

Rhetoric Narrative in Prabowo National Speech 2019

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Abstract—The researcher determined the theme of Prabowo Subianto’s speech research as we are currently entering the political year of 2019. Political figures often shout out powerful words in their rhetoric’s. Prabowo’s rhetoric became trending topic in social media and conventional media such as The Body Politic (Unhealthy State Agency). It was even made as a headline on a live media streaming broadcast on a TV channel, Digdaya on the 15th February 2019 in Semarang. This research discussed about Prabowo’s rhetoric’s narrative with Pentad analysis by Kenneth Burke. The researcher has selected qualitative method with interpretative paradigm, to obtain understanding on the motive of national speech writing in Dramatism Rhetoric’s Study. Data collection method is carried out through documentation. Data analysis technique is Kenneth Burke’s Pentad method. Burke calls Pentad analysis method as this method consists of five points to analyze symbolical text, such as conversation or a series of articles. Five points that drafted Pentad includes act, scene, agent, agency and purpose. This research result emphasized hegemony massively in the aspect of the importance of national life away from foreign clutches.

Keywords—*rethoric narrative; motive on narrative writing; practice of hegemony*

I. INTRODUCTION

Prabowo Subianto, as 2019 presidential candidate is active in communication. Communication measure performed by Prabowo Subianto is delivering speech. Delivering speech is an act often carried out by this presidential candidate, such as streaming speech in Digdaya TV on the 15th February 2109 titled Establishing Self-Sufficiency on Energy, Food and Water. The duration of this speech is 1 hour 42 minutes 19 seconds.

Streaming TV can be watched by using internet connection. Various platforms in the internet can promote authentic form of communication by disclosing personal life to public. Social media provides a media to publicize personal daily activities, such as through narcissistic activities, personal experience sharing, and opinion used to publicize a part of one’s life (such as work achievement) to public. In Cammaerts et al., it is noted that certain consideration has focused to how politicians contribute in the usage of social media as a facility to engage with youth [1]. Freedman added that social media has its advantages, as it is considered able to facilitate informalization trend with social media platform that is far from egalitarian can be used as a strength to drive positive social changes [2].

In the era of current political year, Prabowo often use very interesting words during his speech on public. It is more than just a few of Prabowo’s speech content that became trending topic in every social media or conventional. Such as about Indonesian assets that are not located within the country and more are in the hand of foreign countries. The Body Politic (Unhealthy State Agency) was even raised as a headline for live streaming media on the Digdaya television channel.

Almost every politician in the United States of America who enroll themselves in every level (President, State, District, Municipality and Local) has an active website [3]. This fact shows the importance of communication technology related to the internet in the current political communication, and state on how this special field has developed since its beginning on the early of last century by Walter Lippman, Harold Laswell, Paul F Lazarsfeld, other predecessors and communication founders. Although there was a growth in television in 1950 and internet in the 1990s that changed communication channel that brought political messages to United States’ public, certain human communication processes involved in changing political behaviour remains the same. This method is also being done by Prabowo Subianto in campaigning himself as a presidential candidate, in addition to his three times running as presidential candidate. There are many meanings in Prabowo’s speech. And at the moment, Prabowo holds a magnitude for the people who needs justice toward the policies taken by the Government. The incumbent presidential candidate’s policies sometimes are quite contradictive to the people’s social justice. And Prabowo’s speech criticized it at times.

Prabowo’s speech sometimes contains of the hegemony of power. The research by Ahmad Roes 2015 in the title of “Hegemoni Barat Terhadap Dunia Islam” or “Western Hegemony to the World of Islam” explains that hegemony has the main characteristic of “dominating” a group of people/community. This domination is deployed through non-physical/violence ways yet effective in controlling. In hegemony, the group that dominates is successful to influence the dominated group to take on moral, political, and cultural values from the dominant group (The ruling party). Hegemony is accepted as something natural, hence the ideology of a dominant group can be spread out and practiced. The values and ideology of this hegemony is fought for and maintained by the dominator in a way that the dominated party remain still and comply with the leadership of the ruling party. Hegemony can be viewed as a strategy to uphold the power.

Dramatism or dramaturgy is an approach to understand the usage of symbols in social realm. The focus of dramaturgy on the symbolic Language usage that tries to understand human's world as the world of symbolic drama world where Language is a strategic response, and contain of motivation to specific situation [4].

From the abovementioned background, the researcher aims to understand the manifestation of hegemony in Prabowo Subianto's speech, on the title of Establishing Self-Sufficiency on Energy, Food and Water with Pentad analysis method.

II. THEORETICAL STUDY

A. Narrative

Narrative is a complex story on its sequence, how it is arranged, and what can we obtain from its usage as a means of communication [4].

B. Rhetorics

Etimologically, the rhetoric can be considered as proficiency in speech, lately it is also a synonym with speech, oral communication, public speaking, and public communication [5].

The term rhetoric in popular use usually has negative connotation. Rhetoric is contradicted with action; it is nonsense, to speak without substance, as accessories. Contemporary understanding about this rhetoric is different to the long history of rhetoric theory, that has been existed in the West since Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome times, that provide basis to the draft of contemporary communication discipline [4].

C. Dramaturgy

Dramatism or dramaturgy is an approach to understand symbols in social realm. Dramaturgy focus in symbolic Language usage that tries to understand the usage of symbols in social realm. The dramaturgy focus in symbolic Language usage that tries to understand human's realm as a symbolic drama world where Language is a strategic response, and contain motivation to specific situation [4].

Dramaturgy is introduced by Kenneth Burke in early 1950s. Assumption that based the most important dramatism is the view on human as animal that uses symbol. Human creates symbol (Language is the most concrete example from human symbol system), responding to symbol, and understand situation through symbol. It is by symbol that human has the unique capability to understand negative matters or the absence of anything. Symbol functions to create and maintain the hierarchy of power and identification between different groups. Symbol also enables differences, such as creating conflict and at the same time unites the individuals to overcome conflict [4].

Another assumption is human interaction can be understood as drama, and hence this dramatism is born. According to Burke, the relation between life and theater is literal in nature instead of metaphore. Human runs the real role in the stage of life when they try to influence other people. This drama guides the way that is used by individual, group, and organization to

behave. Dramatism also recognizes that human takes action, and not just merely motion. The difference between act and motion is that human makes option to act, often through symbol, while animal, plant, and other physical object are making motions. The action chosen by human becomes the basis of all human motivation. So, symbol becomes a space to express motivation.

Final assumption, dramatism shows that symbol forms screen from which the world is visible. This terministic screen selects or determines several realities and ignore other realities. The terministic screen from which we understand our world has high impact, this screen consists of values which in turn, forms a system of belief or ideology. This ideology filters our understanding to other people, our community with others, and the options for our action.

D. New Media

In the current digital era, political figures use new media for their campaign purposes, in order to deliver the message to the people. New Media is usually in form of website or social media that has the nature of interactivity [6].

Social Media is a medium in the Internet that enables the users to represents themselves and/or interact, cooperate, share, communicate with other users, and virtually form social bond [7].

The view of Meyrowitz about the word medium needs to be understood in order to see how media operates [7]. There are three sayings to see medium, first is medium as a vessel/conduit. Medium is a channel that carries message or in concrete example is content carried by radio. When other people want to hear badminton match through radio, a set of radio device is required to capture signal from radio station. In this context, the content must be interpreted differently with how the medium carries it. The sound or audio is the message carried by a set of radio; however, it is the content of the message that cause reaction. Listener can shout, angry, or cry not because of the radio set but because of the content of radio broadcast that broadcasted the match. It means that medium may vary and different, as well as with the content it carries. The expression that emerge in the public is not because of the radio set but because the message content.

Second, Meyrowitz explains that medium as language [7]. Medium is the Language itself. This means that media has something unique that can represent expression or contain a message. The emotional experience that raised with the medium as intermediary may be the same, and it may be different between the message maker and message receiver. The content of message is taken more into consideration compared to the tools that carries the message, however, how the message is modified is something that is attached to the influence of the tools. An episode in a soap opera will be viewed as more dramatic if it is presented in audio-visual presented with supporting background and back sound. A football match reported by television commentator will entice more emotion if it involves intonation and proper diction as well as repetition of episodes, such as kicking a ball into the goal [7].

Third, medium as environment. It means that the media cannot be viewed on the text only, but also must be seen in the context side itself. In this perspective, Meyrowitz reached to the question on how does the selection of content and grammar creates the medium characteristic different from one to another, in appearance, psychology, and/or sociology [7]. The perspective of medium as environment build several conditions, such as: what form of information that can or cannot be transmitted by medium? How does the speed and level of communication? How does the medium distribute the message, is it indirect, bidirectional, or multidirectional? Does the communication interaction simultaneous or sequential? How does the physical needs to use media? Does learning and using medium to produce (code) and receive (decode) message is relatively easy or difficult? Does the medium is used all at once or in certain condition only?

E. Political Communication

In political communication, it is often that politic meets difficulty to be reknowned, to have image in the eye of wide public or its constituent. Hence, politicians needs to perform the proper communication in delivering their political attitude to the people, so that they are known. Political communication is known as a science that crosscut various disciplines and is raised in multidisciplines A politic scientist, Mark Roefolds, says in simple manner, "Politics is a talk, or more precise, political activity (politicizing) is talking". He emphasized that politics is not just a talk, not all speakers are politicians. Hence, the definition of political communication itself is considerably extensive.

According to Dan Nimmo, the extensiveness of political communication is reflected from several definitions that are tried to be presented by some experts [8]. Fagen defines political communication as "communicatory activity by virtue of its consequences, actual and potential, that it has for the functioning of political systems" [9]. While Meadow defined it as; "political communication refers to any exchange of symbols or messages that to significant extent have been shaped by or have consequences for the political systems" [10]. And Nimmo defined political communication as 30 communication activities that are considered as political based on their consequences (actual or potential) that regulates human behavior under conflicted condition. According to Dan Nimmo, there are many significant symbols in politics that have developed. Some are regarding authoritative talks; they symbolize mutual understanding that needs to be upheld and complied to by people or anything that represent them, such as constitution, book, agreement, and etc. Others symbolizes the talk of power [8]. However, most of the significant symbol is the talk of influence. The classification of political symbols from the point of usage in special form of political talk or usually combine the nature of reference with condensial.

- The symbol of reference reflects special or general categories from objects (physical, social, or abstract), and has denotative meaning (meaning that correlates the symbol with reference).

- While condensial is a substitutive behavior that is immensely dense for direct expression that is ready to release emotional tense, consciously or unconsciously.

Condensial type has more connotative meaning, by stimulating someone to respond in a certain way to play a certain role to the government, and change their mind, feeling and expectations.. Significant political symbol eases the formation of political opinion. Political communication process is very complex, especially when trying to build political image. Data and information require interpretation beforehand to be understood. Firmanzah mentioned that in reality, political communication process of any kind is not easy [11]. In political communication process, there are disturbances (noise) that can distance and obscure the essence of the message to be delivered. This noise has various types, starting from counter attack conducted by the political opponent, inaccuracy in selecting communication media, bending of message by mass media, and others. That cause the public not receiving the message as intended by the sender.

While feedback can be used as an input or correctional material to improve content quality and/or communication processs conducted. Communication process also involves emphatical process, which is an effort to understand how the communication partner's way of thinking. Through symbol, said or not said, written or not written, people exchange or share image and, by so, create new meanings. Communication is a social interaction process used by people to set meaning about the world to their image (which their action is based on) and to exchange image through symbols.

Dean Barnlund Sender Symbolic Message Receiver Noise Conformist Feedback Sense / sign giving Idiosyncratic Sense Making 32 in Firmanzah noted this when he said "communication reflects the evolution of meaning" [11,12]. Meaning is something created, determines, given, and not something received. So, communication is not a reaction to something, it is also not an interaction with something, it is a transaction which within, people create and give meaning to realize their objective.

F. Politic Hegemony

Hegemony reflects a leadership of a certain country that is not only a city state to other countries that are connected loosely and/or tightly integrated in a "leading" country. In international politic, we can see during the war of influence during the cold war between the United States of America and the Sovyet Union that is commonly called as a war to be the world's hegemonic power. The theory of hegemony according to Gramsci is: "A view of life and a dominant way of thinking, which consists of a concept about reality that is spread out in the society institutionally and individually; (ideology) dictates all taste, moral habits, religious and political principles, and all social relations, specifically intellectual and moral meanings."

Gramsci's theory explains that hegemony is a power or domination upon values of life, norm, and culture of a group of communities which eventually becomes a doctrine to other (dominated) community that consciously follow. The group dominated by other group (dominating) does not feel oppressed and feel that it is natural.

Fundamentally but not exclusively the ruling class, maintain their dominance by securing the spontaneous consent of subordinate groups, including the working class, through the negotiated construction of a political and ideological consensus which incorporates both dominant and dominated groups [13].

The above definition explains that hegemony has main characteristic of “dominating” a group of people/community. Domination is enforced through non-physical/violent ways yet effective in controlling. In hegemony, the group that dominates is successfully influence the dominated group to accept moral values, politic, and culture from the dominant group (The ruling party, dominating group). Hegemony is received as something normal, that the ideology of the dominant group can spread out and practiced. The values and ideology of this hegemony is fought for and upheld by the dominant party that the dominated party remain silent and comply with the leadership of the ruling party. Hegemony can be viewed as a strategy to maintain power “...the practices of a capitalist class or its representatives to gain state power and maintain it later” [14].

If it is viewed as a strategy, then the hegemony concept is not an exclusive strategy belong to the ruler. It means that any group can apply the concept of hegemony and become a ruler. As an example of hegemony, the power of United States’ dollar to global economy. Most of international transactions are conducted by using American Dollar. Doing politic is basically integrating oneself into the scope of persistence between groups that have interest for power. The objective is so that certain groups can be dominated out and released from the leash of the dominating group. Power itself refers to power and strength that can control specific intention for a formulated objective. Upon the will to be released from dominance, it is often continue to the circle of power that initially dominating.

III. METHODOLOGY

This research uses Pentad analysis with qualitative approach that is interpretative. Research method being used is Pentad analysis method from Kenneth Burke. Burke calls his method as Pentad analysis in Littlejohn and Foss the method is called dramatisic Pentad [4]. It is called Pentad as this method consists of five elements or terms to analyze symbollic text. The five elements are first, action or anything to be conducted. Second, stage, or context of action to answer the problem of where and when the action is conducted. Third, agent, or anyone who carry out the action. Fourth, agency or how the action is conducted. And fifth, purpose or intention of the action. These five elements or terms answer the what, where, who, how and why in human communication.

In West and Turner Burke considered act (action) as what is conducted by someone [15]. According to Fergusson in Suparno that concept of act (action) sourced from two things, which are character and thought. Dramatism explains that human character disposition him/herself to act in certain ways. However, he/she acts only to respond to the continuously changing environment. In the definition of dramatisic, act (action) does not mean as attitude, behavior, occurrence or physical activity, but motives. The human act itself generally consists of three forms, praxis, poesis and theoria. The

representation of the action itself cannot be separated from the aspect of Language in drama [16].

According to West and Turner five points that build Pentad are act, scene, agent, agency and purpose [15]. Scene gives context that includes action. According to Suparno, scene is a terminology that includes various concepts about background or setting in general [16]. Scene is a name for various situations where the agent/actor is conducting action. Scene is a sort of stage where actors play a scene or episode of action that describes conditions of the society, social impacts, historical causes, and natural occurrences or events.

Agent is someone or people who conduct action [15]. Under the terminology of agent, someone can place personal traits that come along motivational values, such as idea, wishes, fear, envy, intuition, imagination and other personal expressions. Through this explanation, Burke showed characters owned by agent, such as ego, self-concept, super ego, awareness, wishes, objective, thought, spirit and expression. Agent is not only viewed individually or personally, yet may be as a super person, such as church, race, nation or ethnicity [16].

Agency according to West and Turner is a way used by agent to settle an action [15]. The forms of agency that may include message strategy, storytelling, apology, speech writing and etc. In dramatism, agency is defined as an instrument used by humanbeing to achieve goal [16].

Purpose (objective) according to West and Turner refers to the final result in the agent’s mind about the action, such as why the action is conducted [15]. In relation to purpose, the agency is a function of purpose. With this explanation, it is clearly reflected that the relation between agency and purpose is a relationship based on the principles of usability and principle of wishes. In other words, agency transcends the purpose. Through the usability principles, Language can be viewed as agency used to transcend purpose [16].

IV. ANALYSIS RESULTS

Digdaya Television is a TV streaming, opposition television from Presidential Candidate Prabowo Subianto and Vice-Presidential Candidate Sandiaga Uno. This internet network-based television has been operating since 23rd August 2018. Digdaya Televisi or often called as Digdaya TV has editorial office at Jalan Harsono RM No. 54, Ragunan, South Jakarta.

Digdaya TV is transmitted through Palapa D satellite with frequency of 4080 MHz, Symbol rate 28.125 Msps, and horizontal polarity. Prabowo Subianto always uses this streaming media to campaign himself as a presidential candidate with national speech in every region. One of his national speeches was in Semarang.

National speech in Semarang was broadcasted by Digdaya TV on 15th February 2019 with speech title “Establishing Self Sufficiency on Energy, Food, and Water” (Figure 1). The speech’s duration is 50 minutes.



Fig. 1. Prabowo Subianto national speech “Establishing self sufficiency on energy, food, and water”.

In Pentad analysis, action is caused by trigger and goal. Researcher sees that the trigger of Prabowo Subianto’s national speech comes from the concern on the condition of Indonesian nation. That the state is like a body, called the body politic, Indonesian politic body is ill. Act or action carried out by Prabowo is by giving idea and view about the condition of Indonesia through delivering speech. Speech is one of the forms of rhetoric’s that is able to deliver a message to numerous audience all at once.

Scene is a location that provides context that includes Prabowo Subianto’s national speech action. This speech was delivered in Semarang, because Semarang in particular, and Central Java in general are the target of vote for Prabowo Subianto as presidential candidate. Central Java is a place where governorly candidate from Gerindra Party has his vote increased compare to the previous forecast. Central Java also has considerably high total potential voters, who require more attention from Prabowo in order to gain more votes as well.

Prabowo is an agent that carried out an action, or in this case, delivered his idea about the current condition of Indonesia. Prabowo as a former General of Indonesia National Army (TNI), wanted to devote himself to the State and people. In every opportunity, Prabowo communicates in front of public in passionate and expressive manner. This is in accordance with his background in military with firm personality, hence, in delivering his messages to the public, he delivers them with high voice intonation. Therefore, Prabowo would like to give a picture to the people that he is someone who is firm with dignity, hence he deserves to be a leader or president.

The strategy to deliver message including into the element of agency in Pentad analysis. In describing Indonesia’s current condition, Prabowo also invited experts from various fields to strengthen his narrative. It is understood that Prabowo set himself as Indonesia’s presidential candidate for 2019-2024 and will contest with the incumbent. The main issue that can be used in relation to the condition is that Indonesia requires a change and improvement. Prabowo described that Indonesia is in the state of illness. It is presented by explaining several policies from the government that did not meet their targets. Supported by the description of condition where the leaders, intellectuals, and religious leaders that are less honest with

themselves. The figures are said not to acknowledge that Indonesia is in a heavy problem, and that it is the people are the victims. As explained by Prabowo, that the figures have no strong will to improve themselves. Although, according to him, it is the figures’ voices that the people heard and follow.

The narrative is continued by describing that the main issue faced by Indonesia was the national assets that flow out of the country. The state is described as unable to manage and protect its national assets, hence, they become easily flown out of the country. According to Prabowo, this is made worse with the condition where government agencies that are not strong enough and bribable, that made corruption still a big problem that require solution. One of the alternatives to solutions offered by Prabowo is by improving the welfare of state civil apparatus. At the end of his presentation, the strategy Prabowo used was by providing a view that problems that Indonesia is facing is not the fault of one party only, but it is joint mistake and require solution.

The purpose of Prabowo’s national speech in Semarang is that he wanted to give an impression to his audience that Indonesia is facing major issues that if no immediate solutions being sought, it will cause a destruction. This is presented through the reflection of Indonesia in a process of growing, developing, and advancing or deteriorating. Hence if the state is managed properly, then it will risk a fall out. From that presentation, Prabowo wants to be mandated by the people to be entrusted as a President, in order to be able to settle the problems currently faced by Indonesia. Prabowo added optimism at the end of his speech to the audience, that Indonesia is capable to be an advanced and prosperous country.

V. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Political communication is highly required, for politicians who are running as presidential candidate such as Prabowo Subianto. Communication technology related to internet through media is essential for Prabowo Subianto to campaign himself, hence DigdayaTV was established, a TV streaming that broadcasts every national speech in every region.

Mr. Prabowo Subianto has clearly stated the existence of foreign power or foreign hegemony in form of capitalism, where many Indonesian wealth flows out of Indonesia.

Suggestion in the speech delivery is not to only use rhetorics, but the content should also be reflected to the real implementation.

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