Rhetorical Contest in Indonesian Political Discourse: An Overview of Rhetorical Presidential Debates

Suparno[a*], Sumadi[b], Novi Eka Susilowati[c], Muhammad Hambali[d], Sainee Tamphu[e], [a,b,c]Universitas Negeri Malang, [d]Doctoral Student, Universitas Negeri Malang, Indonesia, [f]Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Yala Rajabhat University, Thailand, Email: [a*]suparno.fs@um.ac.id

Debates are one form of campaigning which have always caught people's attention. For voters, especially educated and business people who have neither affiliation with political parties nor specific interests, debates have become one of the ways in which the media can get to know candidates. In addition, debates also play an important role in convincing the public about candidates. This study reviews and compares the rhetoric of two presidential candidates during presidential debates for the 2019 election of the Republic of Indonesia. The results show the rhetorical strategies used in the rhetorical contestation during the 2019 presidential debates. They consist of four types:(1) choosing self-classifying diction, (2) satirising opponents (3) questioning and rejecting, and (4) describing achievements, experiences, or future planning. These strategies are used to build an image of and to defend the candidate as well as attack the opponent. Attempts to attack opponents are often in the form of questions. To withstand these kinds of questions, efforts were made through a pseudo argument.

Keywords: *Rhetoric, Indonesian political discourse, debate.*

Introduction

After the New Order, Indonesian election campaigns have changed. Over time, the election campaigns for regional heads, legislative members, and the president or vice president have altered in terms of channels or media, strategies, and tools. Denver (1992) and Mujani & Liddle (2010) identified factors that influence changes in the campaign. These included (a) a growing number of voters along with an increase in population, (b) diverse and widespread mass media, (c) replacement or amendment of legislation governing the election and election campaign, (d) rapid development of television, (e) use of public opinion polls, (f) rapid development of computer technology, and (g) increasingly expensive campaign costs. Moreover, Indonesia as

a nation consists of various tribes, races, languages and cultures (Purwanto, *et*. *al.,* 2019) so that various campaign methods need to be carried out.

Changes in campaigns occurred in each election period. In the 1950s, a campaign was carried out through public meetings and political speeches. In the 1970's, a campaign began with a mass procession using motorbikes and cars. During the 1999s, another campaign began to take advantage of television and radio even though the campaign favoured existing authorities because they controlled the mass media. However, since the 2000s or, precisely, after the reforms, new forms of campaigns have begun to emerge—one of which is debates.

Debates are a form of campaign that has always caught people's attention, not excluding Indonesians. For voters, especially educated and business people who have neither affiliation with political parties nor specific interests, debates have become a media channel to get to know candidates. Debates will help voters to know (a) candidates' views on an issue, (b) candidates' assessment of an issue, (c) a reference to candidates' predictions or plans, and (d) information about what candidates know (Pawito, 2009). Therefore, debates between candidates for the presidency have substantial benefits for voters (Chaffee, 1978).

Debates are a one form of campaigning used by many countries such as Israel, the United States, Slovakia, and Indonesia (Benoit & Sheafer, 2016; Hrbková & Zagrapan, 2014). Coleman, (2000) stated that debate lies at the heart of democracy. Indeed, it would be reasonable to state that two definitive prerequisites of democracy are fair and inclusive rights to vote and the opportunity to conduct informed, uncensored public discussion of ideas.

Based on the aforementioned explanation, debate plays an important role in convincing the public of the suitability of candidates and as a result, candidates must prepare appropriate debate materials to convince voters, particularly   educated and business people, and those who have not yet made a choice.

Language plays a very important in convincing voters. It's not only used to communicate, but also to gather power. It other words, language is closely related to power, which means that language is an instrument of power. This is based on the fact that in the context of communication, a person speaks not only to be understood but also to be believed, obeyed, respected, and distinguished (Jumadi, 2005). One of the easiest ways to mobilise power is through violence (Thomas & Wareing, 2007). Power in society makes actions happen—so by examining them, we can reveal who controls what and for what/whose interests (Moore & Hendry, 1995).

Rhetoric has always centred on the power of oral and written discourse, especially in terms of using language to persuade listeners about important general issues (Huckin, Andrus, & Clary-

Lemon, 2012). Therefore, language is often used in political discourse to persuade audiences (Hinton & Budzyńska-Daca, 2019). According to Ko (2015), persuasion is fundamental in public debates because supporters and opponents usually present in debates; as such, various methods are used to encourage the audience to support opinions of debaters. Therefore, discussing rhetoric in political discourse, especially in debates, is interesting.

One of the interesting political discourses to be analysed is the 2019 presidential debate of the Republic of Indonesia. The 2019 presidential election had only two candidates, Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and Prabowo Subianto. It has been fascinating to study these two presidential candidates as their characteristics seem to be vary yet each is unique. Jokowi seems to be gentle and modest, while Prabowo presents himself as firm and rich.

In the 2019 election, presidential debates played an important role in attracting the public to vote so that the political atmosphere in Indonesia heated up. Voters were polarised into two sections based on the presidential candidates they supported. On the other hand, there were prospective voters who had not yet determined their political stance. As a result, effective rhetorical ability played an important role in influencing voters and prospective voters to determine their choice.

Methodology

This is a qualitative study based on four considerations. *Firstly*, data was taken from a natural setting consisting of the discourse of the 2019 presidential debates. The researchers did not treat the research data. *Secondly*, the data was based on soft data, consisting of linguistic features in the 2019 presidential debates. *Thirdly*, this study was descriptive and data was analysed inductively.

The research data in the form of linguistic features (words, sentences, and suprasegmental elements) of the 2019 presidential debates. The data consists of speeches in open presidential debates organised by *Komite Pemilihan Umum* (KPU).[1] Data was sourced in four stages by following the debates held by KPU on 17 January, 17 February, 30 March, and 13 April. The videos used fulfilled the following criteria: (a) the videos of the debates of the 2019-2024 presidential candidates of the Republic of Indonesia and (b) videos of full duration from the beginning to the end of the debates.

Data was collected through documentation and observation. Documentation was completed by downloading the full recording of the presidential debates on YouTube. This was undertaken as researchers were not allowed to be present at the location of the debate to record activities. Documentation was used to record words, acts, or visual expressions during the debates.

---

[1] The Indonesian Election Commission

Meanwhile, observations were made to record actions, events or the atmosphere during the debates. Subsequently, the debate documentation was transcribed.

Data analysis was performed descriptively; the researchers interpreted the data to obtain a deep understanding and meaning of the collected data. Interpretation was carried out critically by utilising accurate information from various sources and theories relevant to the research findings.

Results

The findings showed four rhetorical strategies used in the rhetorical contest during the 2019 presidential debates. The strategy used consisted of (1) choosing self-classifying diction, (2) describing achievements, experiences, or future planning, (3) satirising opponents, and (4) questioning and rejecting. The first strategy was manifested in five words that most represented candidates, while the next three strategies were expressed in 206 utterance produced by Jokowi and Prabowo, with 109 utterances by Jokowi and 97 by Prabowo. Of the 109 utterance produced by Jokowi, 94 (86.3%) were presentations of achievements, experience and future planning; 7 (6.4%) satire; and 8 (8.7%) questions or rejection of Prabowo's speech. Meanwhile, out of 97 utterance produced by Prabowo, 51 (52.5%) were presentations of achievements, experience, and future planning; 4 (4.2%) were satire; and 42 (43.3%) were questions or rejections of Jokowi's speech.

Table 1: Comparison of Utterances in the Rhetorical Strategies of Jokowi and Prabowo in Presidential Debates

No	Strategies	Number	
		Jokowi	Prabowo
1	Describing achievements, experiences or future planning	94 (86.3%)	51 (52.5%)
2	Satirising	7 (6.4%)	4 (4.2%)
3	Questioning or rejecting	8 (8.7%)	42 (43.3%)
	Total	109	97

Table 1 confirms that Jokowi produced more utterances than Prabowo. However, both had similarities in terms of types of strategies most used, which described achievements, experience, and future planning, and a strategy which satirises the opponent. While Jokowi did not refuse a great deal, Prabowo did. This is understood as Jokowi pointed out more about his achievement since he was incumbent, while as the challenger Prabowo tended to reject Jokowi's work.

The use of rhetorical strategies by 2019 presidential candidates is outlined in more detail below.

Choosing Words of Self-Classification

 Vocabulary plays an important role in political discourse to differentiate contesting political participants. This vocabulary is related to self-image to classify oneself in social reality. Therefore, classification patterns are used in political discourse in relation to vocabulary organised into types of discourse (Fairclough, 1998).

Certain words used to build self-image or self-classification also occurred during the 2019 presidential election. Keywords were highlighted for each candidate to classify themselves. The findings showed five keywords related to self-classification (Table 2).

Table 2: Self-Classification Words Used by the Presidential Candidates

No	Words Used	
	Jokowi	**Prabowo**
1	*Kerja*/to work) (54%)	*Keadilan*/justice (41%)
2	*Infrastruktur*/Infrastructure (42%)	*Pertahanan keamanan/*Security defence (26%)
3	*Optimistis*/Optimistic (2%)	*Bocor*/Leak (17%)
4	*Sederhana*/Simplicity (1%)	*Kesejahteraan pegawai*/Employee welfare (12%)
5	*Pemerintahan bersih*/Clean government (1%)	*Perubahan besar*/Major changes (4%)

The five words presented in Table 2 were the most prominent vocabularies that classified each candidate within social reality. From this data, the words *work*, *infrastructure*, *optimism*, *simplicity*, and *clean government* were the most prominent words used as a classification tool, either by Jokowi himself or his supporters. For Prabowo and his supporters, the words *fair*, *security defence*, *prosperity*, *increased employee salaries* and *law enforcement* were the most prominent words used as a classification tool.

Amongst these words for self-classification of each candidate, the word that characterised Jokowi the most was *kerja (work)*, while the word *adil/keadilan (fair/justice*) characterised Prabowo the most. The two words, became jargons for both candidates at the same time; in their debate, the words were used to show their own self-image.

Quote (1)

*(Kami tidak ingin banyak bicara, kami sudah paham persoalan bangsa ini dan tahu apa yang harus kami lakukan. ..... Kami ingin **kerja**.)*

*We do not want to talk much, we understand the country's problem and we know what to do... We want to **work**.*

Jokowi maintained Quote (1) at the end of his speech during the presidential debates. The final statement in a debate usually contains an affirmation or positioning of all ideas and thoughts as expressed in the debate. The word *kerja (work)* was used by Jokowi to build the self-image that he was a presidential candidate who focused on serving people. He did not want to theorise or plan too much; to be overwhelmed by the past, by failure, or by others' views of others. Thus, the word *kerja (work)* began to build Jokowi's image and became his future *direction*.

In his speech, Jokowi also repeated the word *work* which became his political jargon. Repetition showed that the word was the focus of a pattern during his leadership. From a critical point of view, the use and repetition of the word *work* showed that government officials in both central and regional governments had to do real work.

Meanwhile, Prabowo and his supporters used the word *fair* (*justice*) as the most prominent classifier to build self-image as shown in Quote (2).

Quote(2)

*Kami punya falsafah dan strategi yang lain. Kami berpegang kepada falsafah **keadilan** yang akan menghasilkan kemakmuran.)*

*We have our own philosophy and strategy. We hold the philosophy of **justice** that will lead to prosperity.*

Quote (2) ended the speech by Prabowo in the debate. He emphasised the word *justice* as his hopes or ideals if he was elected as president of the Republic of Indonesia that his programs for citizens would realise justice. From the perspective of critical discourse, the repeated use of the word *fair* (*justice*) was also a satire for Jokowi who was deemed unable to bring justice to the people during his leadership.

Describing Achievements, Experiences or Future Planning

Presentation of achievement or experience becomes a very important part in political debates and becomes the rhetorical strategy of debate participants. This is used to convince the audience of the achievements of the candidate so the public becomes confident in his or her capabilities.

Figure 1. Comparison of the Presentation of the Achievement and Experiences of Jokowi and Prabowo

Jokowi focused more of his presentation on achievement and experience than Prabowo. Jokowi revealed his achievements during the first period of his leadership. This was intended to show the public that as president, Jokowi made useful contributions for people. Unlike Jokowi, Prabowo presented less achievement because he did not have the experience of being a government leader like Jokowi. Nevertheless, Prabowo still explained his experience as an individual rather than a   government leader.

In addition to the presentation of achievements or experience, a candidates also talk about future planning. Both candidates offered almost the same amount of input regarding future planning. This strategy was also used to convince the audience because planning helped the public to learn about the candidates' vision and mission as well as the steps taken if they became leaders.

Figure 2. Comparison of the Presentation on Future Planning of Jokowi and Prabowo
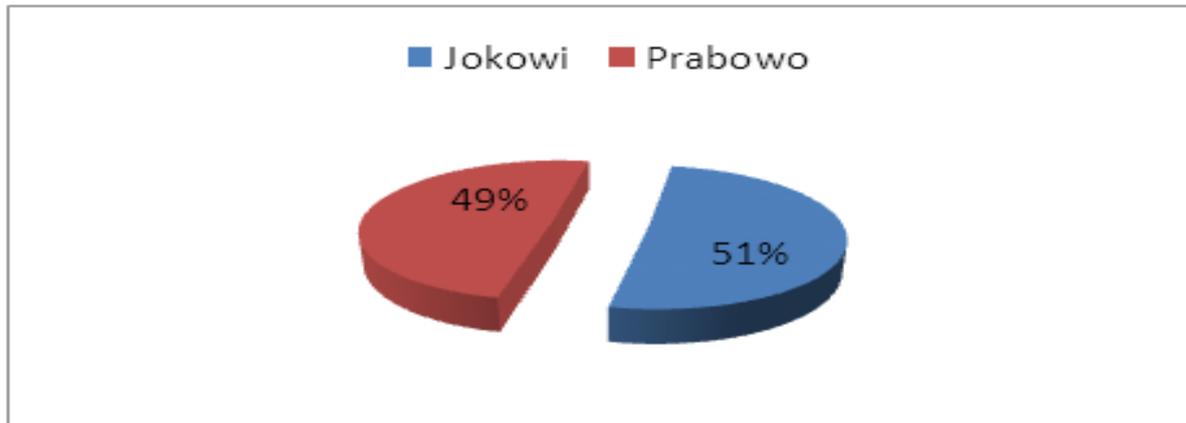

Figure 2 confirms the relatively similar percentage regarding presentation on future planning by Jokowi (51%) and Prabowo (49%). This can be understood as the debate forms one of the ways for presidential candidates to express ideas that will be carried out if they are elected as president. Hess-Luttich (2007) affirms that the debate aired on television is a program of *entertainment* and *confrontainment*, as it presents arguments between politicians, both pros and contras. Vedung (1982) maintains that the debate is conducted to follow political objectives so that practical political goals could be achieved.

Satirising the Opponent

Another strategy used in debates was satire. Satirising is the use of words contrary to their true meaning. As stated by Keraf (2010), satirical language style is utilized by stating the opposite of what one wants to say.

Based on the analysis, both Jokowi and Prabowo were quite productive in using satire during debates related to the condition and the failure of each presidential candidate.

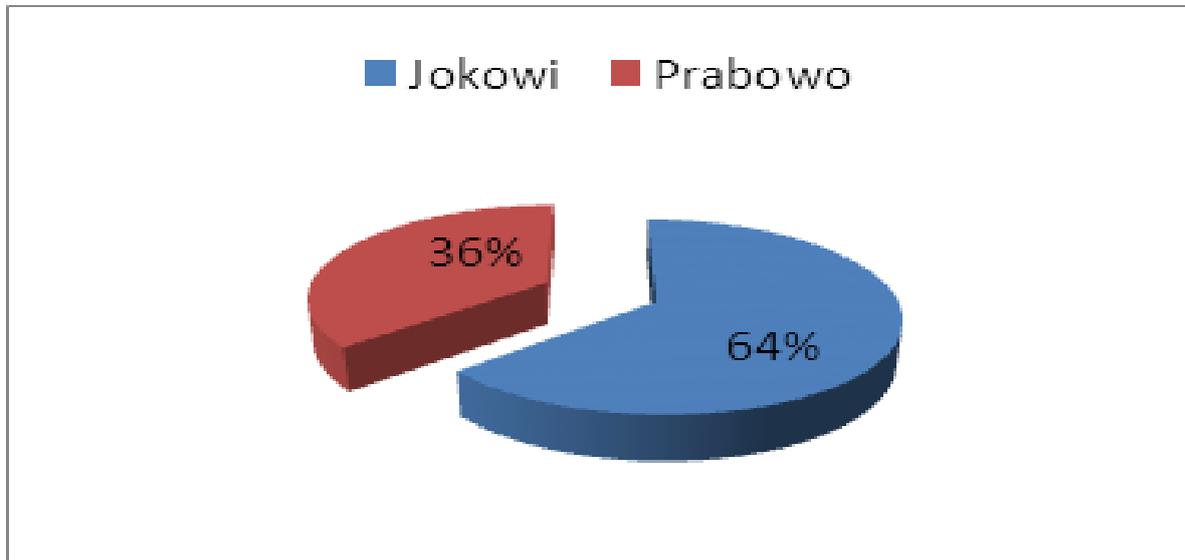**Figure 3.** Comparison of Jokowi and Prabowo's Satirising Strategy.

Figure 3 confirms the relatively similar percentage in the use of satire by Jokowi and Prabowo. Both tried to express the negative side of the opponent by using words the meaning of which was contradictory with sentences being literally said. The following Quote (3) is an example of a satire by Jokowi delivered to Prabowo.

Quote (3)

Kami tidak punya potongan diktator atau otoriter. Kami tidak punya rekam jejak melanggar HAM. Kami tidak punya rekam jejak melakukan kekerasan. Kami juga tidak punya rekam jejak masalah korupsi.
(We are neither dictatorial nor authoritarian. We have no records of violating human rights or violence. We also have no records of corruption).

Quote (3) included the words used by Jokowi to satirise Prabowo. He stated that he and his partner, (KH Ma'ruf Amin), were neither dictatorial nor authoritarian. They had never violated human rights. Jokowi made this statement not because he really wanted to show that he was neither a dictator nor an authoritarian leader who violated human rights. He was satirising Prabowo who had been suspected or considered an authoritarian dictator, and human rights violator. Thus, the words Jokowi said actually had a hidden meaning that differed from what he actually said.

Quote (4) is an example of a satire delivered by Prabowo to Jokowi.

Quote (4)

Kita akan mengamankan semua sumber-sumber ekonomi bangsa Indonesia. Kita akan menjaga pundi-pundi bangsa Indonesia supaya kekayaan kita tidak mengalir keluar negeri. Masalah pokok bangsa kita adalah bahwa kekayaan kita tidak tinggal di republik kita.

(We will secure all the economic resources of the Indonesian people. We will keep the wealth of the country for the people of Indonesia. Our nation's main problem is that our wealth does not stay in our republic).

Quote (4) includes the words Prabowo used to satirise Jokowi. In the statement, Prabowo revealed that he wanted to protect and secure all Indonesian resources so they would not go to other countries. However, the statement did not merely represent the intent of Prabowo to safeguard and secure Indonesia's wealth. Prabowo was satirising Jokowi who was deemed incapable of safeguarding and securing Indonesia's wealth and that the resources were taken by other countries. Thus, Prabowo's words had a hidden meaning that was different from what he literally said.

Questioning or Rejecting

Rhetorical strategies used by candidates in political discourse include questioning or rejecting to mistrust or even downplaying the opponent's speech. The strategy was manifested in the use of negation, contrasting conjunctions and expression of disapproval, as well as efforts to show the contradiction between opponents' statements and the facts.

Figure 4. Comparison of Jokowi and Prabowo's Questioning and Rejecting Strategy
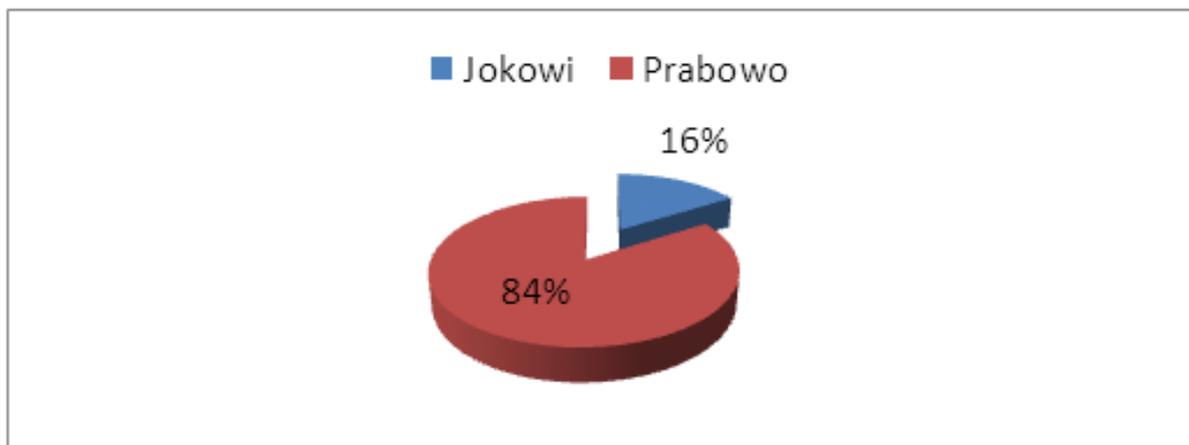

Figure 4 confirmed that Prabowo (84%) used more questioning and rejecting than Jokowi (16%) did. Prabowo questioned and rejected Jokowi's achievements while serving as president,

while Jokowi questioned and rejected Prabowo's plans or views in resolving a problem. Prabowo's use of the strategy is expressed in Quote (5).

Quote (5)

*Saya menghargai niat Pak Jokowi dalam memimpin pembangunan infrastruktur, **tetapi** saya juga harus menyampaikan kemungkinan besar tim Pak Jokowi itu bekerjanya kurang efisien. Banyak infrastruktur yang dikerjakan dilaksanakan dengan grusa-grusu, tanpa feasibilities study, mohon, tanpa feasibilities studi yang benar dan ini mengakibatkan banyak proyek infrastruktur yang tidak efisien, yang rugi, bahkan yang sangat-sangat sulit untuk dibayar.*

*(I appreciate Mr. Jokowi's intention in developing infrastructure, **but** I also have to convey that it is likely that Mr. Jokowi's team is working less efficiently. Many of the infrastructure development programs are being completed without feasibility studies. Please, without proper feasibility studies, this has resulted in many inefficient losses, even very difficult infrastructure projects).*

Quote (5) shows Prabowo's rejection of Jokowi's work in the form of infrastructure development. In his statement, Prabowo appreciated Jokowi's intention to carry out infrastructure development. However, he doubted the efficiency of infrastructure development as he considered that Jokowi made that choice without undertaking adequate feasibility studies.

Meanwhile, the use of Prabowo's is manifested in Quote (6).

Quote (6)

Pak Prabowo ini kelihatannya ke depan kurang optimis. Kalau saya melihat kalau saya melihat dengan pembangunan sumber daya manusia yang tadi saya sampaikan. Saya meyakini bahwa kita akan menyongsong revolusi industri 4.0 itu dengan optimis.

(Mr. Prabowo seems to be less optimistic. Considering the development of human resources that I have just explained, I am confident that we will welcome the 4.0 industrial revolution with optimism.)

Quote (6) shows Jokowi's rejection of Prabowo's view by saying that Prabowo appeared to be less optimistic. The speech was then followed by Jokowi's own views that confronted Prabowo's.

Discussion

Rhetorical Contest in the Presidential Debates

Politics deals with regulating people by using power. Therefore, politics is a matter of raising power—the power to make decisions, control resources, control the behaviour of others and often also control the values held by others (Jones & Wareing, 2007). One of the ways to mobilise power is through violence. However, this method has its disadvantages because it places others in coercion and pressure. Therefore, power can also be exercised by persuading someone to obey voluntarily. The latter can be done through language which is used to achieve political purposes.

Language is closely related to politics. Santoso (2003) confirms that there are at least three forms of relationships. *First*, the use of language in a super intensive manner, including the misuse (abuse) of language with its various aspects is prominent in politics. *Second*, each period of government or regime has specificity in its political language repertoire. *Third*, according to Santoso (2003), the use of political language in Indonesia has a direct and indirect role, in the problems faced by Indonesians. Thus, it is clear that language plays an important role in carrying out regulative functions because politics includes not only the praxis of work but also communication and regulative praxis.

The use of language in politics is represented in the rhetorical arts. Rhetoric is a persuasive strategy. Therefore, one of the ways in which rhetoric is utilised, is in debates to persuade prospective voters through certain strategies considered to be able to convince the public to choose one of the candidates.

The rhetorical contest in the 2019 presidential debates was manifested in the use of rhetorical strategies, including (1) choosing self-classifying diction, (2) satirising opponents, (3) questioning and rejecting, and (4) describing achievements, experiences, or future planning. *Choosing self-classifying diction* was chosen by the candidate to show who he is through specific word choices; when people hear or read the words, they will immediately remember or think about their "owner." *Describing achievements, experiences, or plans* was an effort to show the candidate's achievements or experiences and the steps he would take in the future. *Satirising the opponent* was undertaken by using certain words with different meaning and purpose than the words being literally used. *Questioning and rejecting* were an attempt to negate, doubt, show disagreement, or correct the achievements, experiences, opinions or plans of the opponent.

In general, the four rhetorical contest strategies of presidential candidates can be categorised into two types, including positive and negative strategies. A positive strategy is carried out by

showing the difference between a candidate and his or her opponent as well as showing the achievements and/or experiences of a candidate. Positive strategies consist of (1) choosing a self-classifying diction and (2) describing achievements, experiences or future planning. A negative strategy is carried out by refusing, negating, or satirising the potential opponent. Negative strategies include (1) satirising opponents, and (2) questioning and rejecting.

Based on the results of the analysis, both candidates used the four rhetorical strategies equally. However, of the four strategies, a dominant strategy was used by one candidate, but not the other.

Both candidates used the strategy of selecting self-classifying diction. It seems that the two candidates wanted to be distinguished from the other by choosing certain vocabulary identical to what they used which at the same time differentiated them from the other. Lee (1992:1) argues that language can be seen as a tool to classify our experiences in many different ways and on many different levels.

The results of the analysis showed that Jokowi and his supporters used the word *kerja (work)* constantly, while Prabowo and his supporters used the word *keadilan* (*justice*). Those words had become self-classifying labels for each candidate. In fact, it appears that the word used by one candidate was forbidden to be used by the other.

For Jokowi, the use of word *kerja (work)* represented his character and hobby of doing *blusukan (doing an investigation)* as a form of real work. He made his character and work habits a tool of persuasion. This is consistent with the opinion of Keraf (2010:121), according to which persuasion will take place as expected if the recipient of the information has known the provider of information as a person of good character. As for Prabowo, the word *keadilan (fair)* shows his future hope to realise justice as he believed that Jokowi was not able to bring justice to the people.

It appears from the above findings that language use cannot be separated from values. The use of language is always associated with certain intentions. These findings confirm Santoso's research (2003), according to which communication is always associated with activities of interest and motivated by desire. Communication will always be related to the questions: how, why, where, when, for what, and with whom the communication is conducted (Birch, 1996).

During the debate, Jokowi also used the word *optimistic* several times to reject Prabowo's negative views or judgments on Jokowi's government or on the condition of Indonesia during Jokowi's leadership. Using the word *optimistic*, Jokowi wanted to show the public that Prabowo's assessment of the future of Indonesia was wrong. Finally, at the same time, the word *optimistic* was a term of self-classification for Jokowi. Meanwhile, Prabowo mentioned the

word *leak* (*leakage*) several times, both with reference to budget and state property leakage. Through the word *leak* (*leakage*), Prabowo wanted to show Jokowi that the national budget was misused and it was detrimental to the country. However, Prabowo's view was actually considered to be a form of pessimism by Jokowi. Jokowi's use of the term *optimistic* versus *pessimistic* can actually be traced back to April 2018 when Prabowo made a statement that current policies would result in Indonesia disintegrating or collapsing (disbanding). Moreover, Prabowo also often used the word *leak* (*leakage*) which further strengthens Jokowi's accusation that Prabowo was a pessimistic person (Lane, 2019).

In addition to using self-classifying vocabulary, candidates also presented their achievements, experience, and future planning in debates to show each candidate's greatness so that people or prospective voters would have confidence in their abilities. The presentation of future planning was used to convince people or prospective voters that candidates prepared positive steps in the future to improve the country's condition. Presentation of future planning is very important because in political activities, the most influential factor for the successful implementation of programs is rhetoric (Heryanto & Zarkasy, 2012:117).

The presentation of achievements, experiences, or future planning is often used as one of the ways to build self-image. Candidates were competing to present their positive self-image through achievements, experiences, and future planning to attract people. This is consistent with Martel's opinion (1983) that political communication is more often focused on raising reputation through image-making. In America, political parties have long used image-making as the key to gaining support. In fact, they are willing to spend more money and time to build a positive image than to think about how to carry out elections and good leadership. Rhetoric is used to win and build political images as the art of persuasive speeches contains invitations or inducements so the public is motivated to carry out what is conveyed by communicators. Rhetoric also serves to build and maintain image (Littlejhon, 2011:50).

Indonesia has started to use the politics of image-making. Danial (2009) proves that since the reform era, political parties in Indonesia have begun to use consultants to deliver political messages through political advertising. In fact, in the first period of Jokowi's leadership, political imaging was widespread. Jokowi was presented as a simple and populist president who always worked for the people. This fact is consistent with Barthes (1977), according to whom political rhetoric has shifted to imaging rhetoric, which no longer prioritises loud voices and formal gestures as classic political rhetoric does.

In the world of modern politics, rhetoric is applied as a political language. Furthermore, Edelman, as quoted by Wodak (1989), states that rhetoric serves to symbolise political institutions or actions that have an impact on multiple level interpretations in the form of satire. The words delivered by Jokowi in Quote (3) can be used to clarify Edelman's concepts.

Quote (3) includes the words Jokowi used to satirise Prabowo; the statement has a dual meaning. On the one hand, the words *kami tidak punya rekam jejak melanggar HAM (we have no record of violating human rights)* seemed to deliver the message that Jokowi has never violated human rights. On the other hand, Jokowi was actually satirising Prabowo who had been suspected or considered as a human rights violator. In other words, an utterance in political rhetoric can have multiple meanings (ambiguity) for a particular intention. This ambiguity is used to minimise the possibility of liability demands over the statement given. In addition, ambiguity is also used as a form of persuasive power to achieve the desired intention. This intention can only be interpreted by the interlocutor (listener).

Jokowi and Prabowo used satire to contest rhetoric. It seems that the satirical style used by both Jokowi and Prabowo was effective because the words they used had a dual meaning. In fact, satire was used more to criticise the opponent.

The results of the analysis showed that the satires used by both candidates were to criticise or insult the other candidate. So, a quote cannot be taken literally. The quote *Kita akan mengamankan semua sumber-sumber ekonomi bangsa Indonesia... supaya kekayaan kita tidak mengalir ke luar negeri (We will secure all the economic resources of the Indonesian people. We will keep the wealth of the country for the people of Indonesia... so our wealth will not goi to another other country)*. Through this statement, Prabowo was satirising Jokowi who was deemed incapable of safeguarding and securing Indonesia's wealth. It appears from this example that this kind of allusion represents suspicion of the other party's action: a feeling that other politicians cannot be trusted or do their jobs properly.

Nevertheless, the use of satire does not always aim to demean others. It can also be used to arouse the motivation of people or voters depending on the strength of the opinion they hold, which can suggest what is actually expressed through satire. For example, the statement that Prabowo wanted to preserve Indonesia's wealth, if believed by his supporters as a strong plan for the future, would make people believe that Prabowo really wanted to protect people's wealth. That is, satire was interpreted as a form of criticising Jokowi, which was expressed subtly and indirectly.

The analysis also showed that the other strategy used in the rhetorical contest was questioning or rejecting. Questioning focused on doubt or distrust of the things expressed by the opponent while refusal concentrated on efforts not to accept the opponent's achievements, experiences or plans.

Prabowo used more strategies of rejection than Jokowi, ; this can be understood because Jokowi was an incumbent candidate. During the first period of his leadership, Jokowi was deemed unable to carry out his duties properly so that Prabowo rejected Jokowi's statement

about his achievements. Prabowo rejected Jokowi's work by presenting data in the form of numbers about the failure of Jokowi's leadership.

Prabowo's strategy of rejection can be interpreted as Prabowo's assessment of Jokowi's performance during the first period of his leadership. Prabowo saw Jokowi as being unable to bring positive results for Indonesia. He brought evidence to support his refusal in the form of data and facts. Evidence has always been an important aspect of a debate as a way to convince listeners or viewers.

During the presidential debates, Prabowo also used more the questioning strategies than Jokowi. Jokowi used the questioning strategy to express his uncertainties or doubts over Prabowo's future planning. This is understandable since Prabowo had no leadership experience in the government so his plans were not completed using empirical knowledge in the field. Jokowi's rejecting strategy was a form of self-defence over Prabowo's doubt or rejection. This finding is consistent with the search findings of Isotalus (2011) according to which most of the speech produced in debates is consists of self-defence.

It was interesting to note that during the 2019 presidential debates, questions g tending to attack opponents emerged frequently, both directly and indirectly. This echoes Taufik's research (2014) which states that the forms of persuasive speech used by campaigners can consist of direct or indirect speech. In fact, the results of the analysis showed that each candidate also satirised one another as a form of indirect strategies to attack opponents.

Questions are often used to show doubt or rejection of statements by opponents during the discourse of debates. In fact, they are used both directly and indirectly to attack opponents. According to Walton (1991), questions that attack people can be used as argumentation tactics that have a strong effect. Walton called it *argumentum ad hominem*, which is an argument that attacks the opponent's character, both directly and indirectly. As a result of this attack, each opponent tries to defend him/herself so that a pseudo argument arises (Hess-Luttich, 2007). This pseudo argument caused the rhetorical contest of the 2019 presidential debates to be superficial because strategic programs in the economic sector were not conveyed clearly (Lane, 2019).

Based on the analysis presented, it appears that rhetoric does not only consist of the use of language to express ourselves and to communicate, but it is built in a planned and conscious structure to raise awareness for the intended party or listener. Nevertheless, this awareness can be misused for the benefit of certain groups. The way to plan rhetoric is then used as a political tool and persuasion in the midst of the paradigms of democratic and civilised life. With this rhetoric, the speaker (in this case a candidate for the President of the Republic of Indonesia) wanted to persuade the populace to be willing to vote for the candidate.

Conclusion

The rhetorical contest in the 2019 presidential debates was expressed in the form of rhetorical strategies. These strategies were used to build an image of the candidate and defend him as well as   attack the opponent. The image-making effort could be seen from the strategy of selecting self-classifying diction while the defensive effort can be observed from the strategy of describing achievements, experiences, or future planning. Finally, the effort to attack the opponent can be seen from the strategy of using satire and questioning or rejecting the statements presented by the opponent. The research findings confirmed that in debates, all rhetorical efforts were used to persuade listeners. As a result, the questions that arose frequently attacked the opponent both directly and indirectly. A further consequence of this condition was fighting back which sometimes led to a pseudo argument.

Acknowledgments

REFERENCES

Barthes, Roland. 1977. *Rhetoric of the Image: In Image, Music, Text.* (S. Heath, ed. and trans) (pp.32—51). New York: Hill and Wang.

Birch, D. 1996. Critical Linguistics as Cultural Process. In James, J.E. (Ed.) *The Language Culture Connection* (pp 64—85). Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Denial, Ahmad. 2009. *Iklan Politik TV: Modernisasi Kampanye Politik Pasca Orba.* Yogyakarta: LKiS.

Denver, David. 1992. Campaign and Elections. In Mary Hawkesworth & Maurice Kogan (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Government and Politics* Vol 1. London: Routledge.

Fairclough, N. 1998. *Language and Power*. London and New York: Longman.

Hendrikus, D.W. 1991. *Retorika*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.

Herrick, J.A. 2005. *The History and Theory of Rhetoric: An Introduction 3rd Edition*. Boston: Pearson Education.

Heryanto, G. G. dan Zarkasy, I. (2012). *Public Relations Politik*. Bogor: Ghalia Indonesia.

Hess-Luttich, E.W.B. 2007. (Pseudo)-Argumentation in TV Debate. *Journal of Pragmatics.* Issue 8 pg. 1360—1370. Online at https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0378216607000586.

Hinton, Martin & Budzynska-Daca, Agnieszka. 2019. A Comparative Study of Political Communication in Televised Pre-Election Debates in Poland and The United States of America. *Journal of Research and Language*, Vol. 17:1, pp. 1—19.

Huckin, T., Andrus, J., & Clary-Lemon, J. 2012. *Critical Discourse Analysis and Rhetoric and Composition*. National Council of Teachers of English.

Isotalus, Pekka. 2011. Analysing Presidential Debates: Functional Theory and Finnish Political Communication Culture. *Nardicom Review.* Vol. 32 (2011) 1, pp. 31—43.

Jones, J. & Wareing. 2007. Bahasa dan Politk. Dalam Thomas, L. & Wareing, S. (Eds.), *Bahasa, Masyarakat, dan Kekuasaan*. Terjemahan oleh Sunoto, dkk. 2007. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Jumadi. 2005. *Representasi Kekuasaan dalam Wacana Kelas*. Jakarta: Pusat Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan Nasional.

The Great Dictionary of Indonesian Language. 2016.

Keraf, G. 2010. *Diksi dan Gaya Bahasa*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama.

Ko, Hsiu-ching. 2015. Political Persuasion: Adopting Aristotelian Rhetoric in Public Policy Debate Strategies. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science.* Vol. 5 No. 10, pp 114—123.

Lane, Max. 2019. The 2019 Indonesian Election: An Overview. *ISEAS Perspective*, June 2019, ISSUE: 2019 No. 49. (https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2019_6.pdf)

Lane, Max. 2019. The 2019 Indonesian Election: An Overview. *ISEAS Perspective*, June 2019, ISSUE: 2019 No. 49, (https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2019_49.pdf)

Lee, D. 1992. *Competing Discourse: Perspective and Ideology in Language*. New York: Longman Publishing.

Leech, G. 1993. *Prinsip-Prinsip Pragmatik*. Translated by M.D.D. Oka. Jakarta: Penerbit Universitas Indonesia.

Littlejohn, Foss. 2011. *Teori Komunikasi*. Jakarta: Salemba Humanika.

Mann, W.C. & Thompson, S.A. 1988. Rhetorical Structure Theory: Toward a Functional Theory of Text Organization. *Journal Text* 8(3), pp 243—281.

Martel, Miles. 1983. *Political Campaign Debate: Images, Strategies, and Tactics*. New York: Logman Inc.

Moore, S. & Hendry, B. 1982. *Sociology*. Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton.

Pawito. 2009. *Komunikasi Politik: Massa dan Kampanye Pemilihan*. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.

Purwanto, M.R., Mukharrom, T., Yusdanic, & Nasih, A.M. 2019. Inclusivity of Lecturers with Nahdlatul Ulama Background in Political and Religious Views in Indonesia. *International Journal of Innovation, Creativity, and Change* Vol. 9 Issue 10. Online https://ijicc.net/images/vol9iss10/91015_Purwanto_2019_E_R.pdf.

Santoso, Anang. 2003. *Bahasa Politik Pasca Orde Baru*. Jakarta: Wedatama Widya Sastra.

Taufik, K.S. 2014. The Persuasive Utterances in a Political Discourse (The Case Study of the Regent Election Campaign of Pasuruan, East Java-Indonesia). *International Journal of Linguistic.* Volume 6 Number 1.

Vedung, Evert. 1982. *Political Reasoning*. London: Sage Publication.

Wodak, R. 1996. *Disorders of Discourse*. Harlow-Essex: Addison Wesley Longman Limited.