

**VARIETY OF RHETORICS IN POLITICAL SPEECH
THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA
SUSILO BAMBANG YUDHOYONO AND JOKO WIDODO
IN EDUCATIONAL FIELD**

**RAGAM RETORIKA DALAM PIDATO KENEGARAAN
PRESIDEN REPUBLIK INDONESIA SUSILO BAMBANG YUDHOYONO
DAN JOKO WIDODO PADA BIDANG PENDIDIKAN**

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Abstract

The study aims to provide an understanding of the range of rhetoric in the political speech of the President of Indonesian Republic Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo, especially in the field of education. The research method used is the critical discourse analysis method of Norman Fairclough model. Data collection techniques used are documentation techniques, note-taking techniques, and interviews. Data analysis techniques are operated by connecting micro, meso, and macro elements in dimensions, such as: (a) text, (b) discourse practice, and (b) socio-cultural practices. The result of the research shows the rhetoric in the political speech of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo in the field of education which are compiled by the staf of presidential documents are as followed: 54,25% of the argumentation, 31,21% of the hortatory variety, 5,32% of the exposition, 4,25% of persuasion, 2,48% of informative variety, 1,06 % of narrative range, 0,71% of descriptive variation, 0,35% of dramatic variation, and 0,35% of procedural variation. The variety of rhetoric used aims to deliver educational programs that have been made, promises, and wishes or expectations to improve the quality of education in Indonesia, especially in the reform era.

Keywords: variety of rhetoric, state speech, education

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan memberikan pemahaman tentang ragam retorika dalam pidato kenegaraan Presiden Republik Indonesia Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono dan Joko Widodo khususnya dalam bidang pendidikan. Metode penelitian menggunakan metode analisis

wacana kritis model Norman Fairclough. Teknik pengumpulan data menggunakan teknik dokumentasi, teknik catat, dan wawancara. Teknik analisis data dengan cara menghubungkan unsur mikro, meso, dan makro pada dimensi: (a) teks, (b) praktik wacana, dan (b) praktik sosial budaya. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan ragam retorika yang terdapat dalam pidato kenegaraan Presiden Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono dan Joko Widodo dalam bidang pendidikan yang disusun bersama tim kerjanya, yaitu ragam argumentasi terdapat 54,25%, ragam hortatori terdapat 31,21%, ragam eksposisi terdapat 5,32%, ragam persuasi terdapat 4,25%, ragam informatif terdapat 2,48%, ragam narasi terdapat 1,06%, ragam deskriptif terdapat 0,71%, ragam dramatik terdapat 0,35%, dan ragam prosedural terdapat 0,35%. Ragam retorika yang digunakan bertujuan untuk menyampaikan program pendidikan yang telah dilakukan, janji, dan keinginan atau harapan untuk memperbaiki mutu pendidikan di Indonesia khususnya pada era reformasi.

Kata kunci: *ragam retorika, pidato kenegaraan, bidang pendidikan*

Introduction

Rhetoric, as part of linguistics that studies about the ability in using language has developed so rapidly. This is characterized by the development of the concept of rhetoric which initially only examines how the ability to persuade the listener in oral discourse especially speech, then expanded as a science in persuasive the reader through written discourse. The development of the study of the rhetoric of oral discourse into the rhetoric of written discourse. In accordance with the development of human culture that originally used is oral language to communicate, and then used the written texts as a means to deliver the speech.

The development of rhetoric begins with a study conducted by Isokrates in 350 M which explains that rhetoric as a science of persuasion, especially in persuading listeners through speeches with the powers of technique argument. Isokrates in this case focuses on how a leader uses their arguments to influence society so as to generate suggestion and empathy as expected of the king. Then, the next 20 years around 370 M or about 384-322 SA, Aristotle describes rhetoric as an intelligent ability to use existing means in every issue of the persuasion process (Winkler and McCueen, 1974, pp. 5-6). In this case, Aristotle developed Socrates' opinion by emphasizing the means by which he could persuade the listener.

Keith and Lundberg (2008, p. 3) describe rhetoric as a science that sees the relationship between language and persuasion. This implies that rhetoric deals with competence in using language effectively and persuasively. Persuasion occurs when someone reassures us about something, such as a dramatic experience, tears, or action with speech, as well as a more subtle process as influenced by advertising or political ideology. Further, Keith and Lundberg (2008, pp. 4-5) describe rhetoric as the study of producing discourse and interpreting how, when, and why persuasive discourse. In other words, rhetoric is about how discourse accomplishes something in our social world. People use words and symbols to influence each other long before the idea of rhetoric was created. However, at some point, thinkers began to wonder how this process happened and how they could talk about it more effectively. According to Rinaldi (2017, p. 119), he stated that rhetoric is an effective ability to choose and use

language in certain situations that are language electric in certain situations for a particular purpose.

Rhetoric in speech is closely related to the mastery of communication because the President's speech becomes an example and a guide for his staffs and Indonesian people. Therefore, the study of rhetoric president's speech attract many researchers to study it. The president's speech of the Republic of Indonesia in the reformation era has been analysed by some researchers in different aspects. The research conducted by Humaidi (2016, pp. 115-127) explains that the interesting characteristics of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in rhetoric is always uphold the ideas of democracy. In this case, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono is very good at imaging, but the imagery is based on empirical facts, for example in the case of corruption, whoever and how he is, if proven to commit corruption then must be punished according to existing regulations. This proved the suspect's status against SBY's boss, Aulia Pohan was really done fairly.

Then, for the rhetoric of President Jokowi conducted research by Ricky (2015, pp. 1-13) against the presidential candidate debate speech of 2014, President Jokowi uses: (1) ethos with the characteristics of simple people and defend the people; (2) patos uses the facts he finds when he is blusukan; and (3) logos uses the facts of the program on Healthy Indonesia Card and Smart Card Indonesia as a concrete proof of the program. In a more recent study, Noermanzah (2016, p. 17) examined the pattern of rhetoric in the speech of President Joko Widodo in the speech of Bung Karno speech of June 1, 1945 in Bandung West Java on Wednesday June 1, 2016, namely introduction, body, and conclusion. Of the three existing relevant studies, there is no study that examines the rhetoric of state speeches of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono or who is often called by SBY and President Joko Widodo who is often called Jokowi. Then, the use of ethos, patos, and logos aspects that uphold the democratic ideas that defend the people used by President SBY shows that in the speech we need to consider the variations of rhetoric that will be used so as to convey the ideas received by the community. The rhetorical pattern used by President Jokowi, starting from the introduction, body, and conclusion also helps us in analyzing the range of rhetoric in every pattern of rhetoric that is divided into the introduction, the body, and the conclusion. The results of the analysis in this study can not be separated from how to see the variations of rhetoric from the structure of rhetoric in the introduction, body, and conclusions. This is because in addition to speeches built by the three parts, also on each section of the structure has different types of rhetoric variations.

Various rhetoric is some form of text that is composed, in this case the oral speech texts prepared by the President of the reform era with his team. This variety of rhetoric is based on the purpose of discourse making, classified into: (a) narrative variety, (b) descriptive variety, (c) exposition, (d) argumentative variety, (e) persuasive variety, (f) informative variety, (g) procedural diversity, hortorial variety, (i) regulative variety, (j) variety of humor, (k) journalistic variety (Baryadi, 2002, pp. 9-14). By looking at this range of rhetoric, it is hoped that we will understand the characteristic range of speech rhetoric as the appeal of a president in a speech. Meanwhile, Zarefsky (2005, pp. 7-8) describes the argumentative variety as a field of science that has elements of rhetoric, logic, and dialectics. Rhetorical thinking means reasoning with a tendency centered on the thinking of the audience. The element of logic is concerned with the

form and structure of reasoning. Logic is often regarded as just a symbolic and formal mathematical reasoning only. For example the informal logic, argument that is based on ordinary language and describes a pattern of reasoning which has no mathematical certainty. Later, dialectics deals with deliberation. Logic refers to a process of discovering and testing knowledge through questions and answers. Although Plato's dialogue with the dialectical model, explains that every conversation is a must meet the criterion of critical discussion.

Zarefsky (2005, p. 7) explains that the variety of arguments is a vocabulary that is always present and used in both oral and written writing. Various arguments always take account of logic through the process of discovering and testing knowledge through questions and answers, as well as addressing the dialectic of critical discussion based on symbolic, formal, informal reasoning, resulting in a common and best unity of deliberative activities with claiming techniques that pay attention to the audiences (Zarefsky, 2005, p. 8). Thus, the variety of arguments is a kind of rhetorical variety that seeks to influence the reader or listener to accept the preserved statements, both based on logical and emotional considerations based on evidence and facts. A text is categorized as a text of argumentation, if it departs from a controversial issue between the speaker and the spokesperson. The development of an argumentation framework can be pattern-causal, causal, or problem-solving patterns (Zarefsky, 2005, p. 8). Various arguments in this case contains issues that are presented about the problems in society by bringing the causal reasoning so that the solution of the problem arises. The solution presented by the orator based on dialectics or deliberation with the community first.

This study aims to find the range of rhetoric used in the state speech of President SBY and Jokowi in the reform era. With the help of critical discourse analysis of Norman Fairclough (1995, p. 9) about the model on text level that discourse practice, and socio-cultural practice, it will also analyze the impact for the society from the various rhetoric used by President SBY and Jokowi in his state speech especially speech in education field. The expectation of being the basis for determining the exact range of speeches which is selected in the preparation of speeches is able to critically answer the process of composing speech and the purpose of choosing the variety of speeches.

Method

The research method used the critical discourse analysis method of Norman Fairclough model. The main data of research was the range of rhetoric contained in the political speech of the President of the Republic of Indonesia Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo especially in the field of education. The secondary data in this research were oral texts of interview which are the result of president speech made by team (Minister of Secretary and staff) about production of speech text of president, and oral text result of interview about expert opinion of education expert, principal, and teacher related contents speech texts and the impact of the speeches of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo on education in Indonesia. Then, the main data sources of research were six speeches of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in 2013-2014 and six speeches of President Joko Widodo in 2015-2016 in the field of education in the reform era. Thus, the total speech of twelve state

speeches, with each state speech consisting of four official speeches and eight unofficial speeches.

Data collection techniques used documentation techniques, note-taking techniques, and interviews. Interview techniques were carried out to the State Ministry Secretary staff, educational experts, principals, and teachers. Because the state speech was prepared by the president and his team, one of them with the Ministry of Secretary of State. Thus, the interview was conducted to the staff of the State Secretary's Ministry on how to make the text of a state speech conducted by direct interview and telephone media. Then, interviews with education experts, principals, and teachers related to the realization of the purpose of the various rhetoric used in society was conducted. Interviews with education experts were conducted directly to educational experts, while interviews with principals and teachers are conducted in several ways, directly and via telephone, WhatsApp (WA), and facebook media.

Data were analysed by connecting micro, meso, and macro elements in dimensions: (a) text, (b) discourse practice, and (b) socio-cultural practices (Fairclough 1995, p. 9). The analysis of the text was descriptive analysis, that was to describe the content descriptively only on the level of text in the form of various rhetoric which will be analyzed assisted with data analysis table and recapitulation result in percentage form to obtain the general picture of the range of rhetoric used. In this dimension the language of the text will be examined by the linguistic approach. Text analysis is done in three stages: (1) representational or ideational analysis at the chosen word level, (2) analysis of grammatical representation (transparency, modalities, combination of local clause, intermittent sequence), (3) and identity construction, and (4) intertextuality analysis.

In the discourse practice dimension, an intertextual analysis is necessary to bridge text analysis with discourse practice. This analysis is conducted simultaneously with text analysis by examining how the text is produced and consumed by the people of Indonesia. At the production level of the text, we investigated documents concerning the production of speeches of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo who were assisted by guidelines for research interviews.

In addition, the researcher also used discourse theory in analyzing speech texts. In the sociocultural analysis, the researcher tried to analyze the result of the text analysis related to the interview result with Ministry of State Secretary staff, education experts, principals, and teachers related to the realization of the state speech of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo. In this analysis, it used three levels in Fairclough's social and cultural practices, situational, institutional, and social levels.

Result and Discussion

Using the Norman Fairclough (1995, p. 9) model on the text, it was found that a variety of rhetoric contained in the State speech of President SBY, namely: 1) in the introduction using the variety: (a) hortatory as much as 18 paragraphs; (b) informative as much as 2 paragraphs; (c) procedural of 1 paragraph; (d) argumentation 2 paragraphs; and (e) persuasion of 1 paragraph. 2) On the trunk or content using the variety: (a) argument of 86 paragraphs; (b) hortatory of 26 paragraphs; (c) the exposition of 12 paragraphs; (d) persuasion of 5 paragraphs; (e) narrative of 3 paragraphs; (f) informative 2 paragraphs; and (g) descriptive two paragraphs. Then, 3)

the cover section uses a variety of: (a) hortatory of 15 paragraphs; (b) persuasion of 5 paragraphs; (c) argumentation of 4 paragraphs; and (d) informative by 1 paragraph.

Furthermore, the range of rhetoric contained in President Jokowi's political speech, namely: 1) in the introduction using the variety: (a) hortatory as much as 14 paragraphs and (b) arguments as much as 4 paragraphs. 2) On the trunk or content using the variety: (a) argument of 54 paragraphs; (b) hortatory of 7 paragraphs; (c) exposition of 3 paragraphs; (d) dramatic as much as 1 long dialogue. Then, 3) the cover section uses a variety of: (a) hortatory of 8 paragraphs; (b) 3 paragraphs of argument; (c) informative 2 paragraphs; and (d) persuasive by 1 paragraph. For more details about the range of rhetoric in the state speeches used by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo in the reform era, can be shown in table 1.

Table 1. Variety of Rhetoric Used by President SBY and Jokowi in Political Speech at Reform Era

Part	Variety of Rhetoric Used by President SBY	Total	Variety of Rhetoric Used by President Jokowi	Total
Introducing	1. Hortatory	18	1. Hortatory	14
	2. Informative	2	2. Informative	-
	3. Procedural	1	3. Procedural	-
	4. Argument	2	4. Argument	4
	5. Persuasion	1	5. Persuasion	-
Contents	1. Argument	86	1. Argument	54
	2. Hortatory	26	2. Hortatory	7
	3. Eksposition	12	3. Eksposition	3
	4. Persuasion	5	4. Persuasion	-
	5. Narration	3	5. Narration	-
	6. Informative	2	6. Informative	-
	7. Description	2	7. Description	-
	8. Dramatic	-	8. Dramatic	1
Closing	1. Hortatory	15	1. Hortatory	8
	2. Persuasion	5	2. Argument	3
	3. Argument	4	3. Informatif	2
	4. Informative	1	4. Persuasion	1
Total Variety of Rhetoric Used	1. Argument	153	54,25%	
	2. Hortatory	88	31,21%	
	3. Eksposition	15	5,32%	
	4. Persuasion	12	4,25%	
	5. Informative	7	2,48%	
	6. Narration	3	1,06%	
	7. Description	2	0,71%	
	8. Dramatic	1	0,35%	
	9. Procedural	1	0,35%	
Total in Quantity and Percentage		282	100%	

In the use of various rhetoric between President SBY with Jokowi have similarity that is dominant use various argumentation, but the argumentation of President SBY is more comprehensive in conveying the reason of complete data, whereas President Jokowi convey the argument with work evidence from the monitoring result directly to the field with short and clear. Then, in the era of reforms that have the character of democracy with his trademark that the government as a servant of society so that the aspirations conveyed by the community contained in

every state speech, has been run either by President SBY or by President Jokowi. Especially in an unofficial speech, what is interesting is that done by President Jokowi using dramatic variety as a direct implementation of reforms while President SBY does not use the dramatic variety in every state speech. Especially for President Jokowi, in his unofficial speech, immediately did a question and answer with the teacher in the body part of the speech. As stated in the following state speech quotes.

*Hadirin sekalian yang saya hormati,
Saya ingin satu ke depan. Yang dari jauh, dari mana ya? Tadi ada dari Kabupaten Baubau. Mana tadi? Sini, Bu. Baubau. Ada yang tahu ndak Baubau itu di mana? Sini, Bu. Agak dekat, Bu. Saya enggak galak kok.
Apa sih yang diberikan di sekolah Ibu siapa? Ibu Hartati. Apa yang diberikan di sekolah Ibu, terutama yang berkaitan dengan pendidikan nilai-nilai yang tadi saya sampaikan, nilai kejujuran, nilai-nilai sopan santun, nilai-nilai kepantasan, nilai-nilai kepatutan, nilai-nilai etika, nilai-nilai moralitas dan mentalitas, dengan etos kerja keras yang baik? Apa sih yang disampaikan kepada anak-anak atau yang diajarkan kepada anak-anak?*

Hartati:

Terima kasih, Pak Presiden. Yang pertama yang saya sampaikan adalah mematuhi tata tertib sekolah. Itu yang pertama.

Presiden:

Apa itu? Tata tertibnya apa itu? Kepada gurunya atau kepada siswanya?

Hartati:

Kepada siswanya. Yang kedua, saya tekankan kepada.

Presiden:

Tata tertib apa tadi? Saya sudah lupa. Saya sudah lama tinggal sekolah ya. Apa? Tata tertib apa, misalnya?

Hartati:

Misalnya, masuknya jam 7, pakaiannya harus rapi, selalu memberi salam kepada Bapak-Ibu Guru pada saat berpapasan, pada saat sebelum belajar, dan masih banyak lagi, Pak Presiden. ...

(RRJW-21)

Text translation:

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I want one ahead. Which from a distance, from where ya? It was there from Baubau County. Where was it? Here, Mom. Baubau. Anyone know where Baubau is? Here, Mom. Somewhat close, Mom. I'm not really fierce.

What does the school give me Mrs. Hartati. What is given in my mother's school, especially in relation to my values education, honesty values, courtesy values, propriety values, values of propriety, ethical values, moral values and mentality, with a good hard work ethic? What does that tell children or what is taught to children?

Hartati:

Thank you, Mr. President. The first one I submit is to obey the school order. That's the first.

President:

What is that? What is the order? To his teacher or to his students?

Hartati:

To his students. Secondly, I stress to.

President:

What kind of order was that? I have forgotten. I have been studying for a long time. What? What rules, for example?

Hartati:

For example, the inclusion of 7 o'clock, the clothes must be neat, always greet the Master-Mother when passing, before the study, and much more, Mr. President. ...

(RRJW-21)

From the excerpt of President Jokowi's speech above, he tried to directly ask questions about the implementation of education at school to one of the principals of achievement. In this case the purpose of the use of the dramatic variety is to conduct a direct question and answer about the problems of implementation of education in school so that it can be the basis for making the most appropriate policy in the future. Then, directly President Jokowi can provide input to the school in running the education system in each school. This dramatic variety is usually never present in a state speech so it is characteristic of state speech in the reform era especially in unofficial speech.

Then, in conveying his educational program, President SBY and Jokowi are more dominant using a variety of arguments, hortatory, and exposition and using a bit of dramatic variety. The following is an example of the use of various arguments in President Yudhoyono's speech.

Saya sungguh memberikan atensi yang tinggi kepada guru, saya masih ingat satu bulan setelah saya menjadi presiden, saya cek gaji guru dan PNS golongan I/a itu 600 ribu. Saya mengumpulkan anggota kabinet, menteri-menteri terkait, salah satu saksinya adalah Pak Sudi Silalahi, nampaknya 600 ribu dikaitkan dengan tugas, tanggung jawab dan pengorbanannya terlalu kecil. Oleh karena itulah kami bertekad dulu, sejalan dengan kemampuan negara dan pertumbuhan perekonomian kita, minimal gaji guru haruslah mencapai Rp2,5 juta. Itu awal. (RRSBY-28)

Text translation:

I really give high attention to the teacher, I still remember one month after I became president, I check the salary of teachers and civil servants class I / a is 600 thousand. I am collecting cabinet members, related ministers, one of his witnesses is Pak Sudi Silalahi, it seems that 600 thousand is associated with his duties, responsibilities and sacrifices too small. Therefore we are determined first, in line with the ability of the state and the growth of our economy, at least the salary of teachers must reach Rp2, 5 million. That's early. (RRSBY-28)

From the quotation above, President SBY build opinions by presenting various arguments about the need to provide welfare to teachers with a minimum salary of teachers reached Rp2, 5 million. This opinion is based on the opinion of the President after the process of checking the salary of teachers and civil servants class I / a only 600 thousand and the process of discussion with members of the cabinet, related ministers, and witnessed by Mr. Sudi Silalahi so that argued 600 thousand linked with duty, responsibility and sacrifice teachers, too small with the salary so that the government of SBY has a minimum target of teachers salary of at least Rp2, 5 million. This variety of arguments serves to explain a phenomenon that is not in accordance with the role and function in society by giving a strong opinion according to the reality that occurred in society. Evidently this teacher salary increase plan actually run in the era of SBY government, especially every year there is a raise. Unlike the pattern of payroll in the era of President Jokowi that every year is not always an increase, but in addition to getting a salary to-13 also get a holiday allowance. If calculated actually the amount of salary received by teachers every year have similarities between the government of Jokowi and SBY. However, in general steps taken by the SBY government is better because every year there is a salary increase which impact on pension salary which also increase, in contrast to Jokowi government which salary for retired teacher there is no increase.

Variety of arguments created by President SBY and Jokowi have elements of rhetoric, logic, and dialectics. This is in accordance with the opinion of Zarefsky (2005, pp. 7-8) that explains the argumentative variety as a field of science that has elements of rhetoric, logic, and dialectics. The element of rhetoric presented by President SBY and Jokowi is shown by how the message delivered can be accepted by the listener by understanding the communication of knowledge between the two. For example in this case President SBY and Jokowi give the message content by using the Indonesian language understood by all Indonesian people and with the composition of the argument that was preceded by a common theme followed by explanations that are causal. Logic elements created by President SBY and Jokowi use formal and informal logic. Formal logic uses valid statistical data with systematic language whereas nonformal logic uses plain language and describes patterns of reasoning that have no statistical or mathematical data certainty. Here is an example of a formal logic pattern used by President Jokowi.

Ada beberapa hal yang ingin saya sampaikan pada kesempatan yang baik ini. Yang pertama yang berkaitan dengan keberagaman kita, yang berkaitan dengan NKRI, yang berkaitan dengan Pancasila, yang berkaitan dengan Undang-Undang Dasar 1945, dan yang berkaitan dengan Bhinneka Tunggal Ika. Kenapa ini saya sampaikan? Karena Bapak/Ibu gurulah yang bisa membimbing, mengisi anak-anak didik kita agar mereka tahu secara jelas betapa negara kita Indonesia ini adalah beragam. Tidak ada di negara manapun di seluruh dunia ini negara yang memiliki 17.000 pulau. Ada 516 kabupaten/kota, ada 34 provinsi, ada 700 suku, dan 1.100 bahasa lokal yang ada di negara kita. Betapa kita ini sangat beragam. (RRJW-81)

Text translation:

There are a few things I want to say on this good occasion. The first relates to our diversity, relating to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, relating to Pancasila, related to the 1945 Constitution, and related to Bhinneka Tunggal Ika. Why is this I say? Because Mr/Ms teacher who can guide, fill our children so that they know clearly how our country Indonesia is diverse. Nothing in any country around the world has 17,000 islands. There are 516 regency/cities, there are 34 provinces, there are 700 tribes, and 1,100 local languages that exist in our country. How we are so diverse. (RRJW-81)

From the data above, it can be explained that President Jokowi created the argument with formal logic by presenting statistical data in the number of islands, the number of regency/cities, the number of provinces, the number of tribes, and the number of regional languages. This formal logic is characteristic of a variety of arguments that can have strong rhetorical powers because the message conveyed has sufficient evidence so that people have high confidence in the message delivered. In contrast to President SBY in creating more detailed logic, especially in presenting statistical data in educational programs and more use of formal logic. Like the following example of a political speech quotation.

Satu masalah besar yang selama ini kita hadapi adalah banyaknya anak-anak dari keluarga miskin yang cerdas namun tidak mampu masuk perguruan tinggi. Untuk itu, Pemerintah telah meluncurkan program inovatif Bidikmisi yang memberikan uang kuliah gratis, ditambah dengan uang saku, sekitar Rp600.000 per bulan. Sampai saat ini, sudah lebih dari 220.000 siswa yang masuk dalam program Bidikmisi, dan umumnya mereka berhasil meraih prestasi akademis dan non-akademis yang mengagumkan. Tidak jarang di antara mereka yang lulus dengan predikat cumlaude, bahkan dengan IPK sempurna 4. Saya sempat terharu mendengar cerita anak tukang becak bernama Raeni yang ikut Bidikmisi dan berhasil lulus dari Universitas Negeri Semarang dengan IPK 3,96. (RRSBY-93)

Text translation:

One big problem we face today is the large number of children from poor families who are smart but unable to enter college. To that end, the Government has launched an innovative Bidikmisi program that provides free tuition, plus an allowance of around Rp600,000 per month. To date, more than 220,000 students have been enrolled in the Bidikmisi program, and generally they achieve outstanding academic and non-academic achievements. Not infrequently among those who graduated with cum laude predicate, even with a perfect GPA 4. I was touched to hear the story of a child pedicab driver named Raeni who joined Bidikmisi and successfully graduated from State University of Semarang with GPA 3.96. (RRSBY-93)

From the quotation above, we can understand that President SBY is really good at creating formal logic using systematic Indonesian language and supported by

statistical data of success in education program for poor society with Bidikmisi scholarship presented. This program is really in accordance with the data submitted by the President, although there are still many poor people who have not received Bidikmisi assistance. With still many who have not received the Bidikmisi program is a disadvantage condition for the lower class society. However the government of SBY can already be said to have a great effort and succeed in the process of solving educational problems, especially education for lower societies with using a variety of solution-based arguments. Bidikmisi program is also done based on the pattern of dialectics (musyawarah) which was run previously with the community by way of the President immediately went to school and also discussed with the Ministry of Education and Culture.

Beside the various arguments, hortatory variety is also widely used by President SBY and Jokowi in their speech. The variety of hortatory used in the state speeches contains speeches containing solicitation or advice. Speeches with this variety of hortatory can also be expressions that reinforce the decision to be more convincing. The following is an example of an excerpt from President SBY's speech addressing the education program using a variety of hortatory.

Nah, pesan saya, pendidikan, pendidikan juga harus menyumbang agar bangsa ini tetap rukun, baik. Bangsa kita sangat majemuk, akar konflik di mana-mana. Lihat sejarah kita, sejak 45 bahkan sebelum 45. Konflik, benturan, persaingan, kekerasan horisontal. Kita harus mengubah through education. Jadi, kalau jangka panjang pendidikan kita seperti itu, itu yang yang fundamental, kemudian kita punya blue print menuju 2045 yang saya katakan tadi, through education, pendidikan dasar, university, semua ke situ. Maka berarti pendidikan kita menjadi penyumbang utama, menjadi jalur atau poros utama untuk menuju Indonesia 2045 sebagaimana yang Lemhannas sampaikan tadi. (RRSBY-15)

Text translation:

Well, my message, education, education should also contribute to this nation to stay harmonious, good. Our nation is very diverse, the root of conflict everywhere. Look at our history, since 45 even before 45. Conflict, collision, competition, horizontal violence. We have to change through education. So, if our long-term education is that which is fundamental, then we have a blue print towards 2045 that I said before, through education, basic education, university, all to it. So our education becomes the main contributor, becoming the main path or axis to get to Indonesia 2045 as Lemhannas said earlier. (RRSBY-15)

From the data of the above, President SBY tries to present his opinion by using a variety of hortatory containing the content of advice or message about the importance of education in creating harmony amid plurality and strengthened by the explanation of the role of education as a major contributor in advancing Indonesia in 2045. In this matter, President SBY has a clear vision that education is the main capital in advancing the nation of Indonesia from the slump of all fields, ranging from economic, social, political, and others. Likewise with President Jokowi also views the

importance of education by giving advice through his speech, for example through a program of appreciation to the principal of integrity in running the national exam, as in the example of the following state speech quotation.

Meskipun penghargaan ini didasarkan pada kejujuran dan integritas sekolah dalam penyelenggaraan ujian nasional, saya berharap Bapak-Ibu Kepala Sekolah akan menjaga kejujuran dan integritas sekolah dalam semua aspek kehidupan sekolah, semua aspek kesehari-harian di sekolah. Saya juga berharap anak-anak kita jangan hanya ditambah dengan buku-buku yang semakin tebal, sehingga tas anak-anak kita semakin hari semakin berat. Kalau anaknya kecil, kurus, bawa tas gede dengan buku yang berat, aduh saya melihat. Tapi anak-anak kita harus dibekali dengan pendidikan etika, pendidikan budi pekerti, pendidikan karakter, pendidikan mentalitas, pendidikan etos kerja yang baik, yang sering kita lupakan. Jadikan sekolah sebagai tempat terbaik untuk membangun karakter bangsa. (RRJW-19)

Text translation:

Although this award is based on the honesty and integrity of the school in administering the national exam, I hope the Principals will keep the school's honesty and integrity in all aspects of school life, all aspects of daily life at school. I also hope that our children should not only be added to the books that are getting thicker, so the bags of our children are getting heavier. If the child is small, skinny, carry a big bag with a heavy book, ouch I see. But our children must be equipped with ethics education, character education, character education, mentality education, good work ethic education, which we often forget. Make school as the best place to build nation character. (RRJW-19)

From the excerpt of State Jokowi's speech quotes above, stresses the importance of honesty and integrity values within the school environment. With such a variety of hortatory, President Jokowi invites principals to always instill the values of character education in schools so as to create future generations that can build Indonesia better. The main characteristic presented by President Jokowi is character education which is actually the same as President SBY which also emphasizes the importance of education in development. Of particular concern is that in the era of President Jokowi there were so many budget cuts in budgets both in Kemendikbud and in Kemenristekdikti recently, due to reasons to fund transportation infrastructure. The education budget of 20% of the APBN which, in its entirety, only spends the salaries of teachers and staff in the education sector, is now added to the many cuts in the education budget. This shows that President Jokowi is concerned with education through character education as a means of imaging in order to achieve his work program in building transportation infrastructure which mostly result from investment or debt of several parties from other countries.

Various expositions are also used by President SBY and Jokowi, but the intensity is not so much. The expository or expositative expression used contains opinions of an explanatory view so that listeners or readers understand a given

phenomenon. The expository purpose of exposition provides knowledge, broadens the view, or explains a subject. The following is an excerpt from President Jokowi's state speech in using the exposition.

Di sektor pendidikan, sekarang ini sedang dilakukan percepatan pembagian Kartu Indonesia Pintar di seluruh pelosok tanah air. Perhatian pemerintah terutama diberikan kepada anak usia sekolah 6-21 tahun dari keluarga tidak mampu. Melalui KIP, diberikan jaminan untuk mendapatkan layanan pendidikan dasar sampai menengah, pendidikan formal dan nonformal, termasuk untuk mendapatkan keterampilan dari lembaga kursus/BLK. Selain itu, juga sosialisasi nilai-nilai keutamaan dan pendidikan karakter pada anak didik. Pemerintah juga berusaha untuk meningkatkan kesejahteraan guru yang mengabdikan di daerah-daerah terpencil, pulau-pulau terdepan, dan wilayah-wilayah perbatasan. (RRJW-54)

Text translation:

In the education sector, there is now an accelerated distribution of Smart Card Indonesia in all corners of the country. Government attention is mainly given to 6-21 year-olds from poor families. Through KIP, a guarantee is provided for primary to secondary education, formal and non-formal education, including skills acquisition from the course institution/BLK. In addition, also socialization values of virtue and character education in students. The government is also working to improve the welfare of teachers who serve in remote areas, outlying islands, and border areas. (RRJW-54)

From the data of the above, it can be explained that President Jokowi tried to explain the Smart Card Indonesia Program (KIP) starting from the KIP, the KIP target, the objectives of the KIP, and the information about the improvement of teacher welfare. For information about improving the welfare of teachers more to the informative variety that has the power of opinion that doubts the community because it is not accompanied by data. This is in accordance with the results of research conducted by Ricky (2015, pp. 1-13) that President Jokowi is very good at using the ethos with the characteristics of simple and *prorakyat* people with educational programs performed, the use of *patos* using facts he found when down to the field, and use *logos* uses the facts of the program on Healthy Indonesia Card and Smart Card Indonesia as a concrete proof of the program.

The use of various arguments, hortatory, exposition, and dramatic by the President of RI in the reform era, in delivering educational program shows that the President of RI and their working team really make a state speech for the purpose of not only listeners understand the message, but the community is actively involved in running an educational program. The working team of the President of the Republic of Indonesia in the preparation of state speech, especially President SBY and Jokowi, is for President SBY compiled with Daniel Sparringga (Special Staff of Presidential Political Communication Field), Dadan Wildan (Presidential Expert Staff), Julian Aldrin Pasha (Presidential Spokesman), and Bambang Sudibyo and Mohammad Nuh (Minister of Education and Culture) and related ministers. However, SBY is a different president because he prefers to write his own manuscript of speech and of course get input from

relevant ministers in mapping issues raised. While the drafting team of President Jokowi is by Substantif Team include: Head Office Presidential Staff Luhut Pandjaitan, Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno L.P. Marsudi, Mensegneg Pratikno, Cabinet Secretary Andi Widjajanto assisted by Rizal Sukna (Executive Director of Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)), Toten Masduki (Special Staff of Cabinet Secretary), Sukirdi Rinakit, Soegeng Sarjadi Syndicate, Darmawan Prasodjo (Deputy I of Monitoring and Evaluation of the Office of Presidential Sataf), and Yanuar Nugroho (Deputy II for Management and Priority Program of Presidential Staff Office), Anies Baswedan and Muhadjir Effendy (Minister of Education and Culture), Muhammad Nasir (Minister of Research, Technology , and Higher Education (Research and Technology Directorate), and the minister related to the topic of the state speech.

The various arguments, hortations, expositions, and dramatics used also point to the government's performance in education and the government's plan to solve the educational problems in Indonesia so that whatever way the government does in solving the educational problems is accepted by the community. For example, character education programs that must be included in the school curriculum so that changing the content again in the curriculum becomes a problem for teachers themselves in Indonesia. Though from time immemorial character education already exist in every learning at school. This is inevitably done by the teachers although in fact the teachers are still confused with the curriculum content changes and learning applications run by teachers just like learning in the previous era is different only learning planning documents such as syllabus and RPP as a complement to the administration.

Based on the results of the research can be obtained formulas in preparing the state speech in particular in determining the range of rhetoric, namely the argumentation variety of 54.25%, hortatory variety of 31.21%, exposition variety of 5.32%, variety of persuasion of 4.25%, informative variety of 2.48%, narrative variety of 1.06%, descriptive variety of 0.71%, and dramatic variety of 0.35%, and procedural variety of 0.35%. This is in contrast to Baryadi (2002, pp. 9-14) opinion which explains that the rhetorical variety is not merely in the form of argumentation, hortatory, exposition, persuasion, informative, narrative, descriptive, dramatic, and procedural. However, the rhetorical variety also consists of a variety of regulative, humorous, and journalistic varieties.

The state speeches were prepared by President SBY and Jokowi with their working team from related ministers, presidential special staffs, cabinet secretary, special staff of relevant ministries, and parties related to the theme of the speech to be delivered. Preparation of the state speech of the President of the reform era, especially President SBY and Jokowi is divided into two types, namely the preparation of official speech and unofficial speech. Preparation for both types of speech is the same, which is composed with the stage of discovery with the team composing state speech, compilation, style, memory, and delivery. What distinguishes it is the way of delivery, when the official speech is delivered manuscript, while the unofficial speech is delivered in memoriter and extempore. The state speech of the President of the Republic of Indonesia in this case can be said to be in the form of speech manuscripts (using text), memoriter (remembering verbatim), and extempore (preparatory outline topics only or out line) in which some types of speeches use text, minimal outline or topics to be conveyed so special preparation is required.

The variety of rhetoric used by President SBY and Jokowi in the reform era has its own uniqueness, but the variety of rhetoric that dominates or can be said must be present in a state speech that is in the introduction using hortatory, the body uses the variety of argumentation, hortatory. While such exposition, dramatic, informative, procedural, persuasive, and narrative acts as a complement in the State of the Republic of Indonesia's speech in the reform era. Some of these are based on the details of the use of the various rhetoric contained in the State of President SBY's speech, namely: 1) in the introduction using the variety: (a) hortatory as much as 18 paragraphs; (b) informative as much as 2 paragraphs; (c) procedural of 1 paragraph; (d) 2 paragraphs of argument; and (e) persuasion of 1 paragraph. 2) On the trunk or content using the variety: (a) argument of 86 paragraphs; (b) hortatory of 26 paragraphs; (c) the exposition of 12 paragraphs; (d) persuasion of 5 paragraphs; (e) narrative of 3 paragraphs; (f) informative 2 paragraphs; and (g) descriptive two paragraphs. Then, 3) the cover section uses a variety of: (a) hortatory of 15 paragraphs; (b) persuasion of 5 paragraphs; (c) argumentation of 4 paragraphs; and (d) informative by 1 paragraph. Furthermore, the range of rhetoric contained in President Jokowi's political speech, namely: 1) in the introduction using the variety: (a) hortatory as much as 14 paragraphs and (b) arguments as much as 4 paragraphs. 2) On the trunk or content using the variety: (a) argument of 54 paragraphs; (b) hortatory of 7 paragraphs; (c) exposition of 3 paragraphs; (d) dramatic as much as 1 long dialogue. Then, 3) the cover section uses a variety of: (a) hortatory of 8 paragraphs; (b) 3 paragraphs of argument; (c) informative 2 paragraphs; and (d) persuasive by 1 paragraph.

From the use of the rhetorical variant used by President SBY and Jokowi in his state speech, it has a connection with the results of Budd study (2016, p. 140) against Jonathan Charteris-Black's latest book "Analysing Political Speeches: Rhetoric, Discourse and Metaphor" in public especially in political discourse, the success of the speaker is determined by the arrangement of emotion and reason for moral character. The emotion used by President SBY in his state speech when it is associated with the more dominant use of rhetoric in the form of argumentation shows that President SBY tries to provide an important educational issue in the development of Indonesian society so that it is necessary to improve the welfare of teachers. By providing strategic issues and strong reasons, it provides an emotional bond between the speaker and the audience to draw the public's attention. Likewise with President Jokowi create an emotional connection with the listener community by presenting the issue of education obtained when it comes directly to the field and presents the reasons for the importance of character education and educational equity, especially education in disadvantaged areas. President Jokowi also has a distinctive character in emotional relationships with the listener community that uses dramatic variations that give the impression that as president has a role and function as a service of the people.

The emotions formed by President Yudhoyono and Jokowi in each of his state speeches are also supported by the ability to manage reason by presenting various varieties of rhetoric, both in the form of hortatory, argumentation, exposition, dramatic, informative, and persuasive. In presenting the various rhetoric, President SBY and Jokowi give the strategy of presenting the speech with knowledge possessed with related to experience in everyday life and provide solution with real education program. For example, President SBY, in his state speech attributes the importance of education with the experience of his life living in the area of deprivation and raised in

the family of teachers who need a struggle for life. The experience is then linked to the knowledge that education is the key to success and the most interesting is the President SBY provides solutions in overcoming education that is with some educational programs, ranging from Bidikmisi Program, Scholarship Program at the S-1, S-2, and S-3 both domestically and abroad, as well as many other educational programs.

Likewise with President Jokowi able to pack sense by providing knowledge and experience during the mayor and governor that character education becomes decisive in the success of education and provide solutions with priority-scale education programs such as Smart Card Indonesia and improving the welfare of teachers in remote areas, islands, and border areas. Although the results of research conducted by Warburton (2016, p. 317) explain that President Jokowi as a product of the new order which prioritizes the program of improving Indonesia's infrastructure and providing public services, seems less acceptable because President Jokowi also prioritizes the improvement of the quality of education from the program the education it undertakes. For that, in every state speech, President Jokowi and also President SBY get special attention from the listener community because it is not boring by presenting emotions, knowledge, experience, and solution-based program in delivering every educational program. By providing solution-based program accompanied by fact explanation which has truth value so as to generate trust and high credibility to President Jokowi and SBY.

The state speech as a political discourse has elements of logos, ethos, and pathos (Latif, p. 250). According to Rachmat (2014, p.16) logic or logos, namely the proof of logic derived from the line of argument in the conversation. Ethos or ethics is the proof of ethics in which the speaker's character is manifested through the message. Then, the pathos or emotions, ie the feelings of the speaker being urged on the listener. From this sense, the power of logos of President SBY and Jokowi is really more dominant in every state speech evidenced by using a very dominant argumentation variation. Arguments are compiled based on knowledge and experience during life in family environment and experience as state officials and end with solutions with real work programs in education. The ethos power of President SBY and Jokowi in every state speech is by presenting a trustworthy, close and caring character with the community, and the most prominent is the message of alignment to the poor who need education through the variations of rhetoric used. Then, the power on the pathos or emotions of President SBY and Jokowi that has also been described in the above section, that is giving the argument based on the experience felt during the ordinary society and when running the program directly to the location associated with the knowledge of the importance of education, and dialogue directly with the listener community.

With the characteristics of logos, ethos, and pathos owned by President SBY and Jokowi shows that the state speech delivered not only political discourse as a tool of power alone, but also a tool to provide information that contains the truth to the community about educational programs that have been done and who will be done. This is consistent with the opinion of David (2014, p.167) that political speeches need to communicate the truth by giving a three-part list of arguments, emphases of arguments, and argument reinforcement so listeners applaud. The effect of this applause has been arranged in such a way by President SBY and Jokowi in every ending

the three-part pattern. For example, arguing about the data of the poor, followed by emphasizing the importance of education for the poor, and continued by strengthening the argument by providing a real educational program. By listening to educational programs as a reinforcement of the argument at the third stage then, the listener community will directly respond with applause.

Conclusion

Various rhetoric contained in the speech of the President of the Republic of Indonesia Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo in reformation era especially in the field of education compiled with his team, the argumentation variety, hortatory variety, exposition variety, persuasive variety, informative variety, narrative variety, descriptive variety, and dramatic variety, and procedural variety. By dividing the portion of the use of this variety of rhetoric becomes the basis in teaching the composition of speech that can use variations in the variety of rhetoric. It should be noted that for the dramatic variety can not be used in the type of official speech while other varieties can be used, especially we must be more dominant using the variety of argumentation and inserted by the variety of hortatory because the main characteristic of speech is to use various kinds of argumentation and hortatory.

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