

## **Syntactic analysis on the consistency of Jokowi's rhetorical strategy as president and presidential candidate**

**Rachmat Kriyantono**

School of Communication  
Brawijaya University Malang, Indonesia  
Email: [rachmat\\_kr@ub.ac.id](mailto:rachmat_kr@ub.ac.id)

**Abstract** – This study aims to describe President Jokowi's rhetorical strategies during the 2019 campaign on Instagram and its consistency with the rhetorical strategy as president. Rhetoric is not just a speech strategy, not a speech that tends to lie to manipulate or control people, and not talk much without action. Because of political competition, it can be concluded that the use of words and sentences (syntax) as rhetorical strategies also competes in building a positive image. Syntactic analysis was conducted to describe the categories of use of words and sentences as a rhetorical strategy to build a positive image. The method used was content analysis of 508 Instagram posts during the campaign period. Social media is a new innovation in spreading messages of rhetoric in the form of words and sentences more quickly and easily accessing them. The interview method was also conducted on President Jokowi's communication team to find out how these rhetorical strategies were carried out in order to prove the consistency between rhetorical strategies during campaigns and rhetorical strategies as a President. The results of this study confirm that not all rhetorical strategies are used, but, only the use of positive rhetoric to build a positive image. Syntactic analysis shows that Jokowi-Amin does not use negative words and sentences. Not all rhetorical strategies for building imagery are displayed on Instagram, namely @ jokowi.amin does not use intimidation and self-depreciation strategies. The interviews also display that the rhetoric strategies during campaigns are consistent with the president's strategies.

Keywords: instagram, public relations, rhetoric, social media

## 1. Introduction

Rhetoric is the strategy of individuals or organizations in producing symbols to construct certain meanings and using them in composing messages that influence the meaning of others towards individuals and organizations (Heath, 2005; Kriyantono, 2017). Rhetoric is not just a speech strategy, not a speech that tends to lie to manipulate or control people, and not talk much without action (Foss, 2009; Heath, 2005). Rhetoric is an informative and persuasive message strategy, using all kinds of symbolic uses, such as public discourse; verbal-nonverbal; and visualization, not just speech, is done by individuals and or organizations in various contexts (Cisneros, McCauliff & Beasley, 2009; Hartelius & Browning, 2008; Kriyantono, 2015; Littlejohn, Foss, & Oetzel, 2017).

Based on the above description, the 2019 presidential election is one of the contexts in which the presidential inter-candidate rhetoric strategy battles occur. Each candidate must have a strategy for managing attractive campaign messages to enhance a positive image and understanding relationship with voters (Egeham, 2018; Zhacky, 2018). From a rhetorical perspective, the strategy of formulating campaign messages can be called a rhetorical strategy in the campaign.

The establishment of a positive image and mutual understanding between candidate and voters through a rhetorical strategy, adopting Lampe (2010), is the realm of political public relations, namely public relations for political activities. Composing messages is the core of communication activities (Griffin, 2013) and management of communication between individuals or organizations with the public is called public relations (Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Kriyantono, 1917). Public relations tools play a role in increasing public support needed by politicians (Archana, 2018).

Rhetoric as one of the public relations tools is aimed at building a strong and unambiguous candidate's self-image (De Landtsheer, De Vries & Vertessen, 2008), which according to Garzia (2013), is an important factor to be elected in general elections. De Landtsheer, De Vries and Vertessen (2008) conclude that politicians must leave a good impression through appearance, perception, and personality.

Rhetoric as one of the public relations tools is aimed at building a strong and unambiguous candidate's self-image (De Landtsheer, De Vries & Vertessen, 2008), which according to Garzia (2013), is an important factor to be elected in general elections. Some literature calls that the oldest form of rhetorical symbols were words and sentences which correlated with the demands of fluency speak in the Ancient Greek and Roman eras in order to fulfill the necessities of everyday life (Rakhmat, 1999). Rhetoric was more focused on composing and speaking style for speeches, teaching in class or writing letters in the Middle Ages (Foss, 2009). This fact encourages the author to focus on studying rhetoric in the form of words or sentences, using syntactic analysis, namely the relationship between words that produce certain meanings, arranged as a campaign strategy for presidential candidates Jokowi. The rhetorical strategies must leave a good impression through appearance, perception, and personality.

Because of political competition, it can be concluded that the use of words and sentences (syntax) as rhetorical strategies also compete in building a positive image. Individuals intentionally use communication to create the desired impression of others against him/her (Johansson, 2007; Kriyantono, 2017). The use of words and sentences as rhetorical strategies to build a positive image includes several types of strategies.

Innovation is a tactic of rhetoric so that candidates are considered pleasant and friendly people; Self-promotion is used to produce competent images; Intimidation is used to produce images as people who are strong and able to control the situation; exemplification is words and sentences that state that candidates should be used as examples of behavior; Supplication is used to build the image that candidates also have limitations in helping the community (Annafidin, Damayanti & Komariah, 2017; Bolino & Turney, 2003; Jones & Pittman, 1982; Kriyantono, 2017).

Along with the development of communication technology, rhetoric can be applied by using social media. Rhetoric on social media is not time and space-bound (Kriyantono, 2019). Before the 2019 presidential election, the use of social media had been carried out by many politicians in Indonesia and in other countries (Garzia, 2013). Social media makes interaction and information sharing easier so it is more effective in building relationships between organizations and the public in political communication (Goncalves, 2014). Campaigns on social media increase political participation and support for presidential elections in America (Towner & Munoz, 2018; Cogburn & Vazquez, 2011). Information about presidential candidates in America is mostly obtained from social media, including social media accounts of candidates (Williams, 2017). Campaigns on social media require low costs, are easy to get donations and are faster viral and are known to the public (Ardha, 2014; Judhita, 2015; Kenski, Filler & Conway, 2017). Plus, social media users in Indonesia are among the most in the world (Ardha, 2014).

Social media is a new innovation in spreading messages of rhetoric in the form of words and sentences more quickly and easily access them (Chinnasamy & Manaf, 2018; Hong, 2013; Kriyantono, Destrity, Amrullah, & Rakhmawati, 2017; Rahim & Omar, 2017; Sajithra & Patil, 2013). In addition, many people use social media, especially from the younger generation groups who are categorized as beginner voters (Sucianingsih, 2019). Virtual messages attract public attention during the campaign period (Yani, 2018). Based on the characteristics of both social media and users of social media originating mostly from the younger generation, the first proposition can be formulated that Jokowi's rhetorical strategies in the use of imaging words and sentences on Instagram, during the campaign, contain all rhetorical tactics. The research analyzes the syntax of rhetorical strategies on Instagram because Instagram is the most widely used social media (WeAreSocial, 2018). Presidential candidate Joko Widodo has an Instagram @ jokowi.Amin account with 305,000 followers. This research also aims to analyze the syntax of Jokowi's rhetorical strategy, as president and presidential candidate in building a positive image. As president, Jokowi's rhetorical strategies were formulated by the Presidential Staff Office based on Presidential Regulation No. 26 of 2015, which served as manager of political communication strategies and information dissemination.

The researcher asks whether the use of words as a rhetorical strategy to build an image during the campaign has been consistent with Jokowi's rhetorical strategy as president. Imaging carried out continuously and manifested in real behavior produces reputation, namely the presidential candidate has "that right exists or its existence is recognized by the public" (Veil, Liu, Erickson, & Sellnow, 2005, p. 19). Because Jokowi was successfully re-elected for the second period, the second proposition can be formulated that rhetoric during the campaign is consistent with the communication strategy as a president.

This research contributes to develop public relations studies in the context of the use of words and sentences through social media. There is still little public relations

research in the context of Indonesia, so we need to enrich our studies (Kriyantono & McKenna, 2017).

Table 1 Instruments/Categories

Themes	Indicator	Description
Ingratiation	Favor Doing	Strategies show actions that are liked by others such as smiling, hugging, congratulating, praising others, saying hello, giving sympathy to a situation, expressing gratitude, and other attitudes that show that he is a person full of love and affection
	<i>Self-enchantment</i>	Strategies used to show ability or praise yourself like showing successes that have been achieved
	<i>Other-Enchantment</i>	This strategy is used to give praise to the success of others and express their feeling of joy if other people succeed in something
	<i>Opinion conformities</i>	This strategy can be seen from someone who shows similarity of opinion with other people or a larger organization
Intimidation	<i>Treath</i>	Threats that are given by someone to someone else either directly such as saying directly in front of the person or indirectly for example through a letter, picture or upload
	<i>Anger</i>	Defined as someone who shows anger through words, facial expressions and attitudes so that other people obey and want to help achieve their goals.
Self-promotion	<i>Performance claim</i>	Defined as a tactic that leads to a statement or claim to the ability that is owned by itself and expresses optimism in work.
	<i>Performance account</i>	Strategies that show results and evidence of the performance or ability of a person with the aim of promoting their skills or abilities and confirming their achievements as leaders.
Exemplification	<i>Self-denial</i>	defined as an rhetorical strategy that shows the deterrence of rumors that are hitting him
	<i>Helping</i>	is a strategy both verbally and in deeds to help other people or invite people around to help others who are in need of help
	<i>Militancy</i>	this strategy leads to activities to invite others to act positively through motivation, an invitation to be kind, disciplined and honest
Supplication	<i>Self-depreciation</i>	is a strategy that shows that he is in a state of sadness, disappointment, depression, distress and often complaining
	<i>Entreaties for help</i>	this strategy shows the individual clearly states keingina or asks to be helped in dealing with a problem or when feeling inadequate in a matter and often complains.

## 2. Method

This study applied the content analysis method to analyze the contents of communication messages systematically and objectively. The researcher coding the use of words and sentences posted in the diagram based on the categories built from the theory and interpreting the results of the coding (Kriyantono, 2014; Wimmer & Dominick, 2011).

The analysis categories were compiled based on previous research on rhetorical strategies to build a positive image of Annafidin, Damayanti & Komariah (2017); Jones & Pittman (1982); Bolino & Turney (2003); and Kriyantono (2017), as coding instruments.

The samples of this study were all posts uploaded by Jokowi-Amin Team on each Instagram account feed starting on 7 October 2018 April 14 2019. This period is the presidential campaign period. The researcher used a thematic analysis unit to analyze the contents of words and sentences in Instagram. The text in the photo captions on Instagram were analyzed in their entirety.

In addition, this study also used interviews with the communication team at the Presidential Staff Office, as an institution that helped formulate President Jokowi's policies. The purpose of this interview is to explore data on the consistency of the rhetorical strategy during the campaign with the communication strategy as president, whether the rhetorical strategy is only for imaging when the campaign or strategy is also carried out on a daily basis.

### 3. Results and Discussion

Jokowi's official Instagram campaign (@ jokowi-amin) has 508 uploads during campaign time. From the results of syntactic analysis, namely coding the words and sentences in the captions of the uploaded photos, it was found that not all rhetorical strategies contained tactics as defined in the category. Of the five categories, there is one that is not displayed, namely the Intimidation category (Table 2).

Table 2 Syntax analysis of Jokowi rhetorical strategies

Themes	Sub-themes	F	%	$\Sigma$ %
<b>Ingratiation</b>	<i>Favor Doing</i>	153	35.66	58.74
	<i>Self-enhancement</i>	43	10.02	
	<i>Other-Enhancement</i>	26	6.06	
	<i>Opinion conformities</i>	30	6.99	
<b>Intimidation</b>	<i>Treath</i>	0	0.00	0.00
	<i>Anger</i>	0	0.00	
<b>Self-promotion</b>	<i>Performance claim</i>	70	16.32	39.39
	<i>Performance account</i>	99	23.08	
<b>Exemplification</b>	<i>Self-denial</i>	11	2.56	13.52
	<i>Helping</i>	12	2.80	
	<i>Militancy</i>	35	8.16	
<b>Supplication</b>	<i>Self-depreciation</i>	0	0.00	6.76
	<i>Entreaties for help</i>	29	6.76	

#### ***Ingratiation***

From 508 photo uploads, 252 uploads used the ingratiation theme with the highest percentage (58.74%). That is, Jokowi-Amin uses words or sentences that are meaningful, warm, humorous, and have an attraction. Jokowi-Amin is described as doing images (153 times), namely figures who have closeness to the community, by

displaying photos of people's enthusiasm when meeting them, showing rhyming gestures, such as smiling, embracing the community, taking pictures, and shaking hands or do things that make him liked by society.

The use of words and sentences that mean closeness to the community seems consistent with President Joko Widodo's communication strategy in managing the government. This strategy can also be called a form of rhetorical strategy from the president's communication team. This is related to the statement of the Young Expert Staff of the Presidential Staff Office, Gabriel Sujayanto: "The Office of the Presidential Staff conducts strategic communication with groups that influence policy. Who is strategic communication? Labor, fishing association ... yes, we mean communication is open. The policy is everywhere. Policy regarding minimum wages to workers. At least it's understandable. Political parties are like this, students like criticism. There is a process of political communication ... Sometimes we jump right in, political communication ... labor groups, fishermen. For example ojek, dandim, a group of laborers, midwives, groups such as Islamic mass organizations."

The rhetorical strategy is equipped with photos showing Jokowi shaking hands with a grandparent with captions: "Mr. Jokowi did not choose who he met. Certainly not also choosing who is served. Pak Jokowi is a leader who embraces the people. "The upload is in the category of favorite doing because it shows Jokowi's gesture that is friendly and affectionate to his people coupled with a caption stating that Jokowi is indiscriminate in serving the people and embracing all his people. The grandfather in the photo also showed his excitement when meeting Jokowi which was seen from the smile that was reflected in the upload. This is in accordance with the understanding of favor doing, which is an act that is liked by others.

Self-enhancement is a rhetorical strategy to demonstrate one's own abilities by showing successes that have been achieved. Self-enhancement is used in 43 uploads (10.02%). This strategy shows a lot of the successes of the work program that was achieved when Jokowi served as the 7th president of the Republic of Indonesia together with Jusuf Kalla.

As explained in the following caption: "In 2018 yesterday, 30 windmills were completed in Sidenreng Rappang (Sidrap), South Sulawesi to increase the reach and capacity of electricity for the local community. With the Sidrap windmill, Pak Jokowi targets a 100 percent electrification ratio in South Sulawesi Province. The use of wind as an energy source is one manifestation of Mr. Jokowi's commitment to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 29 percent by 2030, which he submitted in the Paris Agreement".

The Other-enhancement strategy gets a portion of 26 uploads (6.06%). Other-enhancement is used to give praise to other people's success successfully. Examples of rhetorical strategies can be seen in the Instagram post related to the Asian Para Games, which appreciate the achievements of Indonesian athletes, with the words: "Continuing the struggle of the heroes with one passion to make achievements so that Indonesia will become an advanced and sovereign nation".

The president's rhetorical strategy, said the Young Staff of the Presidential Staff Office, Azhary Hafidz, was also formulated by cross-sectoral teams, such as the Office of the Presidential Staff in collaboration with the Ministry of Communication and Information. The expert of the Ministry of Communication and Information, Enda Nasution, explained that the ministry was assisting in the socialization of the Asian games, Enda said, "Because every government activity is carried out, the Communication and Information Commission must be involved. Yesterday the Asian Para Games. One that makes success is viral on social media. It is quite effective and

reaches out” (Interview with Enda Nasution).

The last sub-theme in the theme of integrations are opinion conformities with a total of 30 uploads (6.99%). In this theme, Jokowi shows the similarity of their opinions with a figure or similar opinion with the community. For example, Jokowi uses this rhetorical strategy by agreeing to Yenny Wahid's statement, one of the national figures: "Strong people are not because of their bodies, but because of their mentality. Mr. Jokowi in the eyes of Gus Dur's daughter, Yenny Wahid ... " The captions confirm the words of Yenny Wahid quoted in the picture" What do thin men do? He built infrastructure, bridges, more than 700 thousand bridges in the villages that Mr Jokowi built". Jokowi agrees that thin men like Jokowi are able to build infrastructure, roads and bridges in Indonesia, thus emphasizing that do not underestimate Jokowi because of his size but see Jokowi's mental strength in building Indonesia.

### ***Self-promotion***

The second theme that was also widely used by the Jokowi-Amin pair was self-promotions (169 uploads or 39.39%), consisting of 16.32% performance claims and 23.08% on sub-accounts of performance accounts. Performance claim is a tactic that leads to a person's claim to ability possessed by himself and expresses optimism at work. In this sub-theme of performance claim, Jokowi wants to show the vision and mission that they promised to the community if they are elected President and Vice President, as well as work programs that will provide convenience to the public when choosing them to become president and vice president, such as one of which is a three-card program, namely the Indonesia Pintar-Kuliah card, Cheap Food Packages, and Pre-Work Cards, which are expected to advance education and the level of people's welfare.

Through the caption contained in the upload that reads "In order for Indonesia to progress, the Indonesian people must be empowered. There must be no obstacles to achieving your goals! For this reason, Pak Jokowi made a KIP Lecture to help the nation's children continue their education, Pre-Work KIP to improve their skills and be able to compete in the labor market, and Basic Food Cards to fulfill family nutrition. Really complete, right? Together with Pak Jokowi, programs are directed so that the people are independent and prosperous. So, don't be afraid to fight for your ideals, huh! ", Jokowi-Amin claims to be able to prosper the community, make people become more independent and help them to reach their dreams through the three card magic program.

The rhetorical strategy on Instagram about self-promotion is also consistent with Jokowi's communication strategy as President. Chief Staff Officer of the Office of President Wandy Tatorong explained that he was asked to be the coordinator of the 4-year performance of Jokowi's government. For him, the achievement of government is one of the potential issues that must be arranged narratives and framing it well (Interview with Wandy Tatorong).

The sub-theme of performance accounts contains the rhetoric of the results of work or the ability of a person with the aim of promoting skills or abilities and telling the results of their work as leaders. On the @jokowi.amin Instagram account, it was described through uploads in the form of testimonials given by the community who were satisfied with Jokowi's performance while serving as president.

This rhetorical strategy presents the testimony given by Afi, a language teacher who is bipolar and is required to see a psychiatrist to help deal with his health. But the cost of expensive psychiatrists hinders his intention to do counseling. Thanks to the Healthy Indonesia Card Afi can do counseling. "The doctor said, I had bipolar disorder. So, when I was in school, I often felt 'down' for no apparent reason. The more mature,

the more it becomes. There was a time when I slept always at 2 am, woke up at 5 o'clock for morning prayers, continued working. Don't know why, you can't just sleep, there's always something you think about.

When I confide in my friends, they push *I went to a psychiatrist to be examined, because they thought something was wrong. But the psychiatrist is very expensive. I've found the cheapest psychiatrist, but it's also still above my ability. One month can be up to Rp one million more. Meanwhile, my financial condition was still not stable at that time. I try to find out on the internet whether KIS (Healthy Indonesia Card) can be used for psychological examinations. It turns out you can! I tried going to the Tebet Health Center (Jakarta) and then referred to Poli Sahabat. Immediately handled right away, there is a psychiatrist. From there, I was referred to Tebet Hospital because the facilities were more complete. So I routinely treat it there. With KIS, I also receive medicine every month and free consultation to the doctor regularly. I feel very lucky, because with KIS I can get a lot of relief. Services from doctors are also according to standards. I was examined by a very experienced doctor. I am comfortable consulting with him. Even the doctor gave personal contact so that I could consult personally. Now, I feel very much better. I hope that Mr. Jokowi is elected again to help people who have mental disorders like me. Mr. Jokowi doesn't talk much, but his work feels.* "- Afi (26), *Korean & English Translator*".

This upload falls into the performance account category because it shows the testimony of others about Jokowi's ability as a competent president in making programs suitable for the community. It can be said, the rhetorical strategy is interactive. The community is free to comment on various matters and will be answered by the admin of the Presidential Staff Office via Twitter or Facebook. Although not all comments are answered, this two-way interaction provides a positive value for the government to understand the concerns in the community. Associate Expert Agustinus Rahardjo said that often videos are also used to provide knowledge to the community, "That is a formal website. It's not all necessary. For Twitter or social media, please comment. For Twitter or social media, I like to reply too. There is an incoming notification later. Not all, but several times if it's important we reply. Yes, rich in the tone of the asking, how come this hour is tweeting? This is an Afghan event (showing video) and I cut the video (Interview with Agustinus Rahardjo).

The next theme is exemplification as much as 13.52% (58 uploads). Exemplification strategy is a strategy that each individual wants to be seen as an integrated, honest, high moral, generous and disciplined person without making claims about his good deeds so that the respect and admiration of the people around him arises. Which consists of three sub-themes and different uploads for each theme, self-denial (2.56%), helping as much as 2.80%, militancy as much as 8.16%.

Self-denial is used by someone to ward off rumors that are hitting him. This theme is widely used by Jokowi to counter the accusations of hoaxes and rumors that have been directed to him, such as communism party members, anti-Islam, and foreign stooges. This rhetorical strategy displays the words: "Azan reverberates, every Muslim goes to pray. This is the testimony of Sukardi Rinakit, the President's special staff, who often accompanied Pak Jokowi." This strategy is used as a tool to denial against rumors and hoaxes that have been circulating among the people below who accuse Jokowi of never praying, there will be no call to prayer when he returns to the presidency and the public's notion that Jokowi is non-Muslim or anti-Islam shows that actually Jokowi is a person who is very diligent in worshipping in the midst of his activities as a president.

Young Expert Gabriel Sujayanto also said that the Presidential Staff Office has various communication strategies to fight hoaxes, which include displaying valid facts,



communicating with stakeholders, and collaborating with the public. This self-denial rhetorical strategy requires a good management some issues. The team is tasked with identifying the types of issues in the community, then determining whether they are positive or negative. This identification is the basis for building rhetorical strategies (Coombs, 2015; Kriyantono, 2015).

The self-denial contained in the use of words and sentences as rhetoric on Instagram seemed to be related to the issue management process for President Jokowi carried out by the Presidential Staff Office. This team has produced narrative production and counter government issues, conducted monitoring and evaluation on national priority programs, joys and crisis planning on strategic issues and potential threats to the government (Interview with the Young Expert of the Presidential Staff office, Azhari Hafid). Issue management aims to manage issues because issues can be a starting point that has the potential to trigger conflict between the organization and the public (Kriyantono, 2012; Regester & Larkin, 2008).

The Presidential Staff Office monitors issues through social media related to negative government issues. Lots of negative news related to the president such as the communist, pro-foreign, even the communist party president, "At that time, in his control Pak Teten Masduki had a lot of information on social media and related matters and headed for the president. "Yes, negative news. Slandered. Communist presidents, pro-foreign presidents, and so on who are all non-sense factually. So it's just slander. Then the slander also goes into areas that are technical in nature. For example, the issue of Chinese labour so that finally the chief of staff asked that we have to monitor what was said and discussed through social media. Related to government and government policies and presidential policies" (Interview with Associate Expert Office of the Presidential Staff, Wisnuwardhana).

Helping themes are tactics used to show activities in helping people or inviting others to help people in need. Most of the findings of this theme on the Instagram account @jokowi.amin are used in uploads that aim to help victims of natural disasters, disadvantaged people, orphanages, and others. Examples of this strategy: "President Joko Widodo, who was visiting Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi, expressed his grief for the victims of the tsunami that occurred in the Sunda Strait on Saturday night, December 22, 2018, yesterday. "I have ordered all the relevant government officials to immediately take emergency response measures, find and find victims, care for the injured," said Pak @jokowi through his Instagram account".

The last sub-theme in the theme of exemplification is militancy or invites the public to do good or positive things through motivation, an invitation to be kind, disciplined and honest. In the Instagram account @jokowi.amin, there were 35 uploads (8.16%) which included the militancy sub-theme, many forms of advice to do good things, such as not spreading hoaxes and provocations in the community, fighting corruption, peaceful elections, and to respect differences.

Some posts uploaded shows a picture of someone kicking a hoax to shreds and there are writings of the people not to be anxious, so there are hoaxes and slander. The upload is accompanied by a caption that reads: "Only three days into 2019, various hoaxes, hoaxes, and countless words of hate, have been milling about on social media and conversations in WhatsApp groups. Finally, about seven containers containing 70 million ballots that have been cast, which are even spread by party leaders and educated people. Hoaxes like this cause public unrest. To the extent that Mr. Jokowi issued an appeal that all parties avoid acts of spreading slander because they could be subject to legal sanctions for the perpetrators. "This is already approaching the presidential election. Avoid hoaxes and slander like that, "said Mr. Jokowi"

### ***Supplication***

The next rhetorical strategy is supplication, appearing as much as 6.76%. Supplication is meaningful as a way for a person to do self-representation by showing his inability or weakness in him. There are two sub-themes contained in this theme, namely entreaties for help and self-depression. Entreaties for help is to deliberately ask for help from other people to get what they want, in this case Jokowi asks the public to vote for them in the 2019 presidential election so that they get the highest vote and win the 2019 presidential election and make Indonesia more advanced.

The post has a back section that shows the results of Jokowi's performance for 5 years as president and in the front there are pictures of Jokowi and Ma'ruf Amin who are standing and pointing their indexes. In this picture there is a caption as follows: "For five years Mr. Jokowi has worked with JK to serve Indonesia. Some of the work has been completed, some are under construction, some have been planned. But the foundation has been there for a long time: our unity. How is the face of Indonesia in the next five years in the hands of Jokowi and Kiai Ma'ruf Amin? Everything has been conveyed to the people in the months of this campaign. Don't waste your rights to determine the future of your country. Come on, join us, for Indonesia to go forward! Click the number one on April 17th!"

The second sub-theme in the supplication theme is self-depreciation, but researchers did not find the content on the @jokowi.amin Instagram account that uses this sub-theme. Self depreciation is a tactic that shows that someone is in a state of sadness, disappointment, depression, distress and often complaining.

### ***Intimidations***

Of the five themes there is one theme that is not used by Jokowi, namely intimidation. Intimidation is operationalized as a theme that makes the audience give an assessment to the individual as someone who is hard and feared by others, and does not hesitate to express the anger if he feels the other party is harmful. It consists of two sub themes, namely threat and anger which are used by individuals to mandate things they want through threats or show warning to others. But from 508 uploads on Jokowi-Amin's Instagram there were no uploads with the theme of intimidation. The absence of a rhetorical strategy with words that reflect threat and anger is also consistent with Jokowi's political communication strategy that highlights positive messages, namely conveying work achievements.

Enda Nasution, the Ministry of Communication and Information Expert, said that the Ministry of Communication and Informatics is always trying to make narratives using positive issues. One of them is forming narrative production through infographics in Indonesiabaik.id, then also opening a new government channel, namely Indonesia.go.id. Enda explained that the government has so far had several channels for the production of positive narratives such as Infopublik, Indonesiabaik.go.id, Indonesia.go.id, and so forth.

## **4. Conclusion**

This study confirms the use of positive rhetoric to build imaging. Syntactic analysis shows that Jokowi does not use negative words and sentences. Not all rhetorical themes in building imagery are displayed on Instagram, namely @jokowi.amin does not use the theme of intimidation and self-depreciation.

This study also proves the second proposition that there is consistency between

the rhetorical strategy of using words and sentences during the campaign with Jokowi's communication strategy as President. It can be interpreted that continuous imaging can generate public acceptance because Jokowi was re-elected for the second period.

This research does not focus on revealing the relevance of rhetorical strategies to the preferences of voters so that it is recommended for further research, namely conducting research that measures the relationship between strategies and the votes obtained. This study only measures manifest messages so that it has not been able to explore the motives and ideology behind the rhetoric strategy, therefore the researcher suggests for further research, namely carried out qualitative content analysis research or ethnographic content analysis (ECA) by conducting interviews with message makers so that they can reveal motives and ideology in the uploaded material.

## References

- Annafidin, M. A., Damayanti, T & Komariah, K. (2017). Strategi impression management pemilihan mojang 2014-2015 dalam merepresentasikan kota Bandung. *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Hubungan Masyarakat*, 1(2), 91-100.
- Archana. (2018). Political public relations: Meaning, importance, and analysis. *Journal of Human and Social Science*, 23(2), 29-31.
- Ardha, B. (2014). Sosial media sebagai media kampanye partai politik 2014 di Indonesia. *Jurnal Visi Komunikasi Volume*, 12(01), 105-120.
- Bolino, M. C & Turnley, W. H. (2003). More than one way to make an impression: Exploring profiles of impression management. *Journal of Management*, 29(2), 141-160.
- Brimeyer, T., Eaker, A., & Clair, R. (2004). Rhetorical strategies in union organizing: A case of labor versus management. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 18(1), 45-75.
- Chinnasamy, S & Manaf, N. A. (2018). Social media as political hatred mode in Malaysia's 2018 general election. SHS Web of conferences. University Teknologi MARA, 40450 Shah Alam: Malaysia.
- Cisneros, J. D., McCauliff, K. L., & Beasley, V. B. (2009). The rhetorical perspective: Doing, being, shaping, and seeing. In Stacks, D. W., & Salwen, M. B. (Eds.). *An integrated approach to communication theory and research*. NY: Routledge.
- Cogburn, D. L & Vazquez. F. K. (2011). Form network nominee to the networked nation: Examining the impact of web 2.0 and social media on political participation and civic engagement in the 2008 Obama Campaign. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 10(1-2), 189-213.
- Coombs, W. T. (2015). *Ongoing Crisis Communication. Planning, Managing and Responding*. California: Sage Publications.
- De Landtsheer, C., De Vries, P & Vertessen. (2008). Political impression management: how metaphors, sound bites, Appearance Effectiveness, and Personality Traits Can Win Election. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 7(3), 217-238.
- Egeham, L. (2018, Agustus 11). Headline: Adu taktik Jkoowi VS Prabowo, efektif gaet milenial hingga enak-emak? *Liputan6.com*. Retrieved from <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/3615880/headline-adu-taktik-jokowi-vs-prabowo-efektif-gaet-milenial-hingga-emak-emak>
- Foss, K, A. (2009). Rhetorical theory. In Littlejohn, S. W., & Foss, K. A. (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of communication theory*. London: Sage Publication.
- Garzia, D. (2013). Can Candidates' Image Win Election? A Counterfact Assessment of Leader Effects in the Second Italian Republic. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 12, 348-361
- Goncalves, G. (2014). Political public relations: Origins, challenges, and applications. *Communicacao e sociedade*, 26, 99-107.
- Griffin, E. (2013). *A first look at communication theory*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Grunig, J. E., & Hunt, T. (1984). *Managing public relations*. NY: Rinnehart.
- Hartelius, J., & Browning, L. (2008). The application of rhetorical theory in managerial research: A literature review. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 22(1), 3-39.
- Heath, R. L. (2005). Rhetorical theory. In Heath, R. L. (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of public relations*. California: Sage Publications.

- Hong, H. (2013). Government websites and social media's influence on government-public relationships. *Public Relations Review*, 39, 346-356.
- Johansson, C. (2007). Goffman's sociology: An inspiring resource for developing public relations theory. *Public Relations Review*, 33, 275-280.
- Jones, E. E & Pittman, T. S. (1982). *Toward a general theory of strategic self-promotion*. London: Sage.
- Judhita, C. (2015). Political marketing dan media sosial. *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi dan Media*, 19(02), 22-241.
- Kenski, K., Filler, C. R., & Conway, B. A. (2017). Communicating party labels and names on twitter during the 2016 presidential invisible primary and primary campaigns. *Journal of Political Marketing*. DOI: 10.1080/15377857.2017.1334253
- Kriyantono, R. (2019). *Pengantar lengkap ilmu komunikasi: Filsafat dan etika ilmunya serta perspektif Islam*. Jakarta: Prenada.
- Kriyantono, R. (2017). *Teori Public Relations Perspektif Barat dan Lokal*. Jakarta: Kencana.
- Kriyantono, R & Mckenna, B. (2017). Developing a culturally-relevant public relations theory for Indonesia. *Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 33(1), 1-16.
- Kriyantono, R., Destrity, N. A., Amrullah, A. A., & Rakhmawati, F. Y. (2017). Management of public relations for supporting the anti-corruption national program in Indonesia. *International Journal of Applied Business & Economic Research*, 15(20), 293-313.
- Kriyantono, R. (2014). *Teknik Praktis Riset Komunikasi: Disertasi contoh praktis riset media, public relations, advertising, komunikasi organisasi, komunikasi pemasaran*. Jakarta: Kencana.
- Kriyantono, R. (2012). Measuring a company reputation in a crisis situation: An ethnography approach on the situational crisis communication theory. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 3(9), 214-223.
- Lailiyah, M., & Yustisia, K. (2019). Euphemism and dysphemism expression in "The Rainbow Troops" novel by Andrea Hirata. *EnJourMe (English Journal Of Merdeka) : Culture, Language, And Teaching Of English*, 3(2), 67-74. doi:10.26905/enjourme.v3i2.3045
- Lampe, I. (2010). Konsep dan aplikasi public relations politik pada kontestasi politik di era demokrasi. *Jurnal Academica Fisip Untad*, 02(2), 469-585
- Littlejohn, S. W., Foss, K. A., & Oetzel, J. G. (2017). *Theories of human communication*. Illinois: Waveland Press.
- Puksi, FF. (2018). Presupposition contributions in stand-up comedy (discourse analysis of Raditya Dika's stand-up comedy on YouTube). *Journal Of Applied Studies In Language*, 2(2), 135-143.
- Rakhmat, J. (1999). *Communication Psychology*. Bandung: Rosdakarya.
- Regester, M., & Larkin, J. (2008). *Risk issues and crisis management in public relations: A casebook of best practice*. London, UK: Kogan Page.
- Sajithra, K & Patil, R. (2013). Social media-history and components. *Journal of Business and Management*, 7(1), 69-74.
- Sucianingsih, A. A. (2018). *Pemilih pemula dominasi pemilu 2019, apa dampaknya?* *Harian Kontan*, 15 Agustus 2018.
- Susilawati, E. (2018). *The Speech Acts and The Communicative Functions Performed in Thesis Examinations: A Pragmatic Analysis*. *JELTIM (Journal of English Language Teaching Innovations and Materials)*, 1(2), 87-95.
- Towner, T. L., & Munoz, C.L. (2016). Baby boom or bust? The new media effect on political participation. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 17(1), 32-61.
- Veil, Liu, Erickson, & Sellnow, S. R., Liu, M., Erickson, S., & Sellnow, T. (2005). Too hot to handle: Competency constrains character in Chi-Chi's Green Onion crisis. *Public Relations Quarterly*, 50(4), 19-22.
- WeAreSosial. (2018). *Digital in 2018 in Southeast Asia Part 2- South-East*. Diakses dari pada 7 Oktober 2018, dari <https://www.slideshare.net/wearesocial/digital-in-2018-in-southeast-asia-part-2-southeast-86866464>.
- Wiana, D. (2019). Pragmatic meaning of advertising discourse in Medan local newspaper. *Journal Of Applied Studies In Language*, 3(1), 56-62. doi: 10.31940/jasl.v3i1.1145.
- Williams, C.B. (2017). Introduction: Social Media, Political Marketing and the 2016 U.S election. *Journal of Political Marketing*. DOI: 10.1080/15377857.2017.1345828.
- Wimmer, R., & Dominick, J. (2011). *Mass media research*. California: Wadsworth.
- Yani, A. F. (2018). *Impression management dan pilkada DKI Jakarta 2017 (Studi mixed methods impression management Basuki Tjahaja Purnama dan Anies Baswedan melalui Akun*

Instagram @basukibtp & @aniesbaswedan selama masa kampanye Pilkada DKI Jakarta putaran kedua) (Skripsi Ilmu Komunikasi, Universitas Brawijaya, 2018).

Zhacky, M. (2018, Desember). Jokowi kampanye di Pekanbaru, Prabowo agenda internal di Hambalang. Detiknews.com. Diakses dari <https://news.detik.com/berita/4344645/jokowi-kampanye-di-pekanbaru-prabowo-agenda-internal-di-hambalang>.