

## Conference Paper

# Rhetorical Devices in the Presidential Speeches of the President of the Republic of Indonesia in the Reformation Era

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## Abstract

This study applied the method of critical discourse analysis (CDA) using the model of Norman Fairclough. The data collection techniques used in this study were documentation, libraries, interviews, and notes. The data analysis techniques were connecting elements micro, mediate, and macro elements in three dimensions: (1) text, (2) discourse practice, and (3) social practice culture. The results showed that the rhetorical devices used were as follows: 1) the most dominant diction used was denotation, popular, scientific; 2) the most dominant sentence used was a release sentence; 3) the most dominant cohesion used was classical anaphora cohesion, repetition, conjunction of cause, effect, conflict, way, purpose, condition, and time; and (4) the most dominant coherence was the coherence of cause, effect, conflict, purpose, manner, condition, and time. The presidential speech was structured into the following stages: invention, disposition, elocution, memorial, and pronunciation in manuscript and memoriter. The rhetorical tools used described the educational programs already undertaken, the promises, and the hope of improving the quality of education in Indonesia.

**Keywords:** presidential speech, reformation era, rhetorical device

## 1. Introduction

Competences in teaching the Indonesian language must be mastered by students, one of which is competence in understanding discourse. Discourse, according to Werlich (in Renkema), can take an oral or written form that is delivered in a descriptive, narrative, explanatory, argumentative, or instructional form [1]. Especially for oral discourse, students are required to be able to speak in public, especially types of speech. Understanding the concept of speech is one type of competence in the field of discourse that has an important role, especially in producing students who are ready to become leaders. The president's speeches always present public policy, so what the

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president says is considered an important issue by the government. The president's speeches as political speeches are motivated by the desire to persuade and convince the nation or society and familiarize listeners with their policies, plans, and socio-economic actions [2]. Thus, according to Eriyanto, presidential speeches also influence how society thinks about existing sociopolitical realities [3]. The presidential speeches occupy a very important position as the main media in delivering and implementing government programs based on people's aspirations.

In terms of the development of the national education system achieved by each government in the reform era, especially President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, commonly known as SBY, and Joko Widodo, or Jokowi, it has often been indicated that Indonesia has not been able to compete with developing countries, let alone with advanced states. The government has a difficult task in managing the national education system, which is still interfered with by political elements. The rhetoric in presidential speeches, in this case, plays a central role, whether the rhetoric used is actually carried out in reality or just rhetorical. According to Nurpadillah, speeches in politics are political speeches and in general, the people become its mass [4]. The purpose of these political speeches is to influence and fire up the spirit of the listener. The various types of political speeches include state speeches, parliamentary speeches, speeches at national celebrations, speeches on demonstration occasions, and campaign speeches. State speeches, in particular, have a special feature in the presentation of rhetoric because they have a special purpose.

O'Sullivan et al. (in Alo) describe rhetoric as the practice in the use of the language of influencing others to achieve planned goals characterized by certain credibility (ethos), the ability to manage listener emotions (pathos), and the use of logic (logos) [2]. Similarly, Larson (in Altikriti) describes rhetoric as the intelligent ability to use the means of language in the process of persuasion, which can be done using ethics (ethos), emotional appeal (pathos), or reason (logos) [5]. Winkler and McCuen assert that rhetoric is a technique used by speakers or writers as an attempt to communicate with listeners or readers [6]. He further explained that rhetoric is more the art of using linguistics or linguistic tools effectively through the choice of appropriate and effective words and the ability to manage the grammatical arrangement of sentences so as to deliver a message to the listener or writer as the speaker or author wishes. In this case, rhetoric can be interpreted as ability in the process of language tailored to the expectations of the listener or reader. Processing language, in this case, is explained by Rinaldi as the ability to effectively select and use language in certain situations with a specific purpose [7].

Rakhmat states that speech is two-way face-to-face communication, i.e. the speaker should pay attention to the speaker, although speakers more often dominate the conversation [8]. In this case, the speech is the result of the process of thinking by a person who poured in the activities of speaking to the general public by providing a sequence of exposure in the form of a systematic in the form of a topic of information with the purpose of listeners understanding and following the communicator's intentions. Thus, rhetoric can be regarded as the ability to process various means of language in certain situations and certain purposes in the activities of communicating.

The ability of rhetoric is prepared by means of language starting from diction, sentences, cohesion, and coherence. Diction is a pointer that there are certain attitudes and ideologies to be conveyed by the speaker. According to Josefre, diction is questioning the ability of a word to generate the right ideas to the imagination of the reader or listener, such as what the author or speaker thinks or feels [9]. Choosing the right diction will facilitate the delivery of the idea itself.

The next rhetorical device is the sentence. According to Arifin and Junaiyah, there are various types of sentence, i.e. released sentences, balanced sentences, and climax sentences [10]. The next rhetorical device is cohesion and coherence. Cohesion is characterized by a syntactic function in discourse that has a unified form of coherent and integral language, while coherence is characterized by the relationship between elements of meaning in the text. Halliday and Hasan classify cohesion into grammatical cohesion and lexical cohesion [11]. Grammatical cohesion includes references, substitutions, ellipses, and conjunctions, while lexical cohesion includes reiteration and collocation. Consequently, coherence is the interconnection of elements of meaning between texts, for example, shown by relationships in the arrangement of concepts or ideas [12]. Thus coherence, according to Renkema, consists of two kinds of relations, namely the relationship of additions and causal relations [1]. The entire rhetorical device is mutually supportive of creating a presidential speech.

From relevant research results related to the rhetoric of the speeches of SBY and Jokowi, namely the research conducted by Humaidi, it can be concluded that one of the interesting characteristics of President SBY in terms of ethics is that he always upholds the idea of democracy that defends the people [13]. In this case, SBY is very good at imaging, but the imagery is based on empirical facts. Thus, Jupriono explains that President SBY's state speeches make maximum use of the historical discourse background to lead the understanding of the Indonesian public [14]. In order to build

a positive self-image, President SBY explicitly discloses the dynamics of political, economic, legal, and social life in the first 10 years of the reform era. Implicitly, SBY leads the public perception that he is a president who has a high legitimacy as the product of a democratic election. In addition, SBY also constructs a public understanding that he contributed greatly to the formation of the dynamics of the life progress of the people of Indonesia. SBY is a more accomplished president and exploits his state speeches as a media and political imaging strategy (politics of imagology, imagery politic).

Unlike the President Jokowi has advantages; this can be shown from the results of research conducted by Ricky on the presidential candidate debate speech of 2014, where President Jokowi uses: (1) ethos with simple and pro-people characteristics; (2) pathos, using facts that he finds when looking around (*blusukan*); and (3) logos, which uses the facts of the program on Kartu Indonesia Sehat and Kartu Indonesia Pintar as concrete proof of the program [15]. Thus Jokowi, in presidential candidate debate speeches, uses foreign diction, absorption, special, general, popular, abstract, concrete and scientific connotations, and jargon [16]. In terms of the use of sentences, Jokowi largely utilizes declarative sentences, imperative sentences, and interrogative sentences in his speech texts of 2015 [17]. Based on the results of this relevant research, the importance of research on the characteristics of the rhetorical devices in the presidential speeches of SBY and Jokowi in the reform era is evident, as it is useful in the development of science in the field of rhetoric.

This study aims to provide an understanding of the rhetorical device in the Republic of Indonesia's speeches in the era of reform, especially in education. This rhetorical device consists of the use of sentences, diction, cohesion, and coherence in state speeches that will provide an understanding of the true meaning of the purpose of the state speeches conducted by President SBY and Jokowi in the reform era. In order to find the true meaning of the purpose of using rhetorical tools in state speeches, we used the critical discourse analysis method of Norman Fairclough to analyze textual aspects, discourse practice, and sociocultural conditions.

## 2. Methods

### 2.1. Research design

This study applied the method of critical discourse analysis (CDA) using the model of Norman Fairclough by analyzing three aspects, namely text, discourse practice, and sociocultural conditions.

## 2.2. Data and source of data

The main data in this research were the rhetorical devices in the form of sentences, diction, cohesion, and coherence in the presidential speeches of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo, especially in the field of education. Then, the main data source in this research was six speeches by President SBY in the year 2013–2014 and Jokowi's speeches of 2015–2016, especially in the field of education.

## 2.3. Data collection techniques

The data collection techniques used in this study were documentation, libraries, interviews, and notes. Documentation was the main technique in the form of videos of the speeches of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo obtained from the Archive and Press Bureau, Media, and Information from the Ministry of State Secretariat RI, National TVRI Central Jakarta, and <https://www.youtube.com>.

## 2.4. Data analysis techniques

In this study, data analysis techniques refer to the critical discourse analysis method of Fairclough by connecting micro, mediated, and macro elements in three dimensions: (1) text, (2) discourse practice, and (3) social practice culture [17]. Analysis of the dimensions of the text descriptive analysis using the linguistic approach is aimed at describing the content descriptively only on the level of text in the form of sentences, diction, cohesion, and coherence to be analyzed with assistance from the data analysis table. In the dimension of discourse practice, an intertextual analysis is necessary to bridge text analysis and discourse practice. This analysis is conducted simultaneously with text analysis, i.e. by examining how the text is produced and consumed by the people of Indonesia. Then, in the sociocultural practice dimension, the researcher will conduct sociocultural practices by linking his analysis to the macro context. In addition, researchers also use discourse theory and ideology as a supporting theory.

## 3. Results

### **3.1. Sentences in the presidential speeches of the president of the republic of Indonesia in the reform era**

Sentences used in the presidential speeches are quite varied, ranging from minor sentences to major sentences, released sentences, balanced sentences, and climax sentences. Most use released sentences and a few use minor sentences and climax sentences. Based on the structure of the speech, the introduction uses major, minor, released, and balanced phrases. On the torso or more content using the released sentences occasionally flanked by balanced sentences and very few climax sentences. Then, in the closing section, most uses released sentences occasionally flanked by minor, major, and balanced sentences.

### **3.2. Dictions in the presidential speeches of the president of the republic of Indonesia in the reform era**

Dictionaries used in presidential speeches are quite varied, namely: denotation, popular, raw, scientific, inserted in foreign languages, concrete, slang, abstract, foreign and regional terms, special, general, artificial, connotation, idiom. For official speech contexts, there is more dominant use of popular, scientific diction with standard or official Indonesian language in the introduction, torso, and cover. In less formal speech contexts there is the more dominant use of popular diction and slang or colloquial language in the introduction, torso, and cover. The introduction begins with a popular greeting using Arabic, Hindu, and Buddhist terms as an opening greeting and artificial diction. The closing section also ends with a popular greeting using Arabic, Hindu, and Buddhist terms, as well as artificial dictions arranged by art.

### **3.3. Cohesiveness in the presidential speeches of the president of the republic of Indonesia in the reform era**

The cohesion used in the presidential speeches varies considerably: classical anaphora, repetition, substitution, ellipsis, endophora, collocation, rising and falling intonation, conjunction of affirmations/consequences, conjunctions of ways, conjunctions of contradictions, conjunctive clues, conjunctive additives, justification conjunctions, comparative conjunctions, conjunctive similarities, conjunctions of causes, consequential conjunctions, conjunctions of choice, sequence/addition conjunctions, conjunctive modalities, time conjunctions, correlative conjunctions, repetition conjunctions, and unconditional conjunctions. In the introduction, there is the more dominant

use of synonymous cohesion, classical anaphora, and repetition. On the torso, it is more dominant body using classical cohesion and repetition.

### 3.4. Coherence in the presidential speeches of the president of the republic of Indonesia in the reform era

The coherence used in the presidential speeches is quite varied, namely: affirmation, requisites, contradiction, equivalent, continuation/addition, justification, comparison, equality, likeness, consequence, cause, reciprocity, correlated objectives, manner, choices, approvals, corroborations, subsequent questions, instructions, conditionals, timing, determiner, explanations, objects, rejection, intensity, conditional, announcement, repetition, conclusiveness, and unconditional.

Preparation of the presidential speeches of the President of the Republic of Indonesia in the reform era is divided into two types, namely the preparation of official speeches and unofficial speech. Preparation for both types of speech is the same and comprises the stage of discovery with the team composing the state speech, compilation, style, memory, and delivery. What distinguishes them is the mode of delivery, with the official speeches being delivered via a manuscript with popular and scholarly diction using standard Indonesian, and the unofficial speeches being delivered in a more memorizing manner using popular diction and slang or colloquial nonstandard language.

President SBY, in particular, uses unique terms of delivery; namely, for official or informal speeches he tends to deliver a memoriter speech that relies on memory and experience using the official Indonesian language, while President Jokowi relies more on texts or manuscripts when delivering his speeches in an official and special, unofficial context with more non-standard or slang Indonesian language. In addition, President SBY is unique in the number of words used in each speech, which reaches an average of 5400 words, while for President Jokowi the average is only 3800 words. This shows that President SBY uses longer rhetoric than President Jokowi. There are similarities between these two presidents, especially in relation to speeches in unofficial contexts, where the opening and concluding sections contain artificial diction arranged in the art so as to give an aesthetic impression to the listener.

Presidents SBY and Jokowi in using the tools of rhetoric not only make promises in their speeches, but they are mostly implemented. President SBY's educational program is in line with that delivered through the rhetorical tools in his speech, such as a teacher welfare improvement program, a Bidikmisi program, a Bantuan Operasional

Sekolah program, scholarships for performance and indigent students, a Presidential Scholarship, S-2 and S-3 scholarships in Indonesia, an Affirmative program, Gerakan Nasional Rehabilitasi Gedung Sekolah, compulsory education for 12 years, and an education budget of 20% from APBN. The only programs not run in that way are 12-year compulsory courses.

In delivering the educational program in his speech, President SBY uses classic anaphora cohesion, repetition, substitution, ellipsis, cohesion of cause: *oleh karena itu*; cohesion of confirmation: *dengan demikian, akhirnya, salah satunya*; cohesion of time: *suatu saat, sampai saat ini, kini*; cohesion of terms: *kalau, jika*; cohesion of purpose: *untuk, agar*; and cohesion of manner: *melalui, dengan*. The cohesion devices of President SBY really convince the listener so that people are confident with what is delivered through his speech. The types of sentence that are used most are the released and balanced sentences so as to provide systematic information. This is because sentence releases provide information starting from the main information and followed by additional information while balanced sentences present a structure that shows that the alignment of form and information is poured into the wake of symmetrical sentences that are equally important.

President Jokowi does not talk much about educational programs. Some of the educational programs that are delivered are focused only on Kartu Indonesia Pintar (KIP), although many educational programs were implemented, but not delivered. Sir Jokowi gives more directives and examples of character education, green school concepts, and rapid regulation. President Jokowi's presidential speeches are characterized by the use of classical anaphora cohesion, repetition, substitution, ellipsis, conjunctive terms, conjunctions of causes, conjunctions of purpose, conjunctions of constituents, conjunctions of time, and conjunctions of contradictions while the sentence types are released and balanced sentences. With these types of cohesion and sentence, Jokowi is able to explain the educational program with brief, popular, and everyday language or slang that shows that Jokowi is populist and simple.

The characteristics of the use of coherence in the presidential speeches of the President of the Republic of Indonesia in the Reformation era lie in the preliminary use of the relationship of similarity in the meaning of opening and honor greetings. The opening greeting begins with a prayer, i.e. *Bismillahirrahmanirrahim* (in the name of Allah the Most Merciful and Charitable), which depicts the religious president, the opening greetings for Muslims, i.e. *Assalamu'alaikumwarahmatullahiwabarakatuh*, the opening greetings for Hindus, i.e. *Oomswastiastu*, the opening greetings for Buddhists, namely *Namobuddhaya*, and the opening greeting in general, i.e. *Salam Sejahtera bagi*



*Kita Semua*. This shows that in the era of reform with all the freedom of speech, but the freedom that has rules because of Indonesia so diverse religion so as to avoid conflict and increasingly persuades the listener as a member of the state speech activities. In the body of the coherence used varies widely, but the most dominant is the coherence of cause, effect, condition, way, purpose, time, and conclusion. With such coherence, the education program can be explained in detail and the listener convinced.

Presidents SBY and Jokowi in the concluding section use conclusion coherence as a sign of concluding their speeches, acknowledgement and hope in appreciation of the listener's existence and aimed at influencing the listener and ending with some form of closing prayer greeting, i.e. the general greeting, Hindu closing greeting, Buddhist closing greeting, and Muslim closing greeting. The conclusion of this prayer has become an obligatory part of closing the speech. Thus, the rhetorical device, sentence, diction, cohesion, and coherence, used by the President of the Republic of Indonesia in the Reformation era is not just rhetoric or ruling tool but is actually used as a tool for delivering planned and implemented educational programs. However, there are some disadvantages, such as uneven distribution of educational programs and information, the timely acceptance of educational programs that are not timely and information about educational programs that have not been equally accepted by Indonesian society. Subsequently, sentences, diction, cohesion, and coherence were drawn up, not merely composed by the president, but specifically for official speeches in education composed by presidential working teams, ranging from presidential expert staff to Segreg ministries, cabinet secretaries, the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Ministry of Ristekdikti, relevant ministries, and experts or parties related to the theme of education. This is in contrast to informal speeches more dominantly composed by the president personally so that the speeches presented are still present using minor and major phrases, diction slang, diction connotation, diction jargon, idiom, and elliptical cohesion that should be avoided in the use of the Republic of Indonesia's speeches.

## 4. Conclusion

The results show that the rhetorical devices used were as follows: 1) the most dominant diction used was denotation, popular, scientific; 2) the most dominant sentence used was the release sentence; 3) the most dominant cohesion used was classical anaphora cohesion, repetition, conjunction of cause, effect, conflict, way, purpose, condition, and time; and (4) the most dominant coherence was the coherence of cause, effect, conflict, purpose, manner, condition, and time. The presidential speeches were

structured into stages, namely: invention, disposition, elocution, memorial, and pronunciation in manuscript and memoriter. Thus, the rhetorical device, sentence, diction, cohesion, and coherence, used by the President of the Republic of Indonesia in the Reformation era is not just rhetoric or ruling tool, but is actually used as a tool for delivering the educational programs already undertaken, the promises, and the hope of improving the quality of education in Indonesia.

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## Conflict of Interest

Author declare that there is no conflict of interest in this research.

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