

Comparative Analysis of The State Speeches of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo Using the Aristotelian Perspective

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Abstract: This research aims to compare the rhetoric of SBY & Jokowi's state of the nation speech using Aristotle's perspective. This research uses qualitative methods. The data sources in this study are SBY's state of the nation address (2009-2014) and Jokowi's citizenship speech (2014-2019) taken from Youtube. The findings in this study suggest that SBY tends to use more ethos rhetorical strategies, with a percentage of 42%. SBY seems to be able to present himself in conveying a message to most Indonesian people through various media. As someone who has an excellent personal ethos or character, most Indonesian people consisting of different tribes, religions, races, and factions, fascinated and sympathized with him (effect). Meanwhile, Joko Widodo tends to use pathos rhetorical strategy with a percentage of 38%. From an emotional point of the state, Jokowi is not a person who speaks with passion and a high tone, but Jokowi's communication style is relaxed, clear, but firm and the point is direct. In addition to being rigid in speaking, Jokowi creates the emotional side of his listeners so that the atmosphere is not so tense. Limitations in the study, researchers only use data sources from youtube.

Keyword: *Rhetoric; Speeches; President.*

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INTRODUCTION

Speech delivery is one form of communication ability that conveys specific messages to the public. The pattern of communication through speeches by the President of Indonesia from time to time has its uniqueness. Starting from President Sukarno, an accomplished orator, Sukarno is famous for his enthralling lessons because it is full of new ideas and spirit (Petra & Fowler, 2014). Repetition of words or children's sentences is often done in his speeches. In contrast to Suharto's speeches, more use of symbol languages (Lesmana, 2013). President Suharto's speech was also colored by regional diction and distinctive diction that characterized President Suharto's speech. In terms of language style, President Suharto's discourses were dominated by repetition language style and parallelism language style.

According to Tjipta Lesmana, Suharto's communication patterns in his speeches tend to be orderly and monologues (Petra & Fowler, 2014). Megawati and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono also carried out this style of speech. In Megawati's speeches, she is often tied to the text of her remarks, while SBY is more careful in choosing words and uses a lot of nonverbal movements. Many of

SBY's lessons attempt to defend themselves from his criticisms when appearing in public to deliver speeches. President Joko Widodo is known when appearing in public more popular.

Presidential communication is the President's interaction as an executive with various actors in the presidential system of government through the medium of communication (Heryanto, 2018). Its main actors are primarily legislative and judicial. One of the essential activities for the President is to build and maintain a positive image through the formation of opinions (Malonda, 2020). Public opinion can be formed through messages conveyed by the officers. The statements related can influence public opinion and behavior (internal and external) both on cognitive, affective, and conative aspects. (Marsefio S. Luhukay, 2007). To support the delivery of this message is undoubtedly formed through rhetoric by packing through the provision of the correct information with the right notes (Oktarina, Y., & Abdullah, 2017). Rhetoric, as an art of speech, is a form of communication directed at delivering messages to influence the audience to pay attention to the message conveyed properly (Sutrisno, I., & Wiendijarti, 2015; Syahrir, S., & Manghayu, 2015).

Systematically the science of rhetoric was first developed in Greece (Danus et al., 2014). The first systematic disclosure of the cleverness of speaking in Greek was known as *Techne Rhetoric*, which means the science of the art of speaking (Shahreza, 2016). In the history of the world, precisely the cleverness of speaking or making a speech is the main instrument to influence the masses (Marsefio S. Luhukay, 2007). Language is used to reassure others, and this ability is generally possessed by important figures or politicians such as presidents.

The study of rhetoric refers to how language and symbolic forms affect how people think, feel, and act (Subiakto, 2015). Rhetoric is a tool that people use to convince others with a point of view, a narrow choice between existing alternatives, reaching agreements to be governed, and developing systems and institutions of private and public life. Rhetoric is divided into *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos* (Higgins & Walker, 2012). According to Nimmo, political rhetoric is different from propaganda and advertising (Sanjaya et al., 2018). The term rhetoric is developing with new terms such as speech communication or public speaking (Fadhillah & Irwansyah, 2021). Rhetoric in politics becomes important because if one can properly implement a rhetorical strategy, then it is certain that the person can achieve the desired goal. Rhetoric can also be used in various ways, such as campaign rhetoric and political rhetoric (Sanjaya et al., 2018).

Aristoteles defined rhetoric as an attempt aimed at persuasion. In its implementation, Aristotle's rhetoric uses three elements, namely: *Ethos* (credibility possessed by communicators); *Pathos* (emotions/ feelings of the audience); *Logos* (logical evidence or facts) (Kurniawati, 2019). The political rhetoric intended in this study is rhetoric aimed at politics, where politics itself is who acquires what, when, and how, the division of values by the authorities, power, and holders of power, influence, actions directed to maintain and or expand other activities (Fathurrijal, 2019). Until now, rhetoric has been used in politics. Political propaganda campaigns ahead of elections in a country that embraces democratic government is evidence of the use of rhetoric in the political field (Wahid & Luhur, 2020). Politics leverages rhetoric to influence people with language materials, reviews, and speaking styles that convince voters' attention (Koerniadi, 2019). That propaganda sometimes manages to change the people's stance. Sometimes it doesn't. It depends on the level of education and intelligence of the people who want to be influenced. The rhetorical ability and shrewdness of each candidate can be seen from how much support from the voting public. There are five stages of speech preparation known as the five laws of rhetoric "The Five Cannons of Rhetorica", namely as follows:

Table 1. Canons of Aristotle's Rhetoric

Kanon	Definition	Description
(Invention) Deposit	integration of ways of thinking and argument in a speech	Using logic and evidence in lessons makes a speech text more powerful and persuasive.
Deposit (Drafting)	Organisasi dari pidato	Maintaining the structure of a speech—introduction, torso, conclusion supports the speaker's credibility, adds to the level of persuasion, and reduces frustration in the listener
Elocutio (Pronunciation)	Use of language in speech	The use of style ensures that a speech can be remembered and that the speaker's ideas are clarified.
Pronuntiatio (Penyampaian)	Presentasi dari pidato	effective delivery supports the speaker's words and helps reduce speaker tension
Memoria (Memory)	Storage of information in in the speaker's mind	knowing what is said and when to say it eases the speaker's tensions and allows the speaker to respond to the unexpected

Source: (Fathurrijal, 2019)

The Latin terms in the rhetorical law above are explained by. Subsequently, the Aristoteles then classified the following types of rhetoric.

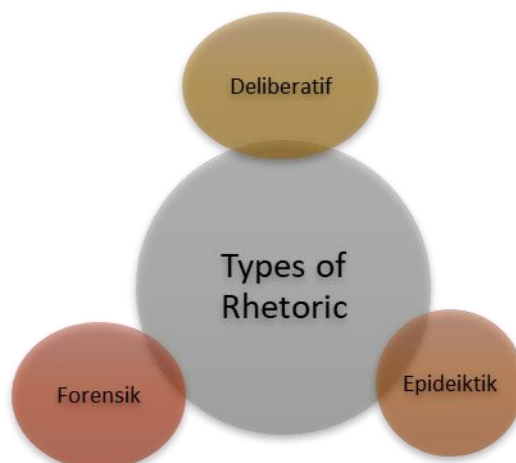


Figure 1: Types of Political Rhetoric

Deliberative rhetoric is designed to influence people on government policy issues by describing the relative advantages and disadvantages of alternative ways of doing things. The focus is on what will happen in the future if specific policies are determined. A politician in this study is required to be able to create and modify expectations for things to come. In the whole stage of politics, we see deliberative rhetoric. Forensic rhetoric focuses on what happened in the past to show guilt or innocence, accountability, or punishment and reward. The setting is usually a courtroom, but it happens elsewhere. Demonstrative rhetoric is a discourse that praises and drops. This rhetoric is also often referred to as epithetical rhetoric. The goal is to reinforce a person's good and destructive nature, an institution, or an idea. Political campaigns are full of demonstrative rhetoric as one side challenges the other's qualifications for office within the government. Editorial endorsements by newspapers, magazines, television, and radio also follow a demonstrative line, reinforcing the positive traits of the candidate they support and the negative traits of its opponent.

Based on the theoretical framework above, the author also authored previous research to develop studies on rhetoric. In research conducted by Fathurrijal (2019), analysis of the application of rhetorical principles on the debate stage between the candidates for governor of

DKI Jakarta 2017 this writing photographs the atmosphere of rhetorical abilities of the contestants who competed for the governor's seat and the deputy governor's seat in 2017. Further in the research conducted by Marsefio S. Luhukay, (2007) *President SBY and political imaging: Analysis of The Text of President SBY's Speech with Aristotle's Rhetorical Approach*, the findings in the examination of the Most Influential Presidential Speech Text for the audience is ethos. The introduction section strongly reflects the ethos side, which aims to strengthen the communicator's credibility. There are three aspects of Ethos: Intelligence, Character, and Good Intentions. These three aspects are contained in the speeches of President SBY, and the most dominant and powerful is the Character aspect. This is reflected in the sentences in his speech that portray him as an honest and trustworthy person with empathy for society.

In research Aritonang (2018) about the rhetorical style of the candidate pair governor & deputy governor DKI Jakarta in the political debate, this paper found a pattern of Agus Yudhoyono's rhetorical style combines the rhetorical style of advice, bureaucratic. Pure Sylviani puts forward the bureaucratic style, formal and advice. Basuki Tjahjana Purnama tends to be more scattered because it combines an open, bureaucratic manner. While Djarot is more come to the fore with a bureaucratic rhetorical style and advice. Anies Baswedan is very strong with the personal aspect of branding and the combination of bureaucracy and advice. Sandiaga Uno leads more to rhetoric to accentuate personal branding. Next in the research Koerniadi, (2019) *On the politics of populism - the controversial paradox of public communication in the post-truth era* this paper presents a reflective critical analysis of an approach that describes research that focuses on the controversial side of Trump's public communication as well as the rhetoric it delivers.

Based on the theoretical framework, the comparison of presidential political communication styles includes elements of rhetorical (artistic) means, namely ethos (speaker, President), content and communication media (logos), audience (pathos), and 3 (three) rhetoric or communication styles. Politics is forensic, deliberative, or epidemic. The practice of presidential government according to the 1945 Constitution for the period 2009-2019 has not only an impact on the stability of presidential government, but also the consolidation of democracy, including the holding of elections - Pilleg, Pileg, and Pilkada - which are safe, peaceful, and democratic during the period 2009-2019.

Given the importance of rhetoric as part of the knowledge included in the discipline of communication knowledge, especially the communication of government, the researchers are interested in observing the comparison of the rhetoric of SBY & Jokowi's state speech during the reign of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in the first period between 2009 to 2014 and President Joko Widodo in the first period, namely between 2014 to 2019. This restriction is done to make a balanced comparison between the two presidents. President Joko Widodo's second term between 2019 and 2024 is still ongoing.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is descriptive research with a qualitative approach that uses qualitative content analysis methods (Aritonang, 2018). The subject of the study was a national speech by SBY and President Joko Widodo. In comparison, the research object is the rhetorical style of SBY and President Joko Widodo. Data recordings of national speeches by both presidents were obtained through youtube. The following data sources were taken from youtube.

Table 2. Data Source

Data Source (Youtube)	Speech Title
Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	SBY: Let's Be an Optimist Nation, Don't Easily Complain; SBY's National Speech,
	SPECIAL REPORT: State Speech of Indonesian
	Complain; SBY's National Speech SBY's State Speech - Kompas Afternoon August 15, 2014
	President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono
	State Speech Part 9 "SBY's Service to Indonesia"
	President SBY's State Speech Before the Joint Session of the DPR and DPD
	State Speech Part 1 "Transformation of the Indonesian Nation"
	Respect Mr. Sby Final Speech as President of the Republic of Indonesia.
Joko Widodo	President Jokowi's State Speech
	LIVE President's State of the Union
	FULL! President Joko Widodo's State Speech
	Special Report: President Jokowi's First Speech
	FULL] President Jokowi's State Speech at the Joint Session of the DPD-DPR
	State Speech of the President of the Republic of Indonesia in the Context of the 74th Anniversary of Indonesian Independence, August 16, 2019

Furthermore, the data is analyzed using tools from Nvivo 12 Plus software.(Misran, Arissy Jorgi Sutan, 2021; Misran, Kurnaedi et al., 2021). The process of analyzing data can be seen from the following images:

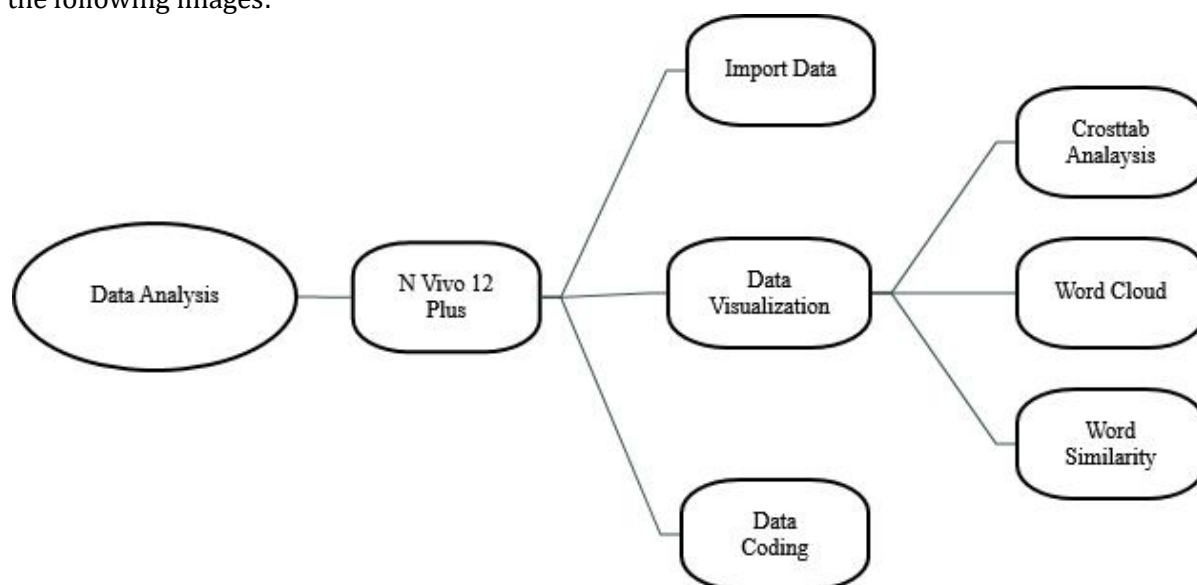


Figure 2. Data Analysis

DISCUSSION

There are two aspects to be aware of in this rhetoric: first, knowledge of the language and excellent use. Second, the inside of a particular object will be conveyed using good vocabulary. In Aristotle's view, rhetoric is an available tool of persuasion. That is, a speaker interested in persuading his audience should consider three rhetorical proofs, Logic (Logos), Emotion (Pathos), and Ethics/credibility (Ethos).

Aristotle said that an oration or speech could be compelling, so the orator or speaker must follow the guidance or principles of rhetoric Aristoteles calls it a canon, for address or lesson to be more evocative, these rules or laws must be applied, these canons have been widely used in some

speaking situations. In this finding, researchers visualized data from the results of SBY and Jokowi's speeches.

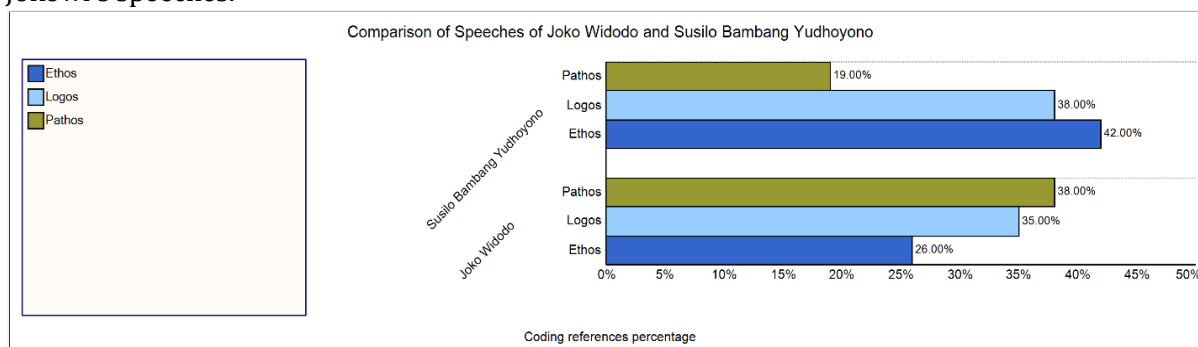


Figure: 3 Comparison of Speeches of Joko Widodo and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono

Based on the picture above, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and Joko Widodo gave some rhetorical styles at the national speech. Figure two shows that SBY tends to use ethos rhetorical strategies more, with a percentage of 42%. SBY seems to be able to present himself (sending a message to most Indonesians through various media) as someone who has *ethos* or good personal character, so that most Indonesians (recipients of messages) consisting of multiple tribes, religions, races, and groups, fascinated and sympathize with him (effect).

"If God willing this year we achieve growth of 6% then actually our efforts since 1998 remember before our growth crisis 6-7%, the crisis drop minus 13%, the distraction is about 21% collapse. We unite determination even though the atmosphere is not easy, both we feel that time. Rise slowly, finally starting to approach 6%. Suppose this year or next year we achieve a return to growth of 6% and more. In that case, we are grateful that, of course by being distributed fairly, the equalization will lift many things even unemployment, reduce poverty, increase people's purchasing power and others."

According to Aristotle, the ethos side in the introductory section aims to foster the credibility of the communicator (in this study is, President SBY). Aristotle said that the act of rhetoric is not only enough armed with convincing arguments but must also be able to display the communicator as a credible and trustworthy communicator. He further said that the credibility of communicators could be obtained by displaying three characteristics, namely: (a) intelligence, (b) character, and (c) Goodwill. What Aristotle referred to as intelligence is not in the sense of brain intelligence or intelligence but is interpreted as the audience's perception of the standard view between the communicator and his audience on the conveyed issue. The more the communicator can display the impression that his views or opinions of an issue are more or less the same as what is perceived by his audience, the more arguments will be more acceptable. According to Aristotle, the most powerful influence is ethos motivated by track record, good will, good intention, and hidden agenda. Namely, in the speech of President SBY, he said a sentence like this:

"A year ago, on April 17, 2006, we were in this room, most of us doing the same activity. To the brothers who afterward assumed the duties of the brethren all over the country, whom I know is full of problems and challenges and who I know most of the tasks have been well carried out. On behalf of the government, I express my highest gratitude and appreciation".

Second, the rhetorical style used by SBY uses a logos approach with a percentage of 38%. The rhetorical side of logos by SBY refers to what Aristotle said that all the numbers, graphs, and claims are the result of scientific research and are elements of the logos in the rhetorical process. All the evidence is presented to the audience to see this argument as a logical and reasonable argument because it is acceptable to the truth.

Third, the rhetorical style of SBY pathos with a percentage of 19%, in President SBY's speech, this aspect of pathos is seen in the following:

"For the brothers who last year have not been in this place who were elected to the regional leadership whether the Governor, Regent, and Mayor I congratulate, happy duty, good work. Perform your duties and obligations with a sense of responsibility as the people in your district who voted in the election of the regional head hope that his fate and future will improve and let us continue our hard work. The trust is given by the people to us as well as possible" (Marsefio S. Luhukay, 2007).

From the content of SBY's speech, there is an element of arousing feelings or emotions from the audience and good emotional bonds with most Indonesian people SBY. Meanwhile, Joko Widodo tends to use pathos rhetorical strategy with a percentage of 38%. From the emotional side, Jokowi is not a person who speaks passionately and in a high tone, but Jokowi's communication style is relaxed, clear but firm, and at its core direct. In addition to being tight in speech, Jokowi created an emotional side of the listeners so that the atmosphere was not so tense. Tension can be lost due to the influence of pleasure from the audience. As West asserts, listeners can judge differently when they are affected by feeling happy, sick, hateful, or fearful. Here's the content of Jokowi's speech.

"I have always said we are a great nation on many occasions. Once again, Indonesia is a great nation. Big, not just because of its population of more than 250 million people. Great, not just because it has 17 thousand islands. Great, not just because of abundant natural resources. But, because this nation has been tested by history, the greatness of Indonesia can remain firmly united until the age of 72 years. While in some other countries, beset by violent conflicts between the two countries, interfaith divisions, inter-religious conflicts, we are grateful that we remain united in the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, which is single-minded. Even today, we are a reference for many countries to manage diversity and build unity. We are a nation of fighters who dare to fight with their strength for independence. We seize freedom thanks to the struggle of our heroes, our scholars, leaders of our religions, and fighters from all corners of the archipelago".

In the content of his speech, Jokowi used a lot of motivating language style with a calm and straightforward voice intonation. Judging from that, the pathos element has also been applied in the rhetoric of Jokowi's speech.

Second, Joko Widodo's rhetorical strategy is logos with a percentage of 35%, which is one of the three logical proofs or use of arguments and evidence in a speech. It is more effectively proven in Jokowi's speech. According to Demirdögen, logos can make logic interested, so persuasion can be done by providing evidence or concrete evidence by using logos.

"As a large nation with the largest Muslim population globally, has hundreds of tribes and thousands of islands, Indonesians must be confident of achieving progress, catching up, and realizing success. We must believe in the strength of our nation. There is a lot of evidence to suggest that we are capable of progress. We used to be afraid of the entry of foreign banks into our country. It turns out that our national banks can compete and have now become big, modern banks. We have an incredible power that is young people. Many of our young people are Olympic champions of mathematics, physics, and biology. Our young people have shown their achievements, ranging from being champions of the Quranic hafidz, excelling in robotics, being very innovative as start-ups, and being creative in their audience to the world stages. (Aziz, 2017)".

In rhetorical analysis, the appeal of logos can be identified from argumentation, logic, justification, claims, data, and evidence (Hidayat, 2021). Aristoteles attributed logos to the content

or rational content of speech. Logos can also be interpreted as a sensible defense related to verbal arguments in the speech section. Elements of this logos aim to prove something (McQuail, 2010). Logos are also elements of persuasion, invented or worked on, with artistic means to influence the audience, effectiveness given based on the absolute truth. In President Jokowi's speech, the content of the address was based on facts and concrete evidence. The second element of logos as concrete and rational evidence in speech has been applied.

Third, ethos with a percentage of 26% refers to the perceived character, intelligence, and goodwill of a speaker related to ethics or credibility. The background of Jokowi, an ordinary civilian, and the difficulties he has experienced in the past create a popular figure because he dares to approach his people to the bottom layer and dare to jump directly into the field to meet his people. This can be seen from the narrative content of Joko Widodo's speech in 2014 when he was elected President:

“The next five years will be the right momentum for us as an independent nation. Therefore, work, work, and work are the main ones. I want to work hard, and cooperation will be able to protect the entire Indonesian nation and all Indonesian blood from improving the general welfare of the life of the nation and participating in implementing world order based on the independence of lasting peace and social justice”.

From the analysis of the rhetoric of SBY and Joko Widodo's speech, the content of the address was then analyzed using a word cloud to find out the narratives that are often delivered during the speech.

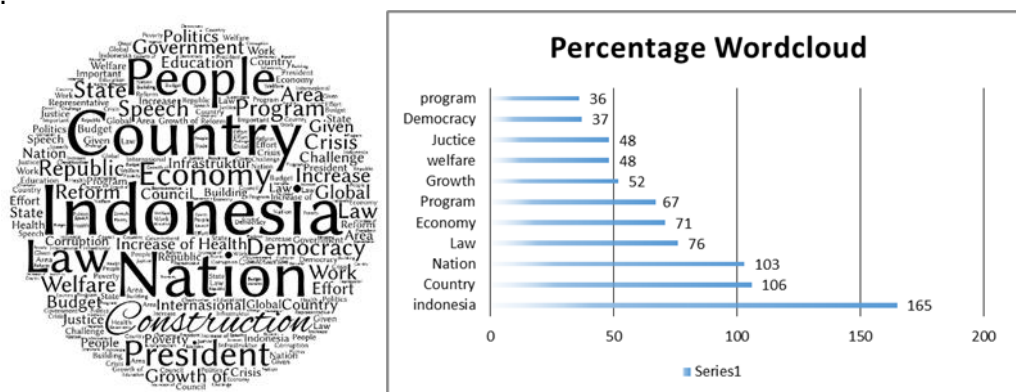


Figure 4: Word Cloud SBY

Based on the figure above, the content of SBY's most dominant speech is about Indonesia, Nation, Country, Law, Economics, Law, program, growth, welfare, Justice, Democracy. In his state of the nation address, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono highlighted a lot about the economy, economic development, law, welfare, various. So in his last state of the nation address, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono raised various successes during his ten years in government, including economics, politics, and law. During President Yudhoyono's reign, Indonesia's development was marked by stable politics, relatively high economic growth, and more substantial national unity. While in law enforcement, SBY said his government succeeded in combating corruption. In his last speech, SBY, among others, gave examples of having signed 176 permits for the examination of regional heads and officials suspected of a crime. The President also raised success in economic development marked by average growth of 5.9% in 2009-2013. (Indonesia, 2014).

Furthermore, the analysis of the narrative of national speech that Joko Widodo often uses can be seen the following:

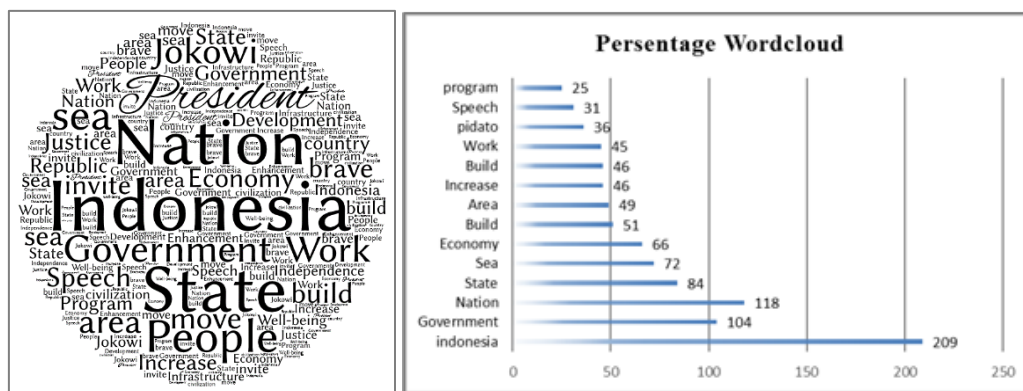


Figure 5: Word Cloud Joko Widodo

Based on the picture above, the narrative of the speech rhetoric that Joko Widodo often uses at the national address. The most dominant words used are Indonesia, Government, Nation, State, Sea, Economy, build, Area, Increase. From the narrative of the state of the nation address, President Jokowi often mentions Indonesia is the largest island nation in the world that has the potential to become the World Maritime Axis. The World Maritime Axis aims to make Indonesia a large, strong, and prosperous maritime country by returning Indonesia's identity as a maritime nation, safeguarding naval interests and security, empowering marine potential to realize Indonesia's economic equality.

The World Maritime Axis countries will include the construction of maritime processes from infrastructure, political, socio-cultural, legal, security, and economic aspects. Upholding the sovereignty of the NKRI sea area, revitalizing marine economic sectors, strengthening and developing maritime connectivity, rehabilitation of environmental damage and biodiversity conservation, and improving the quality and quantity of marine human resources, are the leading programs to realize Indonesia as the world's maritime axis.

CONCLUSION

Based on the research results on SBY's rhetorical study on national speeches and Joko Widodo found that SBY tends to use ethos rhetoric strategies with a percentage of 42%. SBY seems to be able to present himself sending a message to most Indonesians through various media as a person who has a good ethos or personal character, so that most Indonesians (recipients of messages) consisting of multiple tribes, religions, races, and groups, fascinated and sympathize with him (effect). Meanwhile, Joko Widodo tends to use pathos rhetorical strategy with a percentage of 38%. From the emotional side, Jokowi is not a person who speaks passionately and in a high tone, but Jokowi's communication style is relaxed, clear but firm, and at its core direct. In addition to being tight in speech, Jokowi created an emotional side of the listeners so that the atmosphere was not so tense. Limitations in the study, researchers only use data sources from youtube.

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