Jaques Derrida's theory of deconstruction.

Dismantling the text developmentism to find the possible meaning of the subliminal text, would be useful to provide another point of view, that at the time the findings were articulated to the public, it will be a matter for the public to critically look at political executions, a kind of the political infrastructure.

II. THE THEORIES FRAMEWORK

A. DERRIDA'S DECONSTRUCTION

The deconstruction thinking is one of the products of the post-structuralism era. Deconstruction was popularized by Jacques Derrida, so deconstruction became synonymous with the figure of Derrida. Deconstruction thinking is derived from poststructuralist understanding, which rejects the establishment or the behavior of structuralism theories. The theory of structuralism views too easily the real problem and tends to reject pluralism (Nurgiyantoro, 2010). Deconstruction sues a single, centralized, meaningless mode of meaning as intact by the text (Al-Fayyadl, 2011).

When researchers apply deconstructive readings, it becomes clear that the "unspeakable" power of a text is not always in line with the dominant pattern of readings, as is often done. That power is a logic, that often degraded as something of a secondary nature. Logic is feared to endanger existing text / discourse buildings, or produce ambiguous paradoxes, which will ultimately undermine the reading of the text according to the dominant current. The logic of the game formed by deconstructive readings shows that a text may simply deny something it affirms, though often the denial is implicit and vague. The existence of denial attempting to be buried with a dominant reading makes meaning no longer singular, but compound and widened in the other direction, to uncontrollable *telos* (Al-Fayyadl, 2011).

By the Derrida's deconstruction, present meaning is no longer regarded as an absolute, singular, universal, and stable,

but the meaning is always changing. Absolute truth claims, universal truths, and single truths, which used to color philosophical thought styles earlier, are increasingly sued, questioned, and no longer acceptable. On the face of it, there is no "concrete" offer from the deconstruction method. What the deconstruction want, however, is to revive the hidden forces that contribute to building the text. Text and culture are no longer seen as a whole order of meanings, but as an open battle arena.

The deconstruction task is disassembling the metaphysical and rhetorical structures that play in the text, not to reject or dismiss the structure, but to redefine it in other ways. The deconstruction method indicates the absence of an absolute truth preservation effort, and wants to expose a hidden agenda that contains many of the weaknesses and inequalities behind the text. Deconstruction, in general, is a way to bring contradictions that lurk behind our concepts so far and the inherent belief in ourselves before us. Deconstruction is a way of reading a text, and as a strategy. A deconstructive reading only wants to find the indifference or failure of any attempt to close the text with a single meaning or truth. He just wants to subvert the hierarchical order that structures the text (Norris, 2006).

A text that has been built with a well-established construction and has an optimum meaning, when read through deconstruction readings can undergo a re-construction, so that the text can experience a shift in meaning, and may have many meanings. A text no longer has a single meaning and is optimal, but plural. Therefore, this research is an attempt to discover one of the sublime meanings of meaning in Jokowi's infrastructure political discourse.

B. SUBLIMINAL MESSAGES

In the literature of communication psychology, it is discussed how messages sublimated in a discourse or text. Subliminal messages are messages that shoot a target or audiences from the subconscious dimension. The message there is deliberately created and inserted in the construction of message delivery to another, but some are not created, but it is expected that the discourse / text to be rolled will be perceived as a positive contribution to the creators of the message.

Subliminal messages, when applied in the field of marketing can be subliminal advertising. In practice, subliminal ads are shown quickly, thus escaping awareness of sensing by audiences. Subliminal advertising will reside in the human subconscious. Etymologically derived from the

word *sub-liminal*, where the word “luminal” comes from the Latin language *Limen* which means threshold.

In the sense that almost same as the above understanding, Schrum said that subliminal is the message / stimulus absorbed by the perception and the subconscious through the repeated image - again quickly before processed, so that interrupt processing any message and this message will slowly affect and change minds aware of one's brain (Schrum, 2012).

Subliminal messages are defined as signals below the absolute threshold level (ATL) of our conscious awareness. The word "subliminal" literally means "below threshold." The first thing we need to understand is that we cannot be consciously aware of subliminal stimuli even if we look for it. Absolute threshold is defined as the lowest level of stimulus we can detect, be it visual, auditory, or sensory, etc. When an external stimulus falls below ATL, it cannot be detected consciously. The second thing we need to understand is that subliminal perception is believed to be a result of a deliberately designed communication technique Aimed at generating a response; so that people will do things they would not ordinarily do (Lucia Wang, 2017).

For the context of this study, subliminal messages that are not realized in the category inserted in a discourse / main text. Subliminal messages in reflective research is intended as the possibility of another discourse unwittingly influence society as the main discourse presented. The Indonesian people are well informed about infrastructure projects undertaken by Jokowi's government. Society is faced with a major discourse about the importance and urgency of an infrastructure. Unusually strong magnitude of mega infrastructure projects will clip other messages in the various manifestations of Indonesian life.

C. POLITICAL INFRASTRUCTURE

From various definitions given by experts, the term politics has a notion that refers to the management of power. Classical thinkers whose views as a reference until now a sort of Aristotle, for example, sees politics as an inevitability of individuals within a community structure. *Zoon politicon* is attached to humans, because humans have a natural tendency to politics, regardless of their level. When a human consciously strives for a person to accept his or her opinion, to seek a certain social position, and to seek personal well-being, it indicates an individual is already political.

In the modern state, the word “political” indicates a more complex aspects of life, the life of the community / country commonly interpreted as relating to the life terms of

power. The power associated with the elements of the state, power, decision making, policy, and the distribution or allocation. In line with that, scientist David Easton interprets politics as a political term allocation process values in society as authoritative (Easton, 1957).

Furthermore, politics in the life of the modern state is a separate stem. In practice this system which until now we enjoy as a means of state / government management. This is congruent with the theoretical thinking when David Easton propose a definition of the political system that consists of three (3) elements as follows: Firstly , the political system of values (by means of politics). That is, the political system set value (by policy). Second, its allocation is authoritative. That is, the determination is coercive or with authority. Thirdly, its authoritative allocations are binding on the society as a whole. That is, the coercive determination will be binding on society as a whole (Sukarna, 1977).

Based on that opinion above, it can be underlined that the political system has several elements as follows. First, the permanent pattern of human relationships institutionalized in various political bodies, in the form of political supra structures (executive, legislative, and judicative) as well as political infra-structure (political parties, interest groups, pressure groups, political communication tools, and figures political. Second, a policy that includes the division or distribution of material goods and immaterial to ensure prosperity. In other words, distributing and allocating state values are binding. Third, the use of power or authority to exercise physical coercion legally. Fourth, the function of integration and adaptation to the community, both inward and outward. Next, Maksudi and Beddy Irawan explain the results of analyzing the thought of Easton, that the political system is composed of a number of institutions and political activity in the community functioning changing demands, support, and resources into decision or policies that are authoritative and binding for all members of society (Maksudi, at.al, 2013).

In relation with infrastructure, the political infrastructure in the context of this research is government policy in providing facilities and infrastructure for the life of the people of a country. The various mega projects conducted by Jokowi's current government are manifestation of the infrastructure politics. Various infrastructures are built simultaneously with distribution throughout the territory of Indonesia such as toll roads and paths / railways, ports, dams and airfields. Politics infrastructure itself is a reality, which will appear with the other realities that would deepen his study in this study.

III. DISCUSSION

A. INFRASTRUCTURE AND CORRUPTION

If we assume that the construction of the mega project as a text, then the post structural view, the text will not show a single meaning as a manifestation of the ideology of development. That the real physical construction, it is certainly true, but not too wrong if as citizens with ha k Google noticed that there was a paradox present in the political implementation. It will be obvious paradox when a text is deconstructed to find *aporia* contained in the discourse.

Before we go to further discussion, this paper will first presents some examples of projects undertaken by Jokowi regime. Since serving as President of the Republic of Indonesia, Jokowi always think pragmatically with the infrastructure approach. He was convinced that the infrastructure is the key factor in the economic generation equalization problem area - the area. Mastering the sympathy of the people does not have to be subsidized, but with infrastructure. We can see at this time that fluctuating oil prices adjusted to world oil prices are responded peacefully by the people. There are hardly any demos that question the price of fuel oil. In contrast to the period of the previous leadership, where the issue is so sensitive fuel more often greeted with protests where - where.

Returning to the issue of infrastructure, until now the government has declared much physical object up to 245. Minister of economy coordinating, Darmin Nasution said, in addition to the infrastructure sector were 245 such projects, there are two national programs undertaken since 2015. The estimated total investment value of infrastructure development ter call estimated at Rp 419. 7 trillion. While the progress of construction until July 2017 that had been completed up to 5 projects. For the construction phase there are 130 projects, the procurement process as many as 12 projects and 100 projects currently in preparation (www.merdeka.com).

Anyone can imagine how the 245 mega projects with the amount of the budget reached almost 419. 7 trillion rupiah, obviously not easy for the implementation and supervision. Of two variables, namely the number of projects and budget amounts, please do not be seen as a numerical magnificent achievement. The reading of deconstruction Derrida find many categories that would interpret by post structural viewpoint. When deconstructed, the 245 projects must be scattered in various regions, various types of projects and involving the private sector and the bureaucracy.

Bureaucracy can still be examined again the local / regional or national level.

Project distribution shows aphorism between centralized authority and distributed authority which although it has been set up is very likely to cause a battle of interest. Conflict of interest may involve partner implementing a project in the bidding process. Reading the funding of a project critically means reading possible misuse of the budget from multiple lines. Opportunities for budgetary malfunctions can be initiated from tendering, project implementation and other field possibilities. This is escaped from the awareness of society and especially the observers of public policy. In general, people will see the lighthouse infrastructure to ignore the possibility of applying the budget. The paradoxical that arise in this regard, is the development of infrastructure simultaneously in fact can be passed simultaneously mental reduction of human resources involved in the mega project.

At the end of 2016, the Business Competition Supervisory Commission (KPPU) released the facts that are actually astounding. They mentioned the 80 percent project auction took place in the dispute, and facilitated the government. Smell the Commission is almost equal to that obtained Commission; they sniff out their conspiracy practices in project bidding. Although it has been released by the official institution, but the media less to give more attention and impress the news just that. Just imagine, if taking data in 2015, then 70-80 percent of infrastructure development budget has been a conspiracy. That means from IDR 290 trillion of budgets in 2015, about 80 percent there is a possibility of corruption. The estimated number of conspiracies reaches IDR 200 trillion more. It was a very large number, and almost equal to the amount of the subsidy allocation for the community. Do not let fuel and electricity subsidies be lifted only to provide benefits to the project players (www.kompasiana.com).

If we surgery will be found that the trend of divergence is done by people - people in the sphere of power. Those in the ruling party have the greatest opportunity to manage the infrastructure project. Just as an example of PDIP politician, Damayanti Wisnu Putranti is involved in criminal corruption of highway project.

Furthermore, the numbers also poses another trail regarding sources of funding. The financing of the 245 infrastructure projects is very difficult if supported by the state budget or the national private sector. Therefore, the amount of IDR 419. 7 trillion rupiah certainly contains elements of foreign debt. From the release of bank Indonesia External Debt (ED) Indonesia at the end of August 2017 were

recorded at USD 340.5 billion, growing 4.7% year over year. Based on a group of borrowers, private sector external debt was recorded USD165, 6 billion (48.6% of total external debt), up 0.1% (year over year), after in July 2017 decreased 1.1% (year over year). Meanwhile, public sector external debt (government and central bank) in August 2017 was recorded USD174, 9 billion (51.4% of total external debt), up 9.5% (yoy), slightly increase of 9, 2% (yoy) in the previous month (www.bi.go.id).

The government is intensively developing infrastructure, according to Bank of Indonesia (BI) Governor, Agus Martowihardjo, the government needs financing for infrastructure projects in Indonesia. For now, the budget allocation for the construction of infrastructure development in the state budget in 2017 amounted to IDR 387, 7 trillion. While in 2018 Infrastructure budget is planned to increase 2%, to IDR .409 Trillion. But the budget is still considered insufficient, so it must find sources of support, eventually the government encourages the private sector in infrastructure development. External debt has become a shortcut township Infrastructure funding source (www.mediaoposisi.com)

B. SUBLIMATION OF CORRUPTION AND NEO IMPERIALISM

The political infrastructure played by the Jokowi regime is inevitably a budget politics. This political budget has a very broad dimension, including budgetary sources, allocations, effectiveness and efficiency. Budget politics is so complicated because the ropes with various sectors and especially Is Power. From the budget allocation dimension, opportunities for corruption become more open, due to simultaneous projects. Project simultaneously done have to requires simultaneous supervision. Not much investigated by the authorities and also by the media, so that budget lapses become more flexible.

The discourse or text on infrastructure development with the physical appearance of a handsome and stately would reduce the critical function of the human senses. Why not, try to imagine you are standing on the smooth running of an expressway and double track railway were long stretches, standing on a water dam and a magnificent door of Kuala Namu international airport aprons, of course you will be dazzled by it all. By negation of conscious brain by itself due to other stimuli more interesting, namely the physical appearance of the magnificent mega projects.

People then easily are oblivious to the opportunities for corruption, collusion and nepotism in every mega project done. A more attractive physical object diminishes the critical awareness of a person, because the consciousness is

first taken away by a real stimulus in front of the eye. This is where the process of sublimation of the per I corrupt behavior occurred. Corruption becomes sublimed substance so perfectly into the mix messages physical grandeur of the building. In this context the public become as numb and still consider it nothing happens but the emergence of modernity in the form of buildings, roads and bridges.

In other words, when the text in the form of infrastructure development will be scattered with Derrida deconstruction of consciousness, which then emerges is a patchwork of reality. Such a reality lie is the auction process of the project with all its derivatives, the quality of the project itself and the post-project management is complete. The reality rag strung back will result in the tender process was not transparent, controlled by the power of the ruler and his cronies. Other realities that may be present are the quality of projects that do not fit with the original plan that qualitative, foreign workers innate owners of capital / debtors and so forth.

Sublimation very keen interest for example in this reflection is how fast train project mega Jakarta - Bandung given to China, but in terms of quality is definitely superior Japanese technology. Fast train project between Jakarta and Bandung costs up to \$ 5, 1 billion (equivalent to IDR 67.8 trillion at an exchange rate of IDR 13,300) which bear CDB loans amounting to 75 percent of the total investment. The remaining 25 per cent in equity consortium Indonesia PT Fast Trains China (KCIC) .There vested interests, according to the University of Indonesia economist DR Faisal Basri , that SOE (State-owned Enterprises) has an interest with fast trains investors, namely China. There are tens of trillions of projects with loans provided by China Development Bank (CDB) to three state-owned companies namely Bank Mandiri, Bank BNI and Bank BRI, each Bank gets 1 Billion US dollars, the debt is mostly for the purpose of debt- corporate debt and infrastructure financing that requires large and long-term funds. Of course with this debt then China will easily steer economic policy in Indonesia to their interests (www.mediaoposisi.com)

A wave of foreign workers from the China that unskilled though, seemed to gain a strong foothold on the regime Jokowi. Cooperation with China is not only the G to G, even a C to C or citizen to citizen. Today, international relations have entered an era where interactions among nations are not solely dominated by official elitist-official interactions. This may be captured by President Jokowi, who later reflected in the concept of grounded diplomacy. Although its main foreign policy remains the domain of bureaucrats, the public includes key shareholders who can significantly influence

both the manufacture and implementation of foreign policy. This suggests that the relationship between residents of the two countries will determine the dynamics of the relationship between Indonesia and China. The interaction between residents is not in the narrow sense, the current entry-exit of tourists every country, but the broadest to include diverse groups, including the mission of scientists, artists, culture, and religion wan (www.nasional.kompas.com)

IV.FINAL WORD

In the perspective of structuralism, text or discourse is not just a single meaningful. Deconstruction as a product of structuralism theory provides any other illustration of the politics of infrastructure carried out by the regime of President Joko Widodo. Politics as an art of allocating power is translated by the government in power with the distribution of infrastructure throughout the archipelago. In the structural interpretation, the mega project that many government rolls out is only seen as the success of the ideology of development alone. The character of the simultaneous implementation complicates supervision at every stage of the implementation of the mega project. As a result, corruption is going on safely for sublimated in simultaneous great. Not to mention the human senses are more stimulated at the physical splendor charm than the infrastructure problems that actually harm behind. Thus it is true that Aristotle said that human senses are trustworthy, but very deceived. Deconstruction manages to restore the critical consciousness of man in seeing and interpreting a discourse.

This reflection has identified some subliminal messages that occurred in the implementation of infrastructure mega project of President Joko Widodo. Subliminal message that we do not realize is corruption in the various lines that occur simultaneously, the growing foreign debt, increasing tariff components various lines of consumption due to the removal of subsidies and subtle neo imperialism that infiltrate the political policy of the national product.

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