

# Contents

Preface.....	9
Acknowledgments.....	11
List of Figures and Tables.....	13
<b>PART I: Rhetorical analysis in times of professional Political Marketing</b>	
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 <i>madyaisasi</i> ?.....	22
State speech and ‘state speak’.....	27
Research question: rhetorical patterns of reformulating the <i>reformasi</i> impulse.....	28
2. A clash of concepts: <i>reformasi</i> rhetoric between grassroots protest and professional Political Marketing.....	30
Genres of the protest movement.....	30
The notion of Political Marketing in self-representations of <i>reformasi</i> politicians.....	33
Historical experiences with Political Marketing in New Order Indonesia.....	34
Fragmentations, distortions, and other limitations of the political market at the end of the New Order.....	40
<b>PART II: The basic business of reformulating laymen’s talk</b>	
3. <i>Aspirasi rakyat: Reformasi topoi</i> at the grassroots level.....	45
Depictions of outer decay and falseness ( <i>dunia lahir</i> ).....	46
Lawlessness.....	47
The black magic of tyranny.....	52
Economic exploitation.....	56
Depictions of inner conflict ( <i>dunia batin</i> ).....	59
Appeals for action.....	61

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
Restructuring the imagery of nationalism and modernity .....	84
Nationalism: the colonial trauma and threats from abroad .....	84
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 <i>saya</i> and <i>dia</i> .....	118
<i>Saya</i> .....	119
<i>Dia</i> .....	121
<i>Nggak, kok, wong</i> , and beyond: keywords of Gus Dur .....	122
Summary: <i>Reformasi</i> keywords in comparison .....	130
6. The humorous strategy in <i>Bahasa Reformasi</i> :	
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 .....	140
Humorous tales .....	143
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

7. Conclusion. The various levels of <i>Bahasa Reformasi</i> .....	166
Appendix .....	169
Glossary .....	169
Bibliography .....	173
Journals, newspapers, periodicals, Internet sites .....	173
Books and articles .....	173
Index .....	191