

AN ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL RHETORIC IN INDONESIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 2014

Rodi Hartono, dkk
Mahasiswa Program Doctor UNP Padang
Rodi_hartono@yahoo.com

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisa berita terutama jenis teks dan wacana. Pertimbangan besar dalam analisis ini adalah struktur wacana berita, seperti berbagai tingkat atau dimensi penggambaran dan unit-unit atau kategori yang berguna untuk mengkategorikan tingkat dan dimensi tersebut. Analisis ini menjawab pertanyaan penting mengenai struktur wacana berita yang khusus seperti yang dibandingkan dengan jenis lain dari wacana. Penulis hanya fokus pada studi retorika wacana saja. Karena dengan menganalisa retorika wacana, penulis mengharapkan mampu mengetahui bagaimana wartawan membujuk orang dalam surat kabar. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah mengidentifikasi topik dan gaya retorika yang digunakan dalam surat kabar terkait proses pemilihan presiden di Indonesia tahun 2014. Data diambil dari tanggal 5 Juni hingga 5 Juli 2014 dari surat kabar Kompas. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa peneliti menemukan sepuluh (10) jenis gaya retorika. Ada 5 contoh metapora, 1 contoh sinekdok, 1 contoh metonimi, 2 contoh personifikasi, 1 contoh perfrasis, 1 contoh eufemisme, 1 contoh litotes, 3 contoh anafora, 1 contoh aliterasi, dan 1 contoh alegori. Hanya sepuluh jenis yang dapat ditemukan di berita yang terpilih sebagai data. Seluruh isi berita dapat dimasukkan ke dalam tiap jenis temuan topik dari retorika. Di surat kabar Kompas, ada beberapa berita netral yang masih disampaikan oleh jurnalis dan beritanya keluar bukan diambil dari sisi salah satu calon presiden saja.

Kata kunci: Retorika politik, Pemilihan presiden.

Abstract

This research was to analyze news primarily as a type of text or discourse. The major consideration in such an analysis was the structures of news discourse, such as the various levels or dimensions of description and the units or categories used to explicitly characterize such levels or dimensions. This analysis should answer the important question about the structural specifics of news discourse as compared to other types of discourse. The writer only focused the study in the rhetoric of discourse. Because by analyzing the rhetoric of discourse, the writer hoped to know how the presses persuaded people in the newspapers. The aims of the research were Identify topic and style of rhetoric was used in newspaper regarding the process of Presidential Election in Indonesia 2014. The data were taken in June 5th, 2014 until July 5th 2014 from Kompas Newspaper. The results of the research showed that The researchers just discovered eleven (10) types in style of rhetoric. They were 5 examples of metaphor, examples of synecdoche, 1 examples of metonymy, 2 examples of personification, 1 examples of periphrasis, 1 example of euphemism, 1 example of litotes, 3 example of anaphora, 1 example of alliteration, and 1 example of alegory. Only eleven (10) types of styles could be found in the news chosen as the data. All the content of the news could be included to each kinds of topic invention in the canons of rhetoric. In Kompas Newspaper, there were some news which still delivered by the journalist in neutral news and the news release was not take side to one of the candidate of the president.

Key Word: Political Rhetoric, Presidential Election

Background of the Problem

Discourse Analysis is a new, interdisciplinary field of study that has emerged from several other disciplines of the humanities and social sciences, such as linguistics, literary studies, anthropology, semiotics, sociology, psychology, politics, and speech communication. It was striking that the development of modern discourse analysis took place more or less at the same time in these respective disciplines. Whereas at first developments were more or less autonomous, the last decade has seen increasing mutual influences and integration, which has led to a more or less independent new discipline of text or discourse studies.

Discourse analysis involved looking at both language form and language functions and included the study of both spoken interaction and written texts. It identified linguistic features that characterize different texts and types of talk. A discourse analysis of written texts might include a study of topic development and cohesion across the sentence, while an analysis of spoken language might focus on these aspects plus turn-taking practices, opening and closing sequences of social encounters, or narrative structure.

Since one of the analyses in discourse was a written texts analysis, the writer emphasized this research to news analysis and chose newspaper as an instrument analysis. Mass media, as one of the organizer in the community dynamics, had included into the arrangement of the community's life. In one side, mass media was often called "The Fourth Estate" in the community's life. As a tool in delivering news, evaluation, or general image about many things, mass media have a role as an institution which able to form public opinion. Therefore, mass media could also develop as an emphatic group for one interest or image, which was presented in a context of more empiric life. The existence of press, printed mass media and electronic mass media, was urgent nowadays. The society or government to publish the political messages could use it. The role of press was more important in forming a public opinion; even press could have a function actively in order to increase the discipline of society in a nationalism life¹. The main feature of this research was to analyze news primarily as a type of text or discourse. The major consideration in such an analysis was the structures of news discourse, such as the various levels or dimensions of description and the units or categories used to explicitly characterize such levels or dimensions. This analysis should answer the important question about the structural specifics of news discourse as compared to other types of discourse.

In this research, the writers analyzed news in political issue in Indonesia now, which was 2014 Presidential Election. As we know, in a campaign for election would show how the free printing of news provided a place where truth became known.

The aim of this study was to examine the complex structure and strategies of news report and the relation to the social context. That was the reason why the writer used the discourse analysis, which focused on the context of the newspapers.

Focus of the Problem

There were many aspects that could be analyzed related to the discourse analysis, such as: presupposition and implicature, coherence and cohesion, inference and referent, etc. Van Dijk (1997) also described the elements of discourse analysis, they were: topic, schemata, local semantic, stylistic, syntax, and rhetoric of discourse. For this research, the writer only focused the study in the rhetoric of discourse. Because by analyzing the rhetoric of discourse, the writer hoped to know how the presses persuaded people in the newspapers.

News in the press was a specific kind of mass media discourse, which suggested possible family resemblances with news on radio and television or with other discourse types in the newspaper. In this case, the writer focused the study on the news analysis of political discourse in the process of 2014 Presidential Election in Indonesia. From this study, the writer knew the role of press plays in the relations².

Research Questions

To gain the data needed for this research, the following questions were given as research questions:

1. What are the topic of rhetoric used in newspaper regarding the process of Presidential Election in Indonesia 2014?
2. What are the Style of rhetoric used in newspaper regarding the process of Presidential Election in Indonesia 2014?

Review Of Related Literature

The Nature of Discourse Analysis

According to Mc.Carthy (1991), discourse analysis was concerned with the study of the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used. Discourse analysis was not only concerned with the description and analysis of spoken interaction, but also written forms. In addition to all of verbal encounters we daily consume hundreds of written and printed words, such as: newspaper articles, letters, stories, recipes, instructions, notices, comics, billboards, leaflets pushed to make an analysis of discourse. Discourse analysis wanted to cover the study of spoken and written interaction³.

While Douglas (2001) gave the definition of discourse analysis, it was as the examination of language used by members of a speech community. It involved looking at both language form and language functions and included the study of both spoken interaction and written texts. It identified linguistic features that characterize different genres as well as social and cultural factors that aid in our interpretation and understanding of different texts and types of talk. A discourse analysis of written texts might included a study of topic development and cohesion across the sentences, while an analysis of spoken language might focus on these aspects plus turn-taking practices, opening and closing sequences of social encounters, or narrative structure.

According to Tannen, discourse analysis was sometimes defined as the analysis of language beyond the sentence. This contrasts with types of analysis more typical of modern linguistics, which were chiefly concerned with the study of grammar; the study of smaller bits of language, such as sounds (phonetics and phonology), parts of words (morphology), meaning (semantics), and order of words in sentences (syntax). Discourse analysts studied larger chunks of language as they flow together.

Moreover, Van Dijk stated that Critical Discourse Analysis was a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality were enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts took explicit position, and hope to effectively contribute to the resistance against social inequality. He also explained that there were six elements of discourse analysis that should be noticed in doing news analysis; they were topic, discourse schemata, local semantic, stylistic, syntax, and rhetoric.

Rhetoric

The Nature of Rhetoric

According to Van Dijk (1997), the term rhetoric was one of the elements in discourse analysis. He said that rhetoric was a specific structure which had persuasive functions. In a political discourse, rhetoric was an art to persuade people in a political assembly. Thus, special arguments, special forms and figures of style were traditionally associated with political text and talk.

In Webster, the Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, rhetoric was an art of using words effectively in speaking or writing; now, the art of propose composition. In Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, the meaning of rhetorical was using a style designed to impress or persuade; artificial or exaggerated in language. While Sobur gave the definition of rhetoric, it was a style which was used in writing or speaking. The aim of rhetoric was to enhance something about someone's self positively and add to the wickedness of his rival⁴.

Aristotle in Honeycutt gave the definition of rhetoric as the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion. There were three means of effecting persuasion, they are (1) to reason logically, (2) to understand human character and goodness in their various forms, (3) to understand the emotions that was, to name them and describe them, to know their causes and the way in which they were excited. It thus appeared that rhetoric was an offshoot of dialectic and also of ethical studies. Ethical studies might fairly be called political; and for this reason rhetoric masquerades as political science.

Moreover Burton (2003)said that rhetoric was the study of effective speaking and writing and the art of persuasion. For most of its history it has maintained its fundamental character as a discipline for training students (1) to perceive how language was at work orally and in writing, and (2) to become proficient in applying the resources of language in their own speaking and writing. Discerning how language was working in other's or one's own writing and speaking, rhetoric required understanding a fundamental division between what was communicated through language and how this was communicated. Rhetoric examined so attentively the how of language, the methods and means of communication, and sometimes it had been discounted as something only concerned with style or appearances⁵.

The Canons of Rhetoric

Rhetoric, as an art, has long been divided into five major categories or “canons”: (1) topic of invention, (2) arrangement, (3) style, (4) memory, (5) delivery. (Burton: 2003). Since the research question of this study related to the topic of invention and style of the rhetoric, the writer only focused on both of those aspects⁶.

(1) Topic of Invention

Topic of invention concerns finding something to say. It was tied to the rhetorical appeal of logos, being oriented to what an author would say rather than how this might be said. Certain common categories of thought became conventional to use in order to brainstorm for material.

Within rhetorical invention, the topics were basic categories of relationships among ideas, each of which could serve as a template or heuristic for discovering things to say about a subject. Topics of invention literally meant places to find things.

(2) Style

Style concerned the artful expression of ideas. If invention addresses what was to be said; style addresses how this would be said. Burton (2003) divided style into two parts: *Trope*: an artful deviation from the ordinary or principal signification of a word. *Scheme*: an artful deviation from the ordinary arrangement of words.

The Nature of Press

The different between mass media, press and journalistic usually made people confused. Some people assumed that all of them were the same thing. Actually, they related each other. According to Junaedhie the term “mass media” meant that a place used by journalistic or mass communication to get involve with the environment. The aim of mass media was to use the technical ability of that media in order to assemble people at the same time⁷. Mass media divided into two, they were: printed mass media, such as newspaper, magazine, advertisement, poster, pamphlet, etc; electronic mass media, like radio, film, television, etc. While “journalistic”, came from the French word “journal” which meant daily note, was an activity to share news about daily general events in a fastest time. Finally, “Press” was publisher or company which related to mass media or journalistic (Indonesian Press Encyclopedia).

In the “Encyclopedia Dictionary Thesaurus the Web e-Books” which was named “Word IQ”, the meaning of journalism is the practice of collecting and publishing information regarding current events. Those who practice journalism are known as journalists. It is often

referred to as the “first draft of history”. Even though news stories are often written in a hurried style, they should be proofread before being published. The main activity of journalism is the reporting of events by stating the journalistic parameters of who, what, when, where, why, and how and commenting on the significance of the event. Journalism exists in a number of media: newspapers, television, radio and magazines, with Internet journalism being a newcomer⁸.

In this research, the writer only focused in the analysis of newspaper. It was because newspaper became an important instrument to spread news. People would be able to know many incidents in around the world through newspaper, and also gave more knowledge to the people in the other side of the world. In Encyclopedia Dictionary Thesaurus the Web e-Books, a newspaper is a lightweight and disposable periodical, usually printed on low-cost paper called newsprint, containing a journal of current news in a variety of topics. These topics can include political events, crime, sports, opinion, and weather. Newspaper have also been developed around very narrow topic areas, such as news for merchants in a specific industry, fans of particular sports, fans of the arts or of specific artists, and participants in the same sort of activities or lifestyles.

Due to the focus of research above that news in the press was a specific kind of mass media discourse, which suggested possible family resemblances with news on radio and TV or with other discourse types in the newspaper, such as editorials or advertisements⁹.

Other experts propose their opinions and ideas related to the news. Defleaur and Dennis (1988) stated that news was a reality’s view, which was gathered quickly by journalists. When their own self-interest or public influences the journalists, the view felt into gossip. On the other hand, when the journalists could report the reality as how it was, the news became truth that finally it could be knowledge for the people.

While Mott (1969) defined news was current information of interest to readers. It meant that news gave stimulus thinking about events to people who read it. News might be further divided roughly into several types, for example, from the geographical or political point of view news may be considered as local, state, national, or international; or from the subject-matter point of view it may be considered as news of crime, finance, sports, society, science, or politics.

Bradley in Mott (1969) also explained that news was the honest and unbiased and complete account of events of interest and concern to the public. In the same way, Patterson

in Mott (1969) explained that newspaper was a medium of information, stimulating force behind public betterment and a source of education and entertainment.

Related Research Finding

There were some researches relevant to this study. For example, studies by Susanti, Elvi entitled “Analisis Isi dan Wacana Liputan Berita Pemilihan Gubernur Periode 2000-2005”. She found that there was side-taking news in the chosen process of West Sumatera Governor. She took the data from four local newspapers and analyzed them in the form of content and discourse analysis. In discourse analysis, she analyzed the study related to form, meaning, style, rhetoric, and schemata.

Ali, Saidina with the research about “Analisis Wacana Serambeak dalam Pesta Adat Perkawinan” found that there was coherence marker in Serembeak discourse which referred to meaning relationship. They were explanation, illustration, and causal. Beside that, the styles found in the discourse were the use of personification, anaphora, metaphor, euphemism, climax, hyperbole, and anti climax¹⁰.

Discussion

There are some powerful technique often used in political rhetoric; such as in the canon of rhetoric, metaphors, anaphora, personification, etc. Slogans are a simple example of the use of repetition in politics, which ingrains important and usually crowd-pleasing policies into the listeners’ minds. Aside from the use of slogans, politicians also frequently use techniques such as anaphora, which is the repetition of words or phrases at the beginning of consecutive sentences. Like, “*Prabowo Presiden ku*” , “*Jokowi Presiden Rakyat*” or the repetition of the number, *Nomor Satu... Nomor Satu*“ , “*Salam Dua Jari*”.

The articles written in the Kompas, specially in the column “Indonesia Satu” related to Indonesian presidential election 2014 was a rhetorical of politics. The candidates of the president and vice president manipulate their image to create a more trustworthy, righteous, and intelligent version of themselves, which is presented to the public. Such as articles, “*Prabowo Mendekati Ulama*” and “*JK Temui Relawan dan Ulama*”. The president and vice president candidates tried to convince the public, that, they were religious.

Sometimes, attacking another politician’s personality were done by the candidate, such as JK said “*Yang lain hanya bisa bicara*”. The phrase was a kind rhetoric style which

included into litotes. It uses ironical understatement to someone in order to emphasize an idea or situation.

A logic title of the article is used to create the mind set of readers, audiences or voter to vote and can also be a valuable technique to point out flaws with the favorite candidate, such as the article, “*Jokowi sapa Nelayan–Petani*”, *Jokowi Presiden Rakyat*”. It appeals the reader’s emotion.

Political rhetoric addresses mainly issues that overtly involve power relations, legitimization, competing interests and rights of large social groups, differing criteria and values, as well as the necessity to take consequential decisions¹¹.

The relations between rhetoric and politics are presented in four main ways: (i) politics as rhetoric; (ii) rhetoric as expressed by politics; (iii) politics as expressed by rhetoric and, partially, (iv) rhetorical criticism which among others deconstructs politics by applying rhetorical framework. (Załęska, 2012)

The rhetorical turn equates virtually all phenomena to linguistic/ rhetorical manifestations, treating words as the very substance of politics, not its expression.

Conclusion and Suggestion

A. Conclusion

After doing this research, the writer could conclude that:

- a. Only eleven (10) types of styles could be found in the news chosen as the data.
- b. Generally, all the content of the news could be included to each kind of topic invention in the canons of rhetoric.
- c. In Kompas Newspaper, there were some news which still delivered by the journalist in neutral news and the news release was not take side to one of the candidate of the president.

B. Suggestion

1. Newspapers as a medium for public communication should contain a balance in news and be a neutral newspaper.
2. Newspapers should give a positive impression to the community. The language used was a polite language; it was not blasphemy or insulted someone else.

3. The journalist should always supply himself with the concept of language, in order that the news written would be impressed communicative, educated, and not act blindly.
4. The society should also educate and have the concept of language so that they could choose a neutral newspaper and deliver balance news.

Endnote

- ¹ Załęska Maria, 2012. *Rhetoric and Politic*
- ² *Ibid*
- ³ Sobur, Alex. 2002. *Analisis Teks Media*
- ⁴ Hornby. 1985. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*
- ⁵ Metzler, Ken. 1979. *News Gathering*. New Jersey
- ⁶ Berg, Bruce L. 2001. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*
- ⁷ Oka, I.G.N. 1994. *Linguistik Umum*
- ⁸ Emmitt, Marie & Pollock, John. 1991. *Language and Learning*
- ⁹ Gay, L.R & Airasian Peter. 2000. *Educational Research: Competencies for Analysis and Application*
- ¹⁰ Keraf, Gorys. 1984. *Tata Bahasa Indonesia*
- ¹¹ Chaer, Abdul & Leonie Agustina. 1995. *Sosiolinguistik: Perkenalan Awal*.

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