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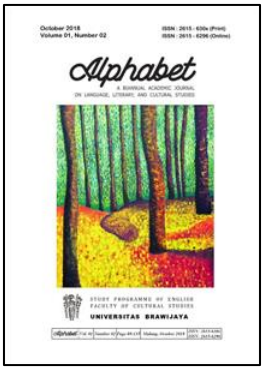

Rhetoric and Discourse in Political Speeches

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Rhetoric and Discourse in Political Speeches

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Abstract
This research investigates the rhetoric and discourse of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono 's (henceforth SBY) and Joko Widodo's (henceforth JOKOWI) speeches related to policies and subsidy plans in increasing the price of fuel to enhance Indonesian economic recovery and development. Societies reacted differently on the speeches. One factor affecting societies' reaction is the rhetorical devices and the involvement of discourse device toward the speeches. By this fact, the goal of this research is to find out the comparison of persuasive strategies and the involvement of discourse devices toward their rhetorical speeches. In achieving this, the researcher employs descriptive qualitative research because it describes and interprets the process of research. Aristotle's theory on persuasive strategy is employed in the analysis. Moreover, Hasan and Halliday's theory of discourse is implemented in this research. The researcher finds all rhetoric strategies applied by SBY and JOKOWI. SBY mostly implements logos in his speech; meanwhile, Jokowi uses Pathos. Furthermore, SBY uses conjunction, reference and lexical cohesion; meanwhile, Jokowi uses ellipsis conjunction, reference and lexical cohesion.

Keywords:
rhetoric, cohesive device, discourse, political speech

It is approximately impossible that political speech occurs without any rhetorical language. Politicians or speakers of political event always want to transfer their ideas implicitly or explicitly. Thus, in transferring the idea, the speakers need to know the factors contributing a successful speech, which should consist of many skills. One of them is the use of proper rhetorical devices in accurate and appropriate ways. Rhetoric, or commonly known as the art of persuasion, often occurs in the form of a political discourse delivered by public figures or leaders such as the president, the leaders of parties, and among others. Therefore, politic and persuasion cannot be separated since the goal of political discourse can be stated to persuade others (Kennedy, 2007).

There are some experts proposing theories explaining rhetorical strategies related to persuasion in political discourse. Some of them are Johnstone (2008), Harris (2013), and Zimmer (2009). In this research, a theory proposed by Aristoteles (cited in Griffin, 2012) is implemented. Moreover, a theory of rhetoric is used to investigate political speech from the perspective of discourse analysis since it analyzes language beyond the sentence and the analysis of discourse is typically concerned with the study of language in the text and

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Table 1. The Sources of JOKOWI's and SBY's Speeches.

JOKOWI's Speeches	SBY's Speeches
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Myw4sk6wCWQ	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K7Xks8ciJGE
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-XmpDb0e-Mo	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2mEDuphw2-c

conversation (Yule, 2009). Furthermore, the theory of microstructural is also implemented because it deals with the discourse devices of cohesion proposed by Halliday and Hasan (1976).

In this research, the researcher investigated persuasive strategies in Joko Widodo's political speeches at Economic Cooperation 2014 and Economic Forum 2015. This research is descriptive qualitative and the data were phrases and sentences on persuasive strategies in Joko Widodo's political speeches**.** The data were classified and categorized based on the types of persuasive strategies.

It is noticed that the current research is important since it discusses different object from a different perspective. The current research implements Aristotle's theory related to the microstructural discourse. Also, by investigating discourses, the researcher attempts to highlight the linguistic means, which are used by each politician to present the three dimensions of the persuasion; Logos, Ethos and Pathos. Besides, the researcher aims at relating microstructural devices within persuasion theory. The research is needed to be done because there is a significant difference in public reaction between Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's and Joko Widodo's leadership when they were raising the price of fuel. Based on that phenomenon, the researcher tries to seek the rhetorical strategies performed by both SBY and JOKOWI to persuade the societies and the cohesion devices related to the rhetorical strategies.

METHOD

Aristotle's (as cited in Griffin, 2012) was used to analyze the data. Aristotle stated that there are three types of rhetoric; logos, ethos, pathos. Moreover, the theory of cohesion is also implemented to obtain the involvement of its devices proposed by Halliday and Hasan (1976). It contains substitution, ellipsis, reference, conjunction and lexical cohesion. The data was obtained from a YouTube video of JOKOWI's and SBY's speeches (Table 1). The data was taken from their utterances containing rhetoric.

In collecting the data, the documentary procedure is implemented as follows (i) col-

Table 2. Aristotle's Theory of Rhetoric (as cited in Griffin, 2012)

Rhetorical Strategies	Characteristics	Indicators
Logos	Syllogism	Deductive to inductive, then conclusion statement
	Examples (factual data and statistics, citations from experts)	Numerals (percentage, the number of population, amount of money etc.) and Indirect report (he/she said)
Ethos	Intelligence, Virtuous character and goodwill	Register, speech style (formal, informal) jargon, speech accommodation, idiolect
Pathos	Anger vs calmness Love vs hatred Fear vs confidence Admiration vs envy	Figurative (phatic sympathy, empathy) language. Degrees of certainty, ability word/phrase. A positive and negative interjection or adjective

lecting the data from SBY and JOKOWI's speeches on fuel and its subsidy; (ii) classifying the data according to Aristotle's rhetorical strategies in persuading audiences and microstructural theories; (iii) rearranging the data and finding out the appropriate ones.

Further, in analyzing data, Miles and Huberman's (1994) strategy in conducting qualitative research is applied. They divided the techniques into three steps: (i) data reduction related to data coding in identifying and classifying the data in accordance with research problems. For the first object, the researcher used number 1 as the symbol after the sign (.) e.g 1.1 in numbering data; while for the second object, number 2 is used as the symbol after the sign (.) e.g 1.2 in numbering data; (ii) data display presenting the categorized data which was analyzed and interpreted after the coding; (iii) conclusion of the displayed data according to the theories of rhetoric and cohesive device. The researcher used the parameter as summarized in Table 2.

RESULTS

Rhetorical analysis on SBY's utterances

There are three ways to positively persuade the audiences: logos, ethos and pathos. To connect the meaning between the statements, the speakers perform some cohesive devices. There are six data of logos containing a datum of conjunction, three data conjunction and reference, a datum of conjunction, reference and lexical, and a datum of conjunction and lexical. Moreover, there are three data of ethos containing of a datum of conjunction, two data combination of conjunction and lexical. Furthermore, there are five data of pathos consisting of two data of conjunction, two

Table 3. Theory of Cohesive devices by Hassan and Halliday (1976)

Microstructural Approach in Discourse	**Characteristics**	**Indicators**
Cohesion Devices	Substitution (nominal, verbal, clausal)	Nominal: One, ones Verbal: do/does, Clausal: so and not the word of a clausal structure
	Ellipsis (nominal, verbal, clausal)	Nominal: Deictic, enumerative, classifier, quantifier, Verbal: tone Clausal: someone, who etc.
	Conjunction (additive, adversative, causal, temporal)	Additive: moreover, similarity, in addition to, and Adversative: but, however, nevertheless, despite this, on the other hand Causal: because, consequence, as the result, for this reason. Temporal: then, next time, from now on, to sum up, in short.
	Reference (personal, demonstrative, comparative)	Personal: personal and possessive pronoun, possessive determiners Demonstrative: this, these, here, that, those, there Comparative: as same as, identical, equal, and kinds of comparative degree.
	Lexical Cohesion (Reiteration and collocation)	Reiteration: repetition, synonym, near synonym, superordinate and general noun Collocation: association of lexical item that regularly co-occur e.g. reader/writer

data of conjunction and lexical cohesion, and a datum of conjunction, reference and lexical cohesion.

Logos and its conjunction and reference

The example of logos and its conjunction and reference can be found in the following analysis.

> *"*Dan koreksi seperti ini juga dilakukan oleh banyak negara di dunia karena mereka juga mengalami permasalahan dan tekanan-tekanan pada ekonomi nya...*"* (...and such corrections are made by many countries in the world because they also experience problems and pressures on their economies...).

It indicates logos since the speaker stated the comparison between Indonesia and other countries "*...banyak negara di dunia..."* it means that not only Indonesian government who applied this kind of policy but also other countries did the same. It is a factual argument which is argued by the speaker to ensure the audiences that they have to agree on this policy. The causal conjunction of this statement is the word *"...karena.."* (*because)* indicating that the speaker tries to persuade the audience by informing the fact. Also, the use of additive conjunctions *"...dan..."* (*and)* shows that there are more than one problems that happen in the real situation. The speaker also uses reference phrase *"...banyak negara..."* (*many countries)* as a source of reference and the word "*...mereka...*" (*they)* which is the plural pronoun.

Logos and its conjunction

> *"*Kalau keadaan terus dibikin gaduh dan tidak stabil, maka akan lebih memberikan tekanan pada perekonomian kita. Dan pada akhirnya nanti, yang terpukul adalah rakyat kita semua" (If the situation is made rowdy and unstable continuously, it will put more pressure on our economy. As the result, the ones who are beaten are all of us).

The speaker implements double consequence conjunctions, which come after the word "*...kalau...*" (if). The first consequence conjunction of this strategy is the word "*...maka...*" (*so)* and the second conjunction deals with "if" is the phrase "*...dan pada akhirnya...*" (as a result). By using this kind of conjunction, the speaker tries to clarify a general message with the explanation of clear consequences.

Ethos and its conjunction and lexical cohesion

> "Pemerintah menjaga, -saya ulangi- kita terus menjaga perekonomian nasional kita, meskipun kita telah melakukan koreksi semula kita ingin mencapai pertumbuhan 6,7 persen tahun ini, dan kemudian kita koreksi menjadi 6,5 persen*"* (The government keeps - I repeat- we continue to keep our national economy, although we have made the initial correction we want to achieve 6.7 percent growth this year, and then we corrected to 6.5 percent)

We can say that it is a goodwill action. In this opportunity, the speaker tries to inform his goodwill related to the economic development which can be seen through his statement *"...melakukan koreksi..."* In this situation, he also corrects his speech *"...kita menjaga..."* means that he wants to invite economic stakeholders to collaborate and to keep the target. Through this sentence, he shows his credibility as a president of Indonesia. In this case, he shows that he can take the right decision to solve problems, which happen in Indonesia.

The speaker uses two types of conjunction. The speaker uses adversative conjunction *"...meskipun..."* (although) to connect to the opposite statement. The second conjunction is temporal conjunction *"...dan kemudian..."* (and then) to inform audiences that the speaker wants to transfer the next point of his speech. The speaker uses lexical cohesion of reiteration *"...kita..."* (...we...) Moreover, the speaker

replies this word many times to emphasize the government's efforts.

Pathos and its conjunction and lexical cohesion

> *"...* saya menyampaikan terimakasih dan penghargaan yang tinggi kepada DPR RI dan juga kepada unsur - unsur pemerintah yang bekerja siang dan malam...*"* (...I would like to express my gratitude and high appreciation to DPR RI and to the elements of the government who work day and night ...)

The datum above indicates pathos strategy. In this case, the speaker tries to evoke the audiences' emotion through the admiration statement *"...saya menyampaikan terima kasih..."* It means that the speaker gives a positive impression toward the listeners and his statement leads them always to contribute beneficial action in improving the economic condition. The speaker uses additive *"dan"* to connect his phrase or statement. It also has a lexical choice device. The speaker tries to use reiteration word in order to make general plural pronoun into a specific singular pronoun. It can be seen in the sentence *"...Dalam kaitan ini atas nama pemerintah, saya menyampaikan terima-kasih..."* here, the speaker tries to show his confession of stakeholders' effort over the time.

Rhetorical analysis on JOKOWI's utterances

In JOKOWI's speeches, there are three data of logos consisting of conjunction and reference; two data of ethos consisting of a datum of conjunction and reference and a datum of conjunction, reference and lexical cohesion. There are also seven data of pathos including two data of conjunction and reference, a datum of ellipsis, a datum of lexical cohesion, two data of reference and a datum of conjunction.

Pathos and its conjunction and reference

> *"...*kenapa sekarang kita membangun infrastruktur bukan Jawa sentris, tetapi Indonesia sentris, membangun dari pinggiran dari pulau-pulau terluar? Ya karena daerah - daerah sangat membutuhkan itu*"* (Why do we need to build infrastructure which is not centralized in Java, but in Indonesia, building from the outside islands? Yes, because those territories really need that).

The speaker uses pathos to show his empathy toward societies who live in remote areas. The statement of his empathy is "*...karena daerah - daerah sangat membutuhkan itu"*. The speaker uses adversative "*...tetapi...*" and causal conjunction "*...karena...*" to connect between sentences. In addition, he uses reference device "*...yang...*" refers to the policy of building project in the remote area.

Pathos and its lexical cohesion

> "Jangan kita membangun Trans Papua malah ada DPD yang menanyakan untuk apa itu. Trans Papua ini kita bangun agar sekali lagi ketimpangan infrastruktur antara bagian tengah, bagian barat bagian timur itu menjadi seimbang" (Do not ask why we build Trans Papua. We build that to eliminate the imbalance of the infrastructure among the middle, the western part, and the eastern part).

This speech is categorized into pathos since the speaker wants to evoke audiences' emotion by using the word *"jangan"* it is kind of interjection which means "do not". The speaker implies that nothing to be asked again since it is very useful. He repeats the word "*...Trans Papua..."* in order to inform the focus of his speech. It is, therefore, a kind of lexical cohesion.

Logos and its conjunction and reference

> "Kalau Trans Papua ini selesai dan semen bisa di angkut lewat darat, tidak lewat udara, saya yakin harga itu akan mirip - mirip dengan di Jawa*"* (if Trans Papua is finished, and cement can be carried away through land transporta-

tion not the air ones, I am sure that the price will be identically same with Java).

This speech, then, indicates pathos strategy. This datum is a kind of syllogism utterance. The speaker tries to argue the general concept of idea or major premise *"Kalau Trans Papua ini selesai..."* followed by second utterance or minor premise *"...dan semen bisa diangkut lewat darat tidak lewat udara..."*, containing an alternative way. Finally, the speaker comes to the end point that speaker wants to say or conclude "*... saya yakin harga itu akan mirip - mirip dengan di Jawa."* Here, the speaker performs some devices such as conjunction "*...dan...*" reference "*...mirip-mirip...*"

Ethos and its conjunction, reference and lexical cohesion

"Pada saat itu juga saya perintahkan pada mentri BUMN, "Bu Mentri,saya tidak mau tau, saya minta harga bensin di Papua khususnya di pegunungan tengah di Wamena harganya sama dengan di Jawa. Tapi baru setengah tahun setelah perintah itu harganya baru sama dengan di Jawa*"* (At that moment, I commanded the Minister of BUMN, Ms. Minister, I want the price of gasoline in Papua, especially in the middle of mountain regency, Wamena, is equal as in Java. Half year later, the price is equal).

It indicates ethos strategy which is categorized as the intelligence of the speaker to see, analyze and solve the problems. He takes action to solve the problems, which occur inside a certain place. He uses the statements "*Pada saat itu juga saya perintahkan ...*" By stating this, he shows his power as a President. In performing this strategy, the researcher uses some devices to clear the idea. Firstly, he uses lexical cohesion general to specific "*...Papua..*" into sub places of Papua like *Wamena and pegunungan tengah*. Then he uses the comparative reference *"...sama dengan...*" which is functioned to compare with another place. Lastly, he uses the conjunction "*...tapi...*" to inform what he plans is not running well yet.

DISCUSSION

Discourse concerns with the study of language, which is used in political context. Especially, the term of political context often deals with persuasive discourse, which focuses on at least three main dimensions. First, language use concerning linguistics; second, the communication of cognition concerning the study of beliefs and how they are communicated; last is the analysis of interaction in a social situation. Those three dimensions have a relation to the study that is conducted. The relation occurs among the three focuses of this research's problems. Rhetoric as the first research problem deals with the concept of interaction in a social situation. Rhetoric can create effective interaction based on the situation. Cohesion device deals with the use of language, which is appropriate to be used within elements of discourse. Delivering speech deals with how the communication of beliefs is communicated.

This section tries to highlight the relation across the findings. The researcher starts by analyzing SBY's speeches consisting of rhetoric, cohesive device and speech delivery. In rhetoric statements, especially logos, the speaker uses some patterns. He mostly states logos with the combination of conjunction, reference and body language. It occurs in datum 3.1, 9.1 and 13.1. Here, the speaker clarifies logos with conjunction and reference to connect the ideas of a speaker. Conjunction is very important when the speaker states logos strategy since it is functioned to arrange the logic statement in order not to be ambiguous, while reference is functioned to simplify something. Further, body language, which is combined with those data, it functioned as the way of communication that emphasizes message, especially when the speaker discusses more policy.

On the other hand, when JOKOWI performs pathos, he tends to use the combination of conjunction and reference related to

his policy and subsidy of increasing fuel in the certain area. This kind of conjunction is functioned to create additional information, which has equal meaning or the contrasting meaning. Also, the use of reference is to indicate the discussion of some places.

This current research has a different result with the previous research, which has been done by Yumnawati on Joko Widodo's speeches in APEC CEO in the international meeting of economic topics. The previous research indicated that the speaker used ethos as the dominant strategy than others. The speaker uses ethos to show his virtuous character, goodwill and credibility. On the other hand, this current research of JOKOWI's speeches indicating dominant rhetoric strategy is pathos. Pathos is used to arouse the emotion of audiences through his love, admiration, calmness, confidence. The speeches are different because of the situation, audiences and topics. JOKOWI tends to use ethos since the context of situational forces him to show his personality more by acknowledging his good presentation about the potential economic maps of Indonesia. When the speaker is assumed has credible knowledge about his country it will be easy for the speaker to persuade audiences. The use of ethos is also related to the audiences, to whom the speaker informs his presentation. Here, the speaker informs his presentation to inter-national audiences involving investors, economical practitioners and leaders of countries. Those audiences are people having credibility in the economic field. If JOKOWI does not show his argument by ethos strategy, he probably faces the difficulties to persuade them.

On the other hand, in this current research, JOKOWI tends to use pathos since he takes a good consideration of choosing the suitable strategy because it is the appropriate one to be applied in this context related to fuel price and its subsidy. Also, the target listeners or audiences are Indonesians. The speaker mostly uses pathos strategy since he informs the unbalanced condition between Java and Papua. When discussing people who have different authority, it is better for him to persuade them through emotional statements, such as admiration, love, and care. It may be more effective than persuading them by logical reason or speaker's credibility.

Another research related to SBY's speeches indicates that there is a different strategy applied in different context. Based on the previous research, the researcher tends to use ethos since he discusses more the ideology of 'Pancasila'. Ethos is used as the capability of the speaker to present his knowledge related to his understanding of the nation's ideology. Also, he uses this kind of ethos in front of international audiences. The text and context of this situation force him to apply this ethos. On the other hand, in this current research, SBY tends to use logos strategy since the text discusses the more political condition, and then the context is about Indonesian societies who need more logical reasons of the policy.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Based on the findings and discussion, the researcher concludes that SBY uses logos more than pathos or ethos. The data of logos are presented by using examples, syllogism, factual evidence, and numeric data. The data of pathos are presented by using anger, love, admiration, fear and confidence. Also, the data of ethos are presented by using goodwill and intelligence.

Meanwhile, JOKOWI has a different concept of rhetoric strategy in persuading people. The most strategy used by him is pathos, such as empathy, anger, love, confidence, admiration calmness. Then he uses logos including factual evidence and syllogism. Besides, there are two data of ethos including goodwill and intelligence.

In the case of a cohesive device, SBY mostly uses the cohesive device of conjunction. Especially, he often uses additive conjunction. He also uses the combination of causal and additive, temporal and adversative, temporal and additive, additive and adversative; while the last is single causal conjunction. Another cohesive device is lexical cohe-

sion. The speaker uses reiteration with its some subtypes. First, he uses repetitions; second, he uses synonym; next, he uses general term to specific term; and the last cohesive device is a reference. SBY mostly uses a kind of demonstrative reference. Also, he also uses a single pronoun.

On the other hand, in the case of the cohesive device, JOKOWI mostly uses reference. He uses reference nine times, which indicate a demonstrative reference. Also, another type of reference is a comparative reference. Another type of cohesive devices, which is used by the speaker, is a conjunction, which is used eight times. In applying this conjunction, the speaker divides it into three ways: additive, adversative, and double conjunction containing both causal and adversative conjunction. Besides those two cohesive devices, the speaker also uses lexical cohesion that deals with the repetition and general to specific. Furthermore, he also uses a single ellipsis.

After conducting this research, the researcher realizes that there are some limitations in this research that should be covered by the next researchers. For other researchers, this research may lead them to conduct researches on persuasion in other fields, theories, and not limited on the political speech. Especially, the next researchers can explore the latest theory about persuasive theory to help them understand the data and to be able comparing analysis. Moreover, this research could be a small thing for them to conduct persuasive analysis involving other languages, not just in English. Therefore, it can broaden the knowledge in applying linguistic aspects in various languages.

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