# Contents

Preface	9
Acknowledgments	11
List of Figures and Tables	13
PART I: Rhetorical analysis in times of professional Political Marketing	
1. Persuasion replacing physical force? The rhetorical approach to political communication in post-Suharto Indonesia	17
Normative grounds: Rhetoric and the classical idea of the democratic forum	17
Theoretical framework of this study	19
Previous approaches to the study of Indonesian political rhetoric	21
Rhetoric and oral/aural culture	21
Kramanization or madyaisasi?	22
State speech and 'state speak'	27
Research question: Rhetorical patterns of reformulating	• •
the reformasi impulse	28
2. A clash of concepts: Reformasi rhetoric between grassroots protest	
and professional Political Marketing	30
Genres of the protest movement	30
The notion of Political Marketing in self-representations	
of reformasi politicians	33
Historical experiences with Political Marketing in New Order Indonesia Fragmentations, distortions, and other limitations of the political market at the end of the New Order	34 40
	10
PART II: The basic business of reformulating laymen's talk	
3. Aspirasi rakyat: Reformasi topoi at the grassroots level	45

3. Aspirasi rakyat: Reformasi topoi at the grassroots level	45
Depictions of outer decay and falseness (dunia lahir)	46
Lawlessness	47
The black magic of tyranny	52
Economic exploitation	56
Depictions of inner conflict (dunia batin)	59
Appeals for action	61

#### Contents

4. Representing or reformulating grassroots imagery?	
A case study of the metaphorical strategies of Amien Rais	66
A message of inner peace: Islam as answer	66
The rhetoric of the Honest Self	69
The lonely leader and his moral duty	72
Outside order: A universe of neo-traditional imagery	74
The gendered imagery of body and house	74
Family as metaphor	78
Evoking regional identity	81
Cultural modernization	85
Summary	90

## PART III: The advanced level: Employing keywords and humor

5. Condensing imagery to keywords: Keyword strategies in comparison	95
Models of keywords analysis of Indonesian political rhetoric	95
Hussein-Jouffroy (1976): the ignored pioneering study	96
Michael van Langenberg's 40 keywords (1986)	97
Ariel Heryanto (1995)	99
Eriyanto's keywords approach (2000)	102
A new keywords approach: "Computational rhetoric"	105
Sample and methodology	105
Amien Rais' keywords: Modern Islam and leadership	108
The measured keywords of Akbar Tanjung	112
Megawati's few keywords	115
Habibie's keywords: Between saya and dia	118
Saya	119
Dia	121
Nggak, kok, wong, and beyond: Keywords of Gus Dur	122
Summary: Reformasi keywords in comparison	130
6. The humorous strategy in bahasa reformasi:	
A case study of President Wahid's First Performance in a Variety Show	136
Close textual analysis of the interview	139
Overall appearance of jokes	139
Word-level and sentence-level jokes	
Humorous tales	
Gus Dur as Semar: A Javanist interpretation	147
An Islamic career full of Humor: a biographical approach	154
Campaigns around the clowning Gus Dur	157
Bargaining by clowning? Humor as a strategy on the political marketplace	162
Conclusion. The various levels of Bahasa Reformasi	166

6

#### Contents

## Appendix

Glossary	169
Bibliography	173
Journals, newspapers, periodicals, Internet sites	173
Books and articles	173
Index	191

### Preface

This book is the result of a long-drawn research process that began with the profound political changes in Indonesia in 1997/8. After closely following the historical events of the liberalization and democratization process for a while, I realized that the new political situation also had deep impact on the political communication among Indonesians. Personal experiences contributed to this perception, such as my witnessing of the pro-democracy rally that was carried out by Indonesian students in Hamburg the day before President Suharto stepped down from office. Different from my experience with German demonstrations, I saw my Indonesian colleagues and friends reciting poems at that occasion – a textual genre that I had considered not to be of central political importance until that event. Other astonishing experiences followed, such as the unprecedented performance of the new Indonesian President, Abdurrahman Wahid, at a televised variety show. In between, I was following closely the political communication distributed via the print media, and I began to ask myself whether all these statements were still indicative of a grass-root level political communication, or were instead much more revealing of a trend towards an increasing professionalization of political campaigning. Also, the question arose to what extent communicative practices from previous political phases, notably the New Order era (1965/6-1998) influenced the political rhetoric of the reformasi era that began in 1997/8 and that lasted until about 2001 when the first democratically elected Indonesian President, Abdurrahman Wahid, was forced to step down. Thus, I decided to write this monograph on the political rhetoric of post-Suharto Indonesia. Methodologically and theoretically, it builds on my previous books, especially on Indonesische Medienrhetorik. Eine methodologische Fallstudie anhand der Kommentarkolumne "Catatan Pinggir" von Goenawan Mohamad (1998). There, I discussed in some length the theoretical reasons for the expansion of the field of Indonesian literary studies to textual studies, with a special focus on the rhetorical study of texts that are not considered to be "high literature", such as media texts or political statements. Nevertheless, these texts are quite influential for the communicative patterns of many Indonesians. In some cases, these "useful" genres constitute the majority of genres many Indonesians encounter in their daily lives. Thus, the study of these genres is quite relevant for the understanding of the textual practices in the Malay-Indonesian world. In terms of academic discipline, my approach is mainly based within textual studies, although it also has close relations to the study of political communication, to media studies, and to other humanities and social sciences. In this sense, I hope that my findings might be also of interest to scholars in these neighboring academic disciplines.