

ANALYZING THE RHETORIC OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION OF BASUKI TJAHAYA PURNAMA IN MASS MEDIA: A FOCUS ON SPECIFIC INTERVIEWS

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Abstract: The figure of a Vice in the room of political leadership is frequently termed as “replacement.” Different than the general situation, Basuk Tjahaya Purnama as the Special Capital of Jakarta Vice Governor have political influence that is similarly dominant to the Special Capital of Jakarta Governor namely Mr. Jokowi. The figure of Basuki as the Vice Governor is not under the shadow of Joko Widodo; instead, his figure sometimes is more dominant than the governor in establishing a political discourse. Basuki’s political discourse is depicted in his rhetoric within the mass media. In relation to the situation, the study would like to focus on the Basuki’s political rhetoric in the mass media news. There were several factors that became the background of the study and one of the factors was that the researcher viewed the mass media as a battlefield for political discourse of the politicians. The practice of modern political rhetoric has not been on the face-to-face oration; instead, the practice of modern rhetoric nowadays has been on the mass media-mediated political oration. Furthermore, the study applied the rhetoric analysis that had been developed by Andersen (2008) in a study toward the political rhetoric of Obama and Hillary Clinton. Andersen divided the rhetoric analysis into the following elements: rhetoric type, appeal forms, argumentation, rhetoric topic, style and reality building. The results of the study toward the Basuki Tjahaya Purnama’s rhetoric showed that his dominant style was deliberative (political) in comparison to both judicial and seremonial. The analysis toward the Basuki’s rhetoric approach in the specific-media interview also showed that Basuki had a tendency to use the rational approach in comparison to ethical and emotional approach. Basuki’s main strength in comparison to the other politicians was his very good rhetoric. Basuki’s rhetorical communication style was rough with his direct and to the point speaking manner. Basuki’s rhetorical topic was various in the specific-mass media interview but the main focus of his rhetoric was to establish the public legitimacy. Basuki as a politician had competitive edge in the process of establishing reality toward what was important for the public.

Keywords: Rhetoric analysis, political communication, mass media, politick rhetoric, political discourse.

INTRODUCTION

Most of the Tionghoan people tend to avoid the practical politics activities by focusing more on the economy and the trading sector. Actually, the history of Indonesia acknowledges several Tionghoan political figures like Oei Tjoe Tat, a politician who accepted the Soekarnoism; his political career was crashed down because the government of the New Order considered them to be involved in the September 30th coup. Oei was arrested by the government of the New Order without going the court. Then, the government of the New Order was accompanied by the family of Wanandi’s presence who became one of the Soeharto’s supporting figures

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from the Tionghoan people. At the end of the New Order until the reign of Megawati Soekarnoputri, Kwik Kian Gie became the representation of Tionghoan politician.

Up to date, the Tionghoan people still suffer from the negative stigma namely serving as a group that only prioritize the economy sector and that avoid the political life. The presence of Basuki Tjahaya Purnama, or usually called as Ahok, becomes a paradox phenomenon. It might be said that Basuki becomes the most influential Tionghoan political figures nowadays. At the beginning, Basuki was just like the typical Tionghoan people; he had a strong background businessman. However, different than the majority of Tionghoan people Basuki then decided to join the politics rather than focus on the business domain.

Basuki's political career was started when he joined the Party of New Indonesia (*Partai Indonesia Baru*) before he was elected to be the representative in the Residence of East Belitung Regional Parliament (2004-2009 period). Basuki then decided to join the Regional Chief Election after he served the parliament for 19 months and he was elected to be the Resident of East Belitung in 2005. Having not satisfied with his achievement, Basuki made a political leap by joining the competition in the Governor of Bangka Belitung Election with the support from the Party of National Awakening (*Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa*) and Gus Dur. Unfortunately, Basuki lost in the gubernatorial election.

After the lost, instead of pursuing the career in the local political domain Basuki made another political leap to the national political domain and he was elected as the House of Representative member from the Party of Working Group (*Partai Golongan Karya*). After three years of serving the House of Representatives in the Second Commission, the commission that dealt with the government, with the support from the Party of Indonesia Raya Movement (*Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya*) and the Party of Struggling Democratic Indonesia (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan*) Basuki Tjahaya Purnama made his way to the competition of the Jakarta Gubernatorial Election as the Vice-Governor Candidate with Joko Widodo as the Governor-Candidate. In this gubernatorial election, both Basuki and Joko Widodo should compete with the incumbent figure Fauzi Bowo.

Different than the typical Vice Governor figures, Basuki as a Vice Governor has political role and influence that might be similarly equal to those of Jokowi. It might be said that Basuki is the most influential Vice Governor in the regional government of the Republic Indonesia. The figure of Basuki as a Vice Governor is not always under the shadow of Joko Widodo; instead, he sometimes can be more dominant than the Governor, namely Joko Widodo, in establishing the political discourse.

In general, the vice figures are always perceived as "replacement" in a political leadership. For example, the vice role in the leadership of a nation or of a government is considered to be swallowed away by the domination of the head of the state or of the government. As result, this problems sometimes triggers the inharmonious

relationship between the head of the government with the vice and it has been a general phenomena in throughout Indonesia. The insynchronized regional leadership might also be caused by the absence of trust and cooperation between the head of the region and the vice. The head of the state most of the times does not want his or her vice to be more popular which will lead to the one man show.

Basuki nowadays have been known as a direct politician. Basuki also often establishes publis political discourses that invites controversy in dealing with certain issues. The negative impact is sometimes that he should deal with the rejection from most of the people like in the case of Tanah Abang where the supporters of a politician who had been in dispute with him led a strike toward Basuki. *The Vice Governor of Jakarta Basuki Tjahaya Purnama was under attack by a group of people who protested his statement regarding the Chief of the Party of Development Unity (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan) Haji Lulung Lunggana.*¹

The attack toward Basuki has not only been done by the community group but also by the internal part of the government like the one that was conducted by the Expert Staf of the Ministry of Domestic Affairs Reydonnyzar Moenek. The Expert Staff viewed that it had been indecent for a Vice Governor of Jakarta to criticize the performance of the institution that was directed by Gamawan Fauzi. *“It has been unethical to assess the Ministry of Domestic Affairs performance because his government is under the subordinates of government provider.”*² Basuki is the representation of a political anomaly phenomenon in the context of Indonesian political system that pays high attention to the language politeness in the communication. Basuki takes a different rhetorical style in his political communication, the one that is totally different than the ethical political communication.

Although it has been clear that the political language and the political discourse of Basuki are very interesting to be reviewed, there has not been any scientific explanation toward the factors that make the political rhetoric of Basuki very special in the context of recent Indonesian political system. From what the people have read and have heard, they will understand that Basuki has been a phenomenal politician. However, the ways Basuki establishes his strategy of political discourse have been explained scientifically. The way a politician with marginal identity background establish his political discourse might articulate the political language well without having to be underestimated. In order to answer the implied questions, the researcher applied the rhetoric analysis in reviewing Basuki’s political rhetoric in establishing his political discourses. The model analysis that the researcher will apply is the Andersen rhetoric analysis model (2008) that was implemented in reviewing the phenomena of Barack Obama. According to Andersen (2008), the political rhetoric might be reviewed into several aspects as follows: rhetoric type,

¹ Tempo, July 29th 2013: “Dipaksa Minta Maaf, Ahok Telepon Haji Lulung.”

² Inilah.com, May 10th, 2013: “Ahok: Okelah, Banyak Yang Bilang Aku Arogan”

rhetoric approach, rhetoric argumentation, rhetoric topic, rhetoric style and rhetoric reality establishment.

The study will focus on Basuki's political rhetoric review through the mass media. There are several factors that become the background of the study. The researcher views that the mass media has been the battlefield of the politicians' political discourses. The practice of modern political rhetoric has not been in the level of face-to-face oration but has been in the level of mass media-mediated political oration. Nowadays, the role of mass media in a competitive democratic political system occupies more and more central and strategic position. This situation is caused by the phenomenon of the decreasing role of the traditional political rhetoric by means of face-to-face communication and of shifting toward the use of political rhetoric by means of mass media (Borrecia, 1993). Iyengar & Kinder also argue that in the democratic political system the mass media becomes the key link between the political practice and the constituents. There are very few people who attend the political meeting or who have direct contact with the politicians. Most of the constituents learn about the political world from the media that represent the best source of access toward the political system for the citizens and the media that understand the political issues from the political actors that have been reported by the media (Tresch, 2007). The study has the following objectives:

- To identify the political rhetoric type of Basuki Tjahaya Purnama in the mass media news
- To identify the political rhetoric argumentation of Basuki Tjahaya Purnama in the mass media
- To identify the political rhetoric approach of Basuki Tjahaya Purnama in the mass media news
- To identify the political rhetoric topic of Basuki Tjahaya Purnama in the mass media news
- To identify the political rhetoric style of Basuki Tjahaya Purnama in the mass media news
- To identify the political rhetoric reality establishment of Basuki Tjahaya Purnama in the mass media news

BENEFITS

Academic Benefit

The benefit of the study is to enrich and to develop the academic research in the domain of political communication review that has been related to the rhetoric. The study of rhetoric reception toward the marginal politician has been rarely conducted in Indonesia. There are several practical benefits that might be attained from the study:

- To serve as more in-depth and more detailed figure toward the political rhetoric in the public discourse establishment.
- To serve as a matter of recommendation toward the politicians regarding the importance of understanding the political rhetoric.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

The History and the Definition of Rhetoric

The term “rhetoric” has been derived from the word in Greece namely “rhetorike” that might start being used among the Socrates people in the fifth century, that might appear for the first time in the dialog of Plato Gorgias and that might be written for the first time around 385 BC. *Rhetorike* in Greece specifically refers to the civil art of public speaking that had been developed in the deliberative board, court and other official events under the constitutional government of the Grecian cities especially in the system of Athena democracy (Kennedy, 1994).

Aristotle through his masterpiece entitled “On Rhetoric” provides systematic explanation regarding the concept of rhetoric and his masterpiece became the basis of the following rhetoric review. The Aristotle rhetoric system was considered to be influential by his teacher Plato (Andersen, 2008). Aristotle (384-322 SM) defines rhetoric as a practical art that depends on the ethical and the political borders because he understands that rhetoric serves to be the symbolic means for translating the collective culture or the personal virtues in the public action (Gronbeck, 2004).

The Political Rhetoric

Crick (2014) defines the rhetoric of public oration as an art of handling the pressure of the public concern by using a persuasive strategy in front of the public in order to change several aspects of problem situations by encouraging the new forms of logic and action. Cos (2007) defines the political rhetoric as an art of articulating and promoting the political interest of an individual through his or her influence in the public room and of performing manipulation toward other signs and symbols including language, picture and performance.

Politics, as well as morality, aims to shape the common commitment. On the other hand, rhetoric aims to establish trust. The establishment of the trust is to agreed the common action for the sake achieving the common goals and the negotiated trade-off. The political rhetoric is more than the persuasive rhetoric. Political rhetoric is a binding rhetoric. The binding rhetoric is a form of *ethos* rhetoric, a type of rhetoric that utilizes the ethical approach and that utilizes trust and belief toward the people who would like to cooperate and to share their life together under the mutual-understanding situation (Yoos, 2009).

Rhetoric has an important role in the community that has democratic political system. The rhetoric develops the community consensus by binding the people around the ideas and the issues. Accepting the logic of the rhetoric that has been delivered means defining the citizens' tasks and encouraging participation in order to improve the social-collective values of the community (Lilleker, 2006). The political rhetoric has four basic functions in a political system as follows. First, the rhetoric provides legitimacy by justifying the distribution of power into the social ideology. Second, the political rhetoric serves to direct the community behind the common objectives by means of community narratives. Third, the political rhetoric serves to solve the conflicts by means of common objectives identification. Fourth, the political rhetoric serves to mobilize people by means of activation and organization (Lilleker, 2006).

The Dimension of Political Rhetoric

Andersen (2008) in a study toward the political rhetoric of Obama and Hillary Clinton divides the rhetoric analysis into the following elements: rhetoric type, appeal forms, argumentation, rhetoric topic, style and reality establishment.

The Type of Rhetoric

The first type of rhetoric is the political or deliberative rhetoric. The word deliberative has been derived from the Latin word *deliberativum* that means to speak (or to write); the objective of deliberativum is to persuade the mass to agree or to deny the programs that have been proposed. A recommendation of action toward the state-affairs policy is an example of deliberative-type oration (Habinek, 2005). Then, the second type is the forensic oration. The word forensic has been derived from the Greece word *dikanikon* or the Latin word *forense* that means to show oration in the context of judgement. In the second type, oration or speech is used to analyze the law problems or the law implementation in certain situations or to argue about the law problems (Habinek, 2005). Next, the third type is the epideictic oration. The term has been derived from the Greece *epideixis* that means "to show" or "to describe" (Kennedy, 2006).

The Form of Rhetoric Approach

According to Aristotle, orator persuades the mass through three ways and the three ways here are called the as the form of rhetoric approach; the three approaches are: rational approach (*logos*), emotional approach (*pathos*) and ethical approach (*ethos*). The type of approach that will be implemented in general is decided by the mass condition and the oration (Andersen, 2008). *Logos* (*logoi* – plural) is a polysemous Greece term which in general has been used in the rhetoric for referring to the logic or the reason as the counterpart of rhetoric that has been based on the emotion

or character (Poster, 2008). According to Hyde (2008) the dimension of ethos in general has been translated into “ethics” and “moral characters,” which have been the fundamental terms in the history of Western rhetorical tradition. Traditionally, politics most of the times is considered as unemotional activities; instead, politics have been considered as rational consideration-based behavior through the process of discussion and decision taking. On the contrary, sociological approach states that the community members most of the time base their action on the emotional encouragement (Lilleker, 2006). The aspect of emotion from the rhetoric is the *pathos*. *Pathos* is a Greece word (*paskhein*-verb) that means to be under certain conditions, to experience or to suffer. *Pathos* has been one of the three main sources in the rhetorical evidence altogether with the aspect of *ethos* and of *logos*.

The Argumentation

Political argumentation is related to the ways of attaining and using power, the process of taking collective decisions for the public interests, the mobilization of individuals in order to achieve the common objectives and the provision of effective vote in to share the concern and the expectation (Zarefski, 2014). Argumentation is always related to the certain point of view regarding certain problems. The speaker or the author who provides their argumentation always strives to defend their point of view in front of the public or the readers who (have been assumed to) doubt the acceptance of the point of view or who have different point of view. Argumentation aims to convince these people based on the acceptance of their point of view. The successful politicians are the people who have been able to develop the political argumentation based on the evidence that has been taken from public belief regarding the world around them. The message of the rhetoric becomes persuasive when they recall the aspects that have been understood or at least that has been known (Charteris-Black, 2005).

The Rhetoric Topic

The term topic has been derived from the same word in Greece that means “related to the commonplace.” Topic is a general term that has been used in the classic and the medieval rhetoric review; in general, topic is considered as an expected argument or as an argument framework that has been used in an oration or a composition. Because the term *topos* means “place,” topic is regarded as the place in which an argument might be found and topic refers to the general ideas such as “bigger and lower” or “cause and effect” that might assist an orator in his or her investigation and argument. Topic assists an oration in his or her memorization and becomes the point of elaboration center on which the oration is based so that it will be easier for an orator to establish his or her ideas when the oration takes place (Sloane, 2001). *Topos*, which literally means “place,” eventually will be the place for an argument

and then will influence the flow of the argument or the type of the argument that might be used in the case building (Herrick, 2008).

The Rhetoric Style

After an orator has planned “what” will be said and has decided his or her sequence of oration, the third stage will be deciding “how” to deliver the oration. The manifestation of oration in the form of words and sentences is known as the rhetoric style. This manifestation is the characteristic of classic rhetoric that considers the style as a process of involving oneself to the language. The same idea might be delivered with different words and different effects (Kennedy, 1994). The word style has been derived from the Greece word *stilus* which refers to how something is written. Style has been one of the Aristotle rhetoric canons that refers to the language style, the language selection and the language set for speaking (Brummet, 2008).

According to Fiske, the use of language for expressing several ideas into several forms is called as the rhetoric style. Aristotle states that the diction, the word fit and the use of the word meaning plays important role in the rhetoric style. Aristotle believes that each rhetoric type has different style (Herrick, 2012). Style is a complex system in relation to the action, the object and the behavior that has been used in order to send the messages that shape human personality. People want to be perceived as what and who; people want to be identified with the figures whom they appoint as their role model. Therefore, style also refers to the communication system that has rhetoric influence toward the other people. Due to the influence, style might refer to the means in which power and profit are negotiated, are distributed and are strived for in the community (Brummet, 2009).

The rhetoric might not only be reviewed from the perspective of Western rhetoric that people have known for such a long time. The Eastern rhetoric, for example, appears to be completely different than the Western rhetoric because it has different cultural context. What have been seen as a persuasion capacity or message fitness in the Western countries are considered as politeness, wisdom or strategy of covering one’s face by most of the Eastern cultures (Foss, 2009).

Nishimura (2008) defines the communication style by referring to the ways of self-expression and the communication pattern that have been understood as “peculiarity.” In the context of communication, Edward Hall divides the communication style into two categories namely the high-context communication style and the low-context communication style. Gudykunst conceptualizes the high-context communication style by inputting the following communication style: indirect, concluding, interpersonally sensitive, using feeling for guiding behaviors and using solitude (Park & Kim, 2008).

The Reality Establishment

According to Bitzer, rhetoric is a tool for changing the reality by means of discourse creation that changes the reality through the mind and the action. The first dimension of reality establishment according to Bitzer is the rhetoric urgency. Bitzer defines urgency as the imperfection that has been marked by immediateness, imperfect situation or obstacle, something that has been waiting to work immediately, in comparison to the other matters. The national crisis that occurred right after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in 1963 was used by Bitzer as an example of urgency rhetoric. The speech by Lyndon Johnson and other people helped improving the rhetoric situation (Herrick, 2008).

METHOD

Approach

The study applied the qualitative approach by means of rhetoric analysis approach in order to review the content of political communication. The rhetoric analysis was an alternative study in the review of political communication by focusing on the study of language and rhetoric and by concentrating on the use of political symbols and political texts and documents instead of the impact from the message of political communication (McQuail, 1992). According to Johnson (2007), the method of rhetoric analysis was usually less interested on the quantitative size or on the calculation variable in the study but more interested on the language or the rhetoric in the political message. There are multiple types of rhetoric approach for viewing the political communication and the researchers in general selected the approach of message or content analysis from the rhetoric theory-based approach. According to Graber (2005), the rhetoric analysis of political leaders has been used and has been quite active research area but the popularity has been decreasing in the last several decades.

The study of rhetoric analysis applied the qualitative content analysis. The qualitative content analysis was an empirical method of social science for analyzing the form of recorded human communication such as newspaper articles, television news or program protocols, interview transcripts or observation protocols (Scheufele, 2008). The content analysis based-analysis up to date has still been widely implemented as a method in reviewing the political message. From the latest literary review, most of the qualitative content analyses have still been conducted even manually although nowadays the number of content analysis by means of protocol analysis-computer has been increasing (Graber, 2005).

Samples

In the qualitative content analysis, the researcher made use of purposive sampling technique with newspaper texts as the object. The purposive sampling technique

enabled the researcher to select the sample of texts that would be in accordance with the objectives of the study. The newspaper texts that would be the samples of the study were as follows:

- Basuki Purnama rejects racism (BBC Indonesia September 4th, 2013).
- BTP: The Poor and the Rich is Equal ... (Tempo Magazine Edition 1-7, July 2013).
- Ahok Interview: Time of Reformation for the Second Time in Jakarta (Kompas)
- BTP: I will be Upset if the People are Misbehaving with Me (Detik.com, November 25th, 2012).

Data Source

The qualitative study here used the interview (the process of face-to-face question-and-answer session), ethnographic observation, document and material analysis and visual analysis (Vanderstoep & Johnston, 2009). In the study of qualitative content analysis, the primary source of the research was the mass media news. Then, the second source of the research was the library study.

Data Analysis Method

Miles & Huberman (1994) argued that the qualitative content analysis consisted of three stages namely: data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing and verification.

Credibility

Qualitatively, the researcher conducted the qualitative content analysis in order to find trust and credibility by performing repetitive analysis, by searching negative or contradictory examples, by searching the data that had been confirmed through the methodological triangulation and by providing examples that supported the conclusion drawing (Julien, 2008).

Limitation

The political rhetoric analysis study would be limited to the special interview of Basuki with several mass media.

RESULTS

The Analysis of Basuki Tjahaya Purnama's Political Rhetoric Type

As a Vice Governor Basuki had the capacity of being able to establish the deliberative political communication especially in relation to several public policies

of The Special Capitol of Jakarta government. The public policies were not able to satisfy all people. *“As soon as the promotion of open selection for the head of village (lurah) and the head of district (camat) has been done, the bureaucratic performance in the bottom level will be okay, ’ he said. ‘If there are several unsatisfying part, it has been caused by the existing factor which we can’t select.’”*³

Basuki’s rhetoric had a wide impact namely increasing the public participation in the process of policymaking and also encouraging the middle-class people to actively participate in the politic domain especially the metropolitan middle-class people. The situation was described from the strong interest that the middle-class people displayed in responding actively toward each of the public policies issued by the Special Capitol of Jakarta government through the social media. The reason was that in Basuki’s opinion the community situation might not be changed unless people took participation into the politics itself. *“My father told me that if I became officials then I could help many people. My father also told me that poor people could not go against the rich people and the rich people could not go againts the officials. If we would like to go against the corrup officials then we should be the officials as well.”*⁴

As the Vice Governor in the Special Capitol of Jakarta government, Basuki did not feel inferior and did not feel under the shadow of the first in the government namely Joko Widodo. However, the dominance of the two figures in the government did not create dualism that might be vulnerable to conflicts such as the situation that had ocured in several regional governments where the governors and the vice governors were competing one to another. The rhetoric strategy that Basuki had implemented was the epideictic type namely praising Joko Widodo and placing himself as the second man. *“I think that I am just his staff. My duty is to support Mr. Jokowi to be a successful and memorable governor in Jakarta.”*⁵ From the rhetoric quotation, Basuki placed himself appropriately and he did not go beyond his authority as the Vice Governor. The forensic rhetoric type was also frequently displayed by Basuki especially in relation to the problems of law enforcement as the benchmark in the policymaking. However, Basuki did not view the law as a black-on-white or official matter and Basuki’s political rhetoric was strongly identified with humanity as in the case of illegal-land eviction. He seemed to be very strict with his decision but he provided solution namely the alternative settlement.

The Analysis of Political Rhetoric Argumentation

As an orator Basuki had an in-depth understanding toward the Special Capitol of Jakarta public who were well-educated and critical. The interesting aspect of Basuki’s rhetoric argumentation was that Basuki utilized the general understanding

³ Tempo Magazine, July 1st, 2013

⁴ BBC Indonesia, September 4th, 2013

⁵ BBC Indonesia, September 4th, 2013

that public might easily understand with the grounded language and without scientific words or foreign language like the typical political leaders as part of their intellectual-leader impression. *“If you are corrupt, then you are just a bastard in the state. This state does not need a bastard like you actually.”*⁶ The use of the word “bastard” might be rude but the word had been very common among the community in describing the level of an individual’s misbehavior. *“‘So there are no first-class or second-class Indonesia citizens. There are only bastards or not,’ he confirmed, still with a high tone. ‘If you are corrupt then you are a bastard. If you sell the natural resources to the foreign countries, then you re a bastard.’”*⁷ The rhetoric was used by Basuki in establishing the native and non-native discourse that had been widely implemented in the Indonesian politics in relation the position of a leader.

Basuki’s argumentation was supported by data and facts; as a result, his argumentation was not empty so that he was able to knock down his opponents. In the case of Tanah Abang purgation he provided a fact in the field that it had been public secret that the street trading had been violating the law for such a long time. *“I have proof that the stalls (of the street traders in the Tanah Abang Market) have been rented. If you rent something and the charge of the rent does not go into the regional income the you have violated the law.”*⁸

The Analysis of Political Rhetoric Approach

Basuki used the *logos* or rational rhetoric approach in fighting against the rejection of regional government policies like in the case when the Special Capitol of Jakarta government made a policy purgate the street trader stalls in the biggest textile center of Indonesia namely in the Tanah Abang market. He utilized the rational approach by providing several facts in the field that had been undeniable both for his political opponents and for his public opponents. *“I have evidence that the stalls (of the street traders in the Tanah Abang Market). If you rent something and the rent charge does not go into the regional income then you have violated the law. In our bahasa Indonesia it is called thuggery (premanisme).”*

Basuki also utilized the ethical approach in relation to the rapid growth of power and authority abuse that led to the practice of corruption. Corruption had been a global problem not only an exclusive problem among the Asian and the Western people. There were not any countries that had been immune to corruption. The corruption influenced the democratic system countries as well as the communis system countries and the authoritarian governments. Corruption was a problem that had been encountered both by the developed and the developing countries (Asian Corruption Update, 2011).

⁶ BBC Indonesia, September 4th, 2013

⁷ BBC Indonesia, September 4th, 2013

⁸ BBC Indonesia, September 4th, 2013

The most dominant *pathos* approach that had been implemented in Basuki's political rhetoric was the rage toward the situations that he death with as a public leader with the background of businessman. Basuki's rage that had been broadcasted in the Youtube became a public opinion that caused pro and contra. Basuki argued that people who saw the negative side of his rage had a narrow perspective. *"It's quite hard indeed because people did not see the process. I had been very polite before I left the building. All of the budgets were cut down by 25%. If I was hysteric it might not be good, but I was not. Parents also reprimand their children but why when they reprimand their children it should be broadcasted? That is the problem. Should it be overall as well?"*⁹

Basuki viewed that the rage that he displayed in his political rhetoric toward his subordinates was not without a reason; instead the rage served as a process of bureaucracy management for establishing a new working culture. *"If you are upset (and) you can't control yourself, if you keep being upset over and over like an insane man then you are definitely insane," he said directly. "But when you are upset and then you can gain control on yourself, then it is just some sort of management."*¹⁰ The subordinates' behaviors that rejected the bureaucracy reformation because they had been in their comfort zone became the main source of Basuki's rage; as a result, in several political rhetorics he mentioned about dismissal. *"If you don't follow my order then you will be dismissed. It's not a big deal."*¹¹ In addition to rage, another dominant *pathos* approach that Basuki utilized was the high self-confidence that sometimes looked arrogant for some people. *"Death, in Ahok's opinion, is a certainty. 'If we are afraid of the death, will we still be living?'"*¹² As a politician with the background of minority people in Indonesia, Basuki had a high self-confidence in dealing with the racism politics that had been found widely in Indonesia.

The Analysis of Political Rhetoric Topic

The topics of Basuki's political rhetoric were very various. One of the topics that he frequently utilized for gaining the public support in relation to the regional public policy was the management of street trading that has caused chaos and traffic jam. *"Basuki stated that what he had done in managing the street trading of Tanah Abang Market did not violate the law."*¹³ The other topic in relation to the public policy was the management of diorganized public transportation that had been mismanaged for several years and that became the cause of stress for the

⁹ Detik Magazine, Novembr 26th, 2012

¹⁰ Detik Magazine, Novembr 26th, 2012

¹¹ Detik Magazine, Novembr 26th, 2012

¹² Tempo Magazine, July 1st, 2013

¹³ BBC Indonesia, September 4th, 2013

metropolitan people due to the traffic jam. Basuk utilized his rhetoric in the process of decision making toward the slow process of public transportation management. *"We all have already understood the pattern of macro transportation for handling the traffic jam in Jakarta such as the railway based transportation. However, in order to execute the plan of mass rapid transit we are stuck. Then, in the case of Transjakarta after nine years of implementation the number of the buses is still 600 units and most of them have been broken. When an operator does not mee the number of available bus we don't have enough courage to give penalty."*¹⁴

The Analysis of Political Rhetoric Style

Aristotle stated that diction, word fit and word impression that had been used influenced the rhetoric style. Aristotle also believed that each rhetoric type had different style (Herrick, 2012). Basuki had different rhetoric style compared to the other Indonesian politicians. Basuki used direct language style and brief language. Basuki showed his rhetoric style when he delivered his statement regarding the discrimination from his colleagues when after he started serving as the Vice Governor. Basuki openly refused any privilege in order to avoid the repayment of good deeds in the future. *"When I was your friend and I opened the door of your car, you said, 'Please be careful and don't open the wrong door. It is automatic' he said, recalling a conversation with his friend. He said things like that because I am a Vice Governor. What if I am not a Vice Governor? My dear friend would reprimand me over and over. And he might even reprimand me because of closing the door."*¹⁵ Basuki also told similar experience when served as the Resident of East Belitong. *"When I got married and I needed cash, you only gave me a hundred thousand Indonesian banknote. Now, why did you give me a fridge? Actually you should give me the fridge when I got married. Why didn't you do that?"*¹⁶

Basuki's rhetoric style had positive impact if it was related to his role as a Vice Governor-politician, Vice Governor who should differentiate his impression to that of the Governor, Joko Widodo, who had been known as a calm and low-profile person. Basuki's open and direct rhetoric style increased his political impression in front of the public. In general the rhetoric style was accepted by the metropolitan middle-class people. However, Basuki's rhetoric style was considered as a form of arrogance by the metropolitan low-class people. Basuki's rhetoric style had been a form of paradox from a political situation that paid respect highly to the politeness.

In the political world, the high-context communication style had been the standardized behavioral norm (LeBaron & Pillay, 2006). Politicians might use the formal language style in order to create a political impression as accurate and objective figures while in the same time they hid detailed information on the policy

¹⁴ Tempo Magazine, July 1st, 2013

¹⁵ BBC Indonesia, September 4th, 2013

¹⁶ BBC Indonesia, September 4th, 2013

(Heylighen & Dewaele, 2002).

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According to Blitzer, rhetoric was a tool for changing the reality by means of discourse creation and the discourse creation would change the reality through the hands of mind and action. Still according to Blitzer, rhetoric was an important urgency. He defined urgency as an imperfection that had been marked by immediateness, imperfect situation or obstacle that had been waiting to be worked on in comparison to something else that should be worked on" (Herrick, 2008). In relation to the statement, Basuki decided that Indonesian citizenship had been an important matter and should be confirmed. *"Anyone who was born in Indonesian, although their parents are unclear, although they were born in the garbage can, no matter what the color of the skin is, are the native Indonesian people."*

Basuki Purnama confirmed that he would die fighting all the people who committed racism (discrimination and abuse based on the skin color). *"It has been the time that people are not judged by the skin color but by the moral aspect."* Basuki's rhetoric in relation to nationalism emphasized that nationalism had been an important matter to assist the rhetorical persuasion because nationalism might form world reality or worldview under certain ways.

In relation to the condition of Jakarta, Basuki established a rhetorical urgency that what happened to Jakarta lately had been under the acute state so that there should be total reformation. *"In serving as the Vice Governor of Jakarta, it has been the moment for me to conduct the second reformation. It has been the moment to show that there is a clean and characterized people who can be a governor without having to spend any money. The reason is that for such a long time the Indonesian people have been concerned and sceptical in responding to the political situation and the party."*

CONCLUSION

The dominant rhetoric of Basuki Tjahaya Purnama is deliberative (political) rhetoric in comparison to both the judicial and the ceremonial rhetoric. The analysis toward Basuki's rhetorical approach in the mass media-specific interview shows that Basuki tends to utilize the rational rhetorical approach in comparison to both the ethical and the emotional rhetorical approach. However, there are several cases in which Basuki utilizes the emotional rhetorical style when he deals with the illogical situation that makes him upset. Basuki's main power, in comparison to the other politicians, is his very good rhetorical argumentation. Basuki is able to develop an articulation by having good argumentation and by providing data and evidence. Basuki's rhetorical communication style tends to be rough with his direct way of speaking. Basuki is not like the typical politicians who have the calm and polite

rhetorical style. Basuki's rhetorical topics in the mass media-specific interview are still various but his main focus is to establish public legitimacy toward the unpopular policy in front of the society. As a politician Basuki has a competitive edge in the process of deciding the important reality for the public. Basuki is able to encourage the public to take political actions in accordance with his rhetoric.

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