



## Rhetoric Analysis Tolerance and Intolerance Posts in Social Media

Antar Venus; Andrio Pratama; Dadang Sugiana<sup>1</sup>; Firdaus Noor<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Department of Management Communication, Faculty of Communication Universitas Padjadjaran, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup> Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jakarta, Indonesia

---

### **Abstract**

The research's title is Rhetoric Analysis of tolerance and intolerance posts in social media. This research focuses on analysing some tolerance and intolerance posts in so many social media platform from Indonesians. The research aims were to analysis tolerance and intolerance posts in social media with rhetoric approach by Aristotle. The methodology used in this research is qualitative with qualitative with descriptive study. Data of the research were collected with text analysis and study of documentation. The results of the research are explained that: from ethos, mostly, have ethos's aspect which are intelligence, character, and goodwill. Ethos's aspect from this research mostly dominated by goodwill. Pathos from posts have some emotion such as symphaty, emphaty, sad, dissapoint, shamelessness, unconfidence, fear, anger and hatred. Logos or logic, there are a lot of logical fallacy in the posts such as irrelevant conclusion, argument ad baculum, argumen ad hominem, argumentum ad misericordiam, argumentum ad populum, argumentum ad verecundiam, false cause, amphiboly, and division.

**Keywords:** Rhetoric; Tolerance; Teleconferencing; Intolerance; Descriptive; Qualitative

### **Introduction**

The case of Basuki Tjahja Poernama as an example of how new media or social media can deliver message rapidly and influencial to the audiences. Basuki Tjahja Poernama or Ahok is considerate insulting Islam. It because his speech talking about Al-Maidah, One of Suras from the Al-Quran. Recently, many people use new media as media to deliver the information. It's because new media or internet can reach a lot of audiences. More over, internet doesn't cost a lot and has practical uses. The deployment of information from internet is supported by social media applications such as Facebook, Twitter, until Instagram.

The deployment of information from social media can be done by so many people in practical way. It can make people express and share anything on social media such as facebook, twitter, until instagram. People express diverse thing on social media in visual, audio, or audio-visual formats. That formats can be categorized deeper to education, entertainment, politic, culture contents. Social media as a medium for people to express messages delivery whether the messages are good or bad. The message

contents can be protagonist or antagonist, pro or contra, compliment or hate speech. Those things have one particular thing which talk about tolerance or intolerance.

Tolerance and intolerance contents can be easily found on social media Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. The tolerance and intolerance contents in Indonesia develop to only religion topic. If there is a content talking about religion, it will make Indonesian react. The reaction from Indonesian on social media are so diverse. Some of them react wisely, but some donot. The messages can be categorized to rhetoric. Aristoteles said there are three important things in rhetoric that are ethos (credibility), pathos (emotion), logos (logic). Credibility, emotion, and logic are important to influence audiences. This is harmonious with purpose of the people spreading the messages on social media that is to influence the audiences. In coveying the message to influence a person, the side of credibility, emotion, and logic of thinkin must be reviewed. Therefore, the authors will analyze the messages of tolerance and intolerance according to the case that the author found on social media Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram with rhetorical analysis methods ethos, pathos, and logos.

## ***Discussion***

### ***Purpose of Research***

The purposes of this research are to:

- 1- Know the ethos form of messages of tolerance and intolerance on social media
- 2- Know the pathos form of messages of tolerance and intolerance on social media
- 3- Know the logos form of messages of tolerance and intolerance on social media

## ***Literature Review***

### ***Rhetoric***

Aristotle considers three rhetorical proofs: logic (logos), emotion (pathos) and ethics or credibility (ethos). Based on this the effective speakers use some evidence in their presentation. This assumption relates to what the speakers do in the preparation of their speeches and in the making of the speech. The intended proof refers to the means of persuasion: ethos, pathos and logos. Ethos is the character, intelligence, and goodwill perceived by a speaker. Logos is logical evidence or the use of arguments and evidence in a speech. Pathos is an emotional or emotional proof that is generated from the audience members.

### ***Tolerance and Intolerance***

Tolerance or tolerant linguistically derived from English word, that is "Tolerance" which means let. Another definition of tolerance is the willingness to accept different parties, especially in the areas of belief and thought. Tolerance is the readiness to endure pain and pressure or the ability or willingness to toleratesomething, especially disagreed opinions or behaviors, or interest and attention to different ideas, opinions, practices, etc.; liberal, or non-dogmatic point of view. Instead, intolerance or intolerance is the inability or unwillingness to accept different views, beliefs, and behaviors of others. As long as it is

limited to the level of attitudes and ideas, intolerance is normal. Because everyone tends to justify the beliefs he has trusted. But intolerance will begin to be a problem when translated into action.

### *Facebook*

Facebook is a social networking service headquartered in Menlo Park, California, United States that was launched in February 2004. As of September 2012, Facebook had more than one billion active users, and more than half of them used mobile phones.

### *Twitter*

Twitter, established in 2006, is one of the social networks and online microblogs that allows users to communicate (submit comments, aspirations, exchange messages) through what is called tweets but is limited to 140 characters.

### *Instagram*

Instagram is a photo and video sharing application that lets users take photos and videos, apply digital filters, and share them to other various social networking services

## **Research Method**

### *Qualitative Descriptive*

The method used in this research is descriptive qualitative with rhetorical analysis approach that uses rhetoric from Aristotle and understand rhetoric both oral and written. The use of Aristotle's rhetoric as a tool of analysis by researchers is considered appropriate to analyze the messages of tolerance and intolerance that are posted by personal account and group on social media Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, because the post is considered as written rhetoric. Aristotle's rhetoric is ethos, pathos, and logos.

### *Ethos*

In describing the ethos form contained in messages of tolerance and intolerance, the author uses ethos dimensions. There are three important things in ethos dimensions namely character, intelligence, and good will.

### *Pathos*

The pathos side shown by the communicator refers to an argument based on emotion. Showing emotions in various arguments is very important to be able to persuade audiences. This is because audiences can't be persuaded only by logical arguments. It also proves that emotion-based arguments are not always weak when compared to arguments based on logic. Aristotle says that the aspect of pathos is used in rhetoric if communicators want to evoke certain feelings or emotions in audiences. These emotions can be love, fear, anger, sympathy, empathy, shame, and so on.

### *Logos*

Logos is a broad and deep knowledge of what will be communicated, where the structure of the message must be logical and rational and based on the power of argumentation. In logic, the author uses

Aristotle’s logic errors such as irrelevant conclusion, argument ad baculum (referring to power), ad hominem arguments, argument ad ignorantiam (argument rejection), argument ad misericordiam (compassion) argument ad populum (population), argument ad verecundiam (person's authority), accidental, converse accident, false cause, petitio principii, equivocation, amphiboly, accentuation, composition, and division.

*Unit Analysis*

In this study, researchers used the Google Trend Explore application to determine topics. In the period December 2017 to May 2018, there are five popular topics related to tolerance and intolerance. Two of them are about "Constitutional Court Legalize LGBT" and "Sukmawati’s Poem: Insulting Muslims". On a scale of 0-100, these two topics get a score of 100 which means that this topic is popular.

Tabel 1 Google Trends Explore Results

Topic	Keyword	Score	Date
Constitutional Court Legalize LGBT	“LGBT”	100	17-23 December 2017
Sukmawati’s Poem: Insulting Muslims	“Sukmawati Sukarnoputri”	100	1-7 April 2018

Then based on these two topics, researchers got messages from social media actors related to the topic.

- (1) Constitutional Court Legalize LGBT from Facebook account Aldi and Ibnu Iwan Battuta
- (2) Sukmawati’s Poem: Insulting Muslims from Facebook account Cania Citta Irlanie and Ady S

**Result**

Analysis of ethos, Pathos, and Logos on LGBT Messages.

The case of LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) was rampantly discussed by the Indonesians in mid-December 2017. This was due to the Constitutional Court's decision which interpreted to legalization of LGBT by many people. As a result, since then, there have been a lot of messages of tolerance and intolerance on various social media platforms. But the Constitutional Court immediately clarified about the perception circulating to the community that none of the Constitutional Court's decision was to legalize LGBT. The Court only refused the petition for judicial review of Article 284,

Article 285, and Article 292 of the Indonesian Criminal Law (KUHP). The three chapters govern the crime against decency.

### Tolerance



This message is a tolerant message containing to be tolerant of homosexuals. This message was delivered by a personal account called Aldi via Facebook. The message was delivered and shared to the Facebook group called LCL (LELAKI CINTA LELAKI) as known as Homosexual group. *"To whoever send hatred to us, homosexuals. Do you still have a conscience? Do we interrupt your life? Please, respect us as homosexuals. We are also human just like you. If you do not like us why are you on this group. I want to cry whenever you mock the homosexuals."*

The ethos side of this message has an aspect of character. This character aspect is in the form of the image that you want to appear in the message. This can be seen in the sentence, *"... We are also human just like you ..."* In addition there are also goodwill or good intentions in the message. This is contained in the sentence, *"... Respect us as homosexuals ..."* The emotion or pathos displayed in this message is a sad feeling delivered by Aldi's account. This can be seen from the sentence that says, *"I want to cry whenever you mock the homosexuals"*. Then in the article also invites people who joined in the group to be tolerant to each other through the sentence, *"Please, respect us as homosexuals. We are also human just like you"*. In addition, there is a threat in the paper that is, *"If you do not like us why are you on this group"*. It implies that if there is no interest then do not enter into the group.

Logic or logos in this message is the logic of cause and effect. If there is no obvious cause, then do not insult. This is reflected in the following sentence, *"...Do we interrupt your life? Please, respect us as homosexuals..."*. There is no logical fallacy that the author found in the message.

## Intolerance



The message of intolerance against LGBT was published by Ibnu Iwan Battuta Facebook account which is then disseminated to Facebook group Jemaah ustad ABDUL SOMAD LC MA district MAKKAH. The message of intolerance is a 45-second video containing a difference of opinion between a news anchor, Jermy Teti and the great ulama of Indonesia, Ustad KH. Zainudin MZ. Here is a transcript of the video,

*“In my perspective, i agree with homosexual marriage. As long as the parents agree, why not? Isn't it? And the legal tools must be strong. If legal instruments in Indonesia are strong, it's up to you. Your marriage is your sins, affairs him with his Lord. We do not need to be God for others. -Jeremy Teti ... That's right, you are the on who gambling, the one who drunk, the one who adultery. But gambling, drunk, adultery are immoral. If this country is mostly sinful, God is angry. Down the earthquake. The dead one isn't you, monyong (savage). -KH. Zainudin MZ”*

In terms of ethos side, there is aspect of character. The character or image that you want to appear in this message can be found in the sentence, "... *The dead one isn't you, monyong (savage)*", said the sentence. In addition there are also good intentions or goodwill. This can be seen in the sentence, "... *We don't need to be God for others.*"

To discuss the pathos and logos side in this message, the following is a transcript of a 45-second video. The transcript is divided into two, based on the statements of Jermy Teti and KH Zainudin MZ.

*"In my perspective, i agree with homosexual marriage. As long as the parents agree, why not? Isn't it? And the legal tools must be strong. If legal instruments in Indonesia are strong, it's up to you. Your marriage is your sins, affairs him with his Lord. We do not need to be God for others"* -Jeremy Teti.

*"That's right, you are the on who gambling, the one who drunk, the one who adultery. But gambling, drunk, adultery are immoral. If this country is mostly sinful, God is angry. Down the earthquake. The dead one isn't you, savage"* -KH. Zainudin MZ.

The emotional side or pathos that is trying to convey here is not ashamed of LGBT issues. This can be seen in the sentence delivered by Jeremy Teti namely, "... *Your marriage is your sins, affairs him with his Lord...*". In addition, the emotion in this message is in the form of rejection of Jeremy Teti's argument and fear. In KH Zainudin MZ's own argument is not presented about LGBT but it is already included in the class of "immoral". Then on the argument KH Zainudin MZ also said that the wrath of God will come if a lot of immorality. In the sentence can be said as a threat to those who agree to LGBT or not. So the conclusion that can be drawn from the pathos of this message is to invite people to reject LGBT by notifying the threat or consequences that will be obtained.

Logos in this message has several fallacies. The first logical fallacy is the argumentum ad verecundiam. This confusion occurs when the attempt to obtain justification or support for the conclusion (opinion) is done by relying on the authority of a famous person. In this case, the argument or even the conclusion delivered by Jeremy Teti is invalid because Jeremy Teti is a news anchor so he is not the right person to legalize LGBT in Indonesia. The second logical fallacy is in the form of an ad hominem argument in which KH Zainudin said that those who commit immorality are using the word "*monyong*" or "*savage*".

### *Analysis of Ethos, Pathos, dan Logos on "Sukmawati's Poem" Messages*

The poem is considered to harass and defame religion, especially Islam. Here is the contents of the poem:

*"Indonesian mother. I do not know the Shari'a of Islam. What I know is that my Indonesian mother is very beautiful, more beautiful than your veil. The bend in the hair is holy, as sacred as the cloth covering your form. Its creation is very diverse. Fuse with the natural nature around. His fingers smelled of forest sap. Peluh untouched sea breeze. Look at the Indonesian mother. As your eyes become more faded. So you can remember. Original beauty of your nation. If you want to be beautiful, healthy, virtuous, and creative. Welcome to my world, Mother of Indonesia. I do not know the Shari'a of Islam. What I know is the voice of the Indonesian mother, very beautiful. More melodious than your call to prayer (adzan). The graceful movement of the dance is worship. As pure as the rhythm of worship to God. His prayer breathing combined. Strands by strands of woven yarn. Melt after melt resin rises. Scratches verses of heavenly nature. Look at Mother Indonesia. As your gaze fades. So that you can know the true beauty of your people. It has been a long time since the history of this civilized nation of love and respect to the Mother of Indonesia and his people."*

Shortly after the case was raised, Mrs. Sukmawati also clarified and apologized to the Indonesian people through a press conference. Sukmawati Soekarnoputri explained, she had no intention to insult Muslims. Here is the statement,

*“Assalamualaikum*

*Warohmatullahi Wabarakatuh. Independent! In connection with the dynamics and pro contra related to my poem, the Indonesian Mother, that I read in the '29 Year Anne Aventure Work "event at the Indonesia Fashion Week 2018 event which turned out to have ignited the reaction of some Muslims, I hereby intend to clarify the following.*

1. *Indonesian Mother's Poem that I read is in accordance with the theme of the fashion show which is a culture identity which is merely my view as artist and budayawati and is purely a work of Indonesian literatur.*

2. *Personally, there is no intention to insult Indonesian Muslims with the poem of Indonesian Mother. I am a Muslim who is grateful and proud of my Islam. The daughter of a Bung Karno proclaimer who is also known as a Muhammadiyah figure and also a figure who earned the title of Nahdatul Ulama as waliyul amri ad*

*dharuri bi syaukah, the leader of government in the emergency period whose policies are devacto binding with full power.*

3. *Indonesian Mother's poem is one of the poems I wrote which became part of the book Collection of Indonesian Mother's Poems which was published in 2006. The Indonesian mother's poem is written as a reflection of my concern about the sense of nationalism and I summarize it solely to draw the attention of the children. nation to not forget the true identity of Indonesia.*

4. *I also wrote this poem in an effort to express myself through the voice of culture in accordance with the theme of the event. I was also moved to better understand the Nusantara Islamic community which progressed as the ideals of Bung Karno. In this case Islam is so great, noble and beautiful for me. The poem is also a form of my homage to the Mother Earth Indonesia which so rich with cultural traditions in the Indonesian society which so diverse but still unite.*

*However, with the literary works of Indonesian Mother's poem, it has sparked controversy in various circles. Both pros and cons, especially among Muslims. With this from the deepest depths of my heart, I apologize inwardly and mentally to the*

*Muslims of Indonesia. Especially for those who feel offended and objected to the Indonesian Mother's poem.*

*Besides that, I apologize to Anne Aventure and her family, and appreciate and thank all Indonesian fashion designers for being creative and productive.*

*That's the clarification that I convey through this press conference, hopefully all of us can address this issue wisely.*

*For the attention of all parties, I say thank you.*

*Wassalamualaikum Warohmatullahi Wabarakatuh. Independent!”*



Despite apologizing, many people still regret that Sukmawati's poem.

### **Tolerance**

The message of tolerance from the Sukmawati's poem case comes from an Instagram account called @cittairlanie or Cania. The message is a continuation message that she previously uploaded on Facebook. Here is the message content of Cania's post, "*FREEDOM OF SPEECH. This nation has repeatedly fussed talking about people's speech. There are so many regulation that destroy the process of adaptation of society into the era of civilization that is pro civil liberties. Finally we do not go ahead about this. Our work just to report each other, the police were so busy take care of "easy" thing about people speech.*

*It should be understood that the essence of freedom of speech is so that people can criticize, offend, insult, despise, make negative campaigns, make dark jokes, create creative memes, pictures, songs, or poems. If it's a good one, it doesn't need protection because no one objected too. So, try to get used to it!*

*SARA (racist) is also funny. Prohibiting people from talking about SARA does not change the state of SARA diversity level in Indonesia is high. It also does not make religious people of X who do not like the Y religion turn into likes. So, let's just let us talk honestly about it all. About religion, about the tribe, the matter of race. If not like his opinion just reply to another opinion.*

*Don't ask the police to come and handle it. Try copying Felix Siauw! He is good that he gives us the example of practicing freedom of speech. When he was attacked about HTI, he wrote a rebuttal on his Facebook status. When Sukmawati's poem seemed annoying to him and his followers, he made a counter poem. That's cool, right?*

*The princip of freedom of speech is simple:*

*keep calm and speak*

*You have freedom of speech, then speak. No need for crime, persecution, and violence. Reply to characters with characters, ideas with ideas.*

*Freedom of speech is not to guarantee that you may say I am beautiful, smart and kind, but also that you can be free to say I am ugly, dajjal, immoral communist zionis liberal Yahudi, blonde devil, not graduated yet, and fail to understand Pancasila.*

*#Caniaksara"*

In terms of ethos, the message uploaded by Cania has an intelligence aspect in it. The intelligence aspect is where the similarity of views between the communicator and the audience. This aspect is contained in the sentence, "...*Finally we do not go ahead about this...*" and "...*Our work just to report each other...*". In addition, there is also good intentions or goodwill in this message. The good intention is in the sentence, "...*The princip of freedom of speech is simple: keep calm and speak*" and also in the sentence, "...*You have freedom of speech, then speak. No need for crime, persecution, and violence. Reply to characters with characters, ideas with ideas...*"

In terms of pathos, there are several emotions in this message. In this message there can be found a sense of disappointment that is contained in the sentence, "... *Finally we do not go ahead about this. Our work just to report each other...*". The sentence can be interpreted as a form of disappointment over the

rampant cases that occur due to sentiment or offense to racist. Then there is also anger at the message. The sentence that shows this is on, "...So try to get used to this!" And also "... Don't ask the police to come and handle it a little. Try copying Felix Siauw!". However, besides that there is also a sense of love that is manifested in the sentence, "...No need for crime, persecution, and violence". So that the pathos or emotions that generally appear in this message are in the form of disappointment and anger at the same time love. Logos in this message, there is a logical fallacy namely accident. Accident occurs when a general principle applies to a particular case not covered by the general principle. In this case is the argument "freedom of opinion or speech". Freedom of speech is a right that is constitutionally guaranteed. Everyone has the right to express their voices in public. However, the freedom of speech in question is a positive one that is not offensive or controversial. So it is not appropriate if Sukmawati is not processed legally with an alibi that it is a form of freedom of speech.

### Intolerance



This intolerance message came from a Facebook post called Ady S. This message is one of the messages of intolerance from the case of Sukmawati's poem controversy. This message has been spread by a personal Facebook account named Ardhi Rheza, which is a post from Ady S published in a Facebook group called United Muslim Cyber Army. The message contains, "*Oh God ,, it makes my heart tremble, this blood is like boiling cause hear this grandmother's poem (Sukmawati Soekarno Putri), so easy to insult our religion, Oh God please hurry down your wrath for this Devil's Grandmother. #2019GantiJok*" On the ethos side of this message, researchers found no intelligence, character, or good intentions. This is because there is no sentence from the post that can be classified into these three things. The overall message content only contain hatespeech. Especially in this message there is a hidden agenda that has a political flavor. The agenda was in the form of an effort to voice the replacement of the Indonesian president. This can be seen in the use of hashtag at the end of the message, #2019GantiJok. So that ethos in this post is doubtful. The emotion or pathos of this message is in the form of anger towards

the actions of the Sukmawati. This can be seen from the sentence from the message that is, "*this blood is like boiling to hear this grandmother's poem (Sukmawati Soekarno Putri)*..." and also "...*Oh God please hurry down your wrath for this Devil's Grandmother*" it wants to invite the audience to be together against the back of Sukmawati's actions.

There are some logical fallacies in this message. First is the ad hominem argument, that is, the argument is directed to the person of the person. This is evident in the overall contents of the message, especially in the phrase "*Devil's Grandmother*". The ad hominem argument often happens and should be avoided. This is because the logic error only attacks the person, which can be in the form of nature or physical from the other person. The next logical fallacy is in the form of an irrelevant conclusion. This fallacy occurs if an actual argument is intended to support another conclusion. In this message the mistake of thinking irrelevant conclusion is found in the use of the "#2019GantiJok" hashtag. It is a hashtag that is intended that in 2019 Indonesia replace the president so that no longer Joko Widodo. The use of #2019GantiJok hashtag is certainly wrong and out of the context of the problem itself. The problem that occurs in this message is about the poem of Sukmawati which is considered insulting to the Muslims, not the issue of General Election or any thing that smells of politics.

Although Sukmawati Soekarnoputri comes from among politicians, but not necessarily in this case. So the use of #2019GantiJok hashtag on this message is not appropriate because there is no connection between the case of Sukmawati poem controversy with the swing of the Indonesian president in 2019.

## **Conclusion**

Based on the results of research of the messages of tolerance and intolerance in the previous chapter, the authors conclude that:

On the ethos side in messages of tolerance and intolerance seen from intelligence, character, and goodwill. All problems or messages in this study have ethos aspects in them. The most dominating aspect of ethos is the goodwill aspect even though in one message there is a hidden agenda that is not in accordance with the message content. The pathos in the messages of tolerance and intolerance are seen based on what emotions are displayed in the message. In the message of tolerance not all emotions raised are positive as well as messages of intolerance in which not all emotions raised are negative. Both in the message of tolerance and intolerance there can be positive and negative emotions simultaneously. These emotions are in the form of love, sympathy or compassion, empathy, sadness, disappointment, not shame, discomfort, fear, anger, and hatred. While on the logos side seen from the logic of thinking used in messages of tolerance and intolerance. Some have used the correct logic of thinking but there is still logical fallacies in the messages. Logic fallacies that occur are many in the messages of intolerance and logical fallacies in the form of irrelevant conclusion, argument ad baculum, argumen ad hominem, argumentum ad misericordiam, argumentum ad populum, argumentum ad verecundiam, false cause, amphiboly, and division.

## **References**

- Bakhtiar, Amsal. (2007). *Filsafat Agama: Wisata Pemikiran dan Kepercayaan Manusia*. Jakarta: PT. Rajagrafindo Persada.
- Creswell, J.W. (2014). *Penelitian Kualitatif dan Desain Riset*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

- Husaini, Adian. (2013). *Filsafat Ilmu: Perspektif Barat dan Islam*. Jakarta: Gema Insani.
- Luhukay, Marsefio S. (2007). *Presiden SBY dan Politik Pencitraan: Analisis Teks Pidato Presiden SBY dengan Pendekatan Retorika Aristoteles [Jurnal Ilmiah]*. Surabaya (ID): Universitas Airlangga Surabaya.
- Maran, Rafael Raga (2007). *Pengantar Logika..* Jakarta: PT. Grasindo.
- Moleong, L. J. (2000). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Munti, Ratna Batara. 2005. *Demokrasi Keintiman: Seksualitas di Era Global*. Yogyakarta: LkiS Yogyakarta.
- Nurdin, Ali. (2006). *Quranic Society*. Jakarta: Erlangga.
- Rahma, Talitha Nindia. (2016). *Strategi Pesan Ridwan Kamil dalam Twitter [Skripsi]*. Bandung (ID): Universitas Padjadjaran.
- Rakhmat, Jalaluddin. (2014). *Retorika Modern Pendekatan Praktis*. Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2014. *Psikologi Komunikasi*. Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Rebello, Joseph T. 2008. (Why) Do Empty Signifiers Matter to Political Economy? Hegemony Non-Commodity Money and Part One of Capital, University of Massachusetts. Saussure, Ferdinand de. Course in General Linguistics.
- Sidharta, B. Arief (2008). *Pengantar Logika – Sebuah Langkah Pertama Pengenalan Medan Telaah*. Bandung: PT. Refika Aditama.
- Sumaryono, E. (2009). *Dasar-dasar Logika*. Jakarta: PT. Grasindo. Sugiyono. 2012. *Metode penelitian kuantitatif, kualitatif, dan R&D*. Bandung: Alfabeta.
- Sutopo, H.B. (2002). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Surakarta: NS Press.
- Wan, Ching. dkk. (2010). *Intersubjective Consensus and The Maintenance of Normative Shared Reality*. University of Minnesota.
- West, Richard. (2008). *Pengantar Teori Komunikasi: Teori dan Aplikasi*. Jakarta: Salemba Humanika.
- Widyawardani, Yusri Ika. 2016. *Rhetorical Analysis of Donald Trump's Presidential Candidacy Announcement Speech [Thesis]*. Yogyakarta (ID): Universitas Sanata Dharma Yogyakarta.

## Copyrights

Copyright for this article is retained by the author(s), with first publication rights granted to the journal.

This is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).