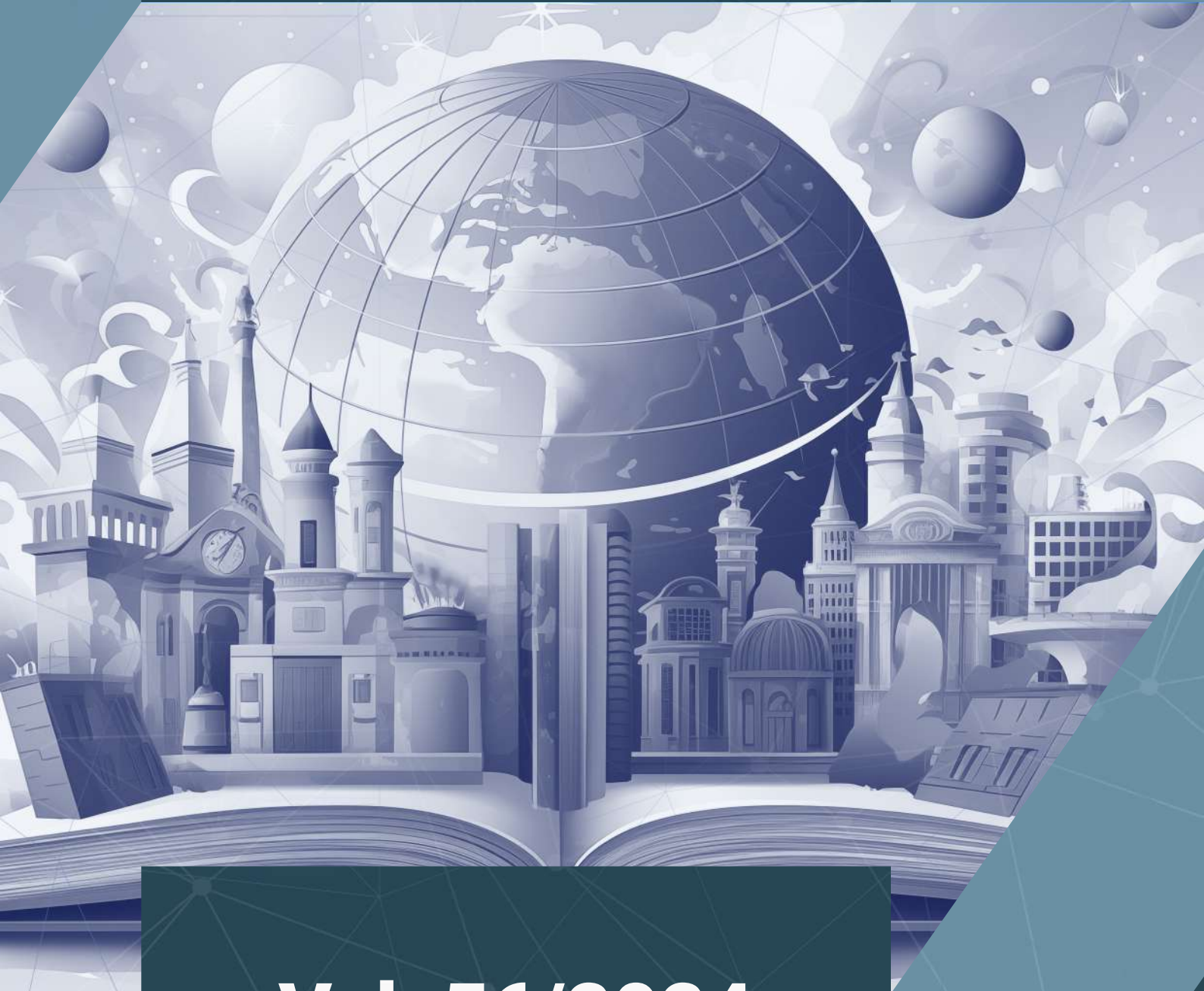




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Motives and interests of power. Behind Anies Baswedan's populist political communication style as a government political actor

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Abstract. This research was conducted with the aim of identifying Anies Baswedan's populist political communication style as a government political actor and uncovering the motives and interests of power behind its use by using theory of populism and Burke's dramatism. This research has a critical paradigm with a qualitative research design. The data collection method consists of in-depth interviews (in dept interviews); observation; literature and document study; and triangulation. The research quality criteria are based on historical situatedness. The research results show that the populist political communication style of government political actors is a symbolic action of a leader born from the democratic process. The component of the populist political communication style that is prominently used is the pro-people component. The motive revealed was the desire to build alternative political power through image and public opinion. Meanwhile, the interests of power are to protect and strengthen the legitimacy of the leadership to maintain power and pave the way for political career advancement. A number of findings which are novel in this research are the populist dramatism approach as a synthesis of the theories of dramatism and populism; audience's perception as an additional element in the analysis of the Burkeian dramatic pentad; and identification and cross-check methods to determine the appropriate scene for the rhetorical act of political speech.

Keywords. Anies Baswedan, Populism Burke's Dramatisme, Populist political communication style

Introduction

On the first day, after being inaugurated and signing the memorandum of handover of office, Anies Baswedan delivered his first political speech as Governor of DKI Jakarta in the City Hall courtyard, in front of thousands of residents and broadcast live and/or delayed by national television stations. This political speech was Anies Baswedan's first form of political communication as governor in public. The content of his speech attracted controversy, especially regarding the diction of "indigenous" in a series of sentences: "In the past, all of us natives were oppressed and defeated. Now that we are independent, now is the time for us to be hosts in our own country." Anies Baswedan's clarification on October 17 2022, or the day after his speech, did not satisfy the public. In the media, the controversy over Anies Baswedan's first

political speech as governor became the subject of news and was widely discussed by observers and figures (metrotvnews, 17/10/2017. "Understanding Anies Baswedan's Speech"). Generally they deny Anies' explanation about the context of colonialism for the indigenous diction he uses. This native diction is used in the current context with the intention of sending a message to certain groups.

The above controversy sparked the writer's curiosity to examine the contents of Anies Baswedan's first political speech as governor and the facts of his success in winning the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election contest with 57.95% of the vote. Mardani Ali Sera as Chair of the Winning Team for the Anies-Sandi pair (interview 12 April 2022) explained that the diction "indigenous" emphasizes the meaning of "siding" with the small, weak and marginalized people, who were victims of the authorities in the past. The narrative of siding with the people dominates the content of Anies Baswedan's first political speech as governor. This narrative is an indication of the existence of Anies Baswedan's populist ideas and rhetoric.

Populism, in general, can be defined through an ideas approach (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2017: 5). In this approach, populism is attached to politicians and groups who try to win over the people, which they then oppose to the elite. If we refer to the content of his first political speech as governor, Anies Baswedan can be categorized as a populist figure with populist speech rhetoric as well.

Conceptually, populism can be understood from at least 6 (six) perspectives. First, populism as an ideology (Stavrakakis & Katsambekis, 2014; Nyarwi Ahmad, 2022). Second, populism as a movement for democratic renewal (Dzur & Hendriks, 2018). Third, populism as a communication phenomenon (Vreese et. al, 2018; Sengul, 2019; Toth & Demeter, 2019). Fourth, populism as a political communication style (Ernst et. al, 2019; Bos et. al, 2020; Vreese et. al, 2018; Cassel, 2021; Block & Negrine, 2017). Fifth, populism as a political strategy (Bruycker & Rooduijn, 2021; Nai, 2021; Abdul Hamid, 2014; Sanders et. al, 2017; Snee, et. al, 2021). The sixth perspective is populism as public policy (Hutari & Paskarina, 2019).

Anies Baswedan became governor of DKI Jakarta because he succeeded in defeating incumbent opponent Basuki Tjahaya Purnama or popularly called Ahok in the 2017 DKI Jakarta regional elections. One of the key factors in Anies Baswedan's victory over Ahok which was widely highlighted was related to his skill in playing populist rhetoric which on the one hand captivated the people's hearts. through his partisan narrative and discrediting Ahok as the incumbent candidate on the other hand (Imawan in Hikmat Budiman, 2020: 311-312). Populist rhetoric played by challengers against incumbent candidates in election contestations, such as the Regional Head Election, is often carried out and understood as a communication style and political strategy to win elections. However, when populist rhetoric is played out by government political power holders, it becomes a different phenomenon. So, Anies Baswedan's populist rhetoric in his first political speech as Governor of DKI Jakarta is a phenomenon of populism in itself.

In Burke's perspective, populist rhetoric in political speeches as a symbolic act of language consisting of words is considered not neutral, having goals and motives related to power. Therefore, it is reasonable to suspect that Anies Baswedan's populist rhetoric has certain motives and interests related to his power as governor of DKI Jakarta. This assumption is reasonable if it is related to the following facts. First, Anies Baswedan won the regional election contest with 57.95 percent of the vote. There are 42.05 percent of voters who do not support it. With a voter participation rate of 78 percent, Anies Baswedan's victory actually does not reflect the support of the majority of Jakarta residents. In essence, 57.95 percent of the vote is equivalent to 45.2 percent of the vote. In essence, there were 54.8 percent of voters in the 2017

DKI Jakarta Pilkada who did not vote for Anies Baswedan. This is a large number and has the potential to become a movement that could delegitimize the government's power if not managed well. Apart from that, the fierce regional election contestation between the two pairs produces residue in the form of polarization between supporters which has the potential to damage the social cohesion of Jakarta residents and have a negative impact on the effectiveness of government administration in Jakarta. Second, in the second round of the DKI Pilkada, the Anies-Sandi pair was supported by the Gerindra Party (15 seats), PKS (11 seats), and PAN (2 seats) whose total number of seats in the DKI Jakarta DPRD for the 2014-2019 period was only 28 seats or 26 percent of the total number of DPRD seats of 106 seats. Third, Anies Baswedan is a non-party politician. In a political system that places all regional parliament members under party control, regional heads such as Anies Baswedan in their power relations in the DPRD are potentially vulnerable to being weakened. Apart from that, Anies Baswedan also does not have a party political machine that is directly under his control. Fourth, in the existing regional government system, the stability of the governor's government is largely determined by his support in the DPRD. Fifth, Anies Baswedan's campaign promise to stop the reclamation of the north coast of Jakarta received opposition from the Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs Luhut Binsar Panjaitan who represented elements of the central government. The five things mentioned above greatly influence the motives behind Anies Baswedan's use of populist rhetoric in his first political speech as governor.

The study of the use of populist rhetoric is embedded in research on populism in various parts of the world. The research focus is diverse. Research conducted by Ernst, et al. (2019), for example, focuses on comparing the level of populist rhetoric used by populist actors when on talk shows on television and in cyberspace via Facebook and Twitter accounts. The research was carried out by analyzing message content and a set of populist delivery styles (stylistic devices) on Twitter, Facebook accounts and television recordings featuring political actors in six countries. This research finds that political actors tend to use populist rhetoric on Facebook and Twitter. This tendency is influenced by the nature of social media which can disseminate messages without interference. This research identifies three main dimensions of populist messages, namely: anti-elite which blames and separates elites from the public; pro-people (people-centrism) which emphasizes virtue, equality and closeness to the public; and a restoration of popular power that calls for popular sovereignty to replace elite sovereignty. Apart from that, the research also identified three dimensions of populist delivery style, namely: negativism which blames certain groups and magnifies the crisis; emotionality that emphasizes the audience's emotional values; and friendliness characterized by simplicity and closeness of communication.

Efforts limited to identifying message elements and delivery styles in populist rhetoric have colored the study of populism quite a lot. Studies conducted by Bos et. al (2020); Bruycker & Rooduijn (2021); Vreese et. al (2018); Cassell (2021); Toth & Demeter (2019) explain that the use of populist messages such as pro-people, anti-elite, narratives of exclusion of outside groups along with their populist delivery style is a political strategy for political figures and political parties to persuade audiences in the context of elections through the media, especially social media. Apart from that, it is also a response to prominent and polarizing issues in the media.

Another example, research conducted by Snee et. al (2021) which examines the nomination video of John Fetterman, former mayor of Braddock in his campaign for United States Senator. Fetterman's rhetoric in the video entitled "Launch" attempts to attract Donald Trump supporters by using a populist strategy that emphasizes his consubstantiality with the

audience. The study was carried out using Burkean theory, namely the guilt atonement cycle used in the context of the failed coup attempt by supporters of Donald Trump. His Burkeian rhetorical studies only focus on agent and scene elements. Snee et. al found that Fetterman's nomination video contained consubstantiality efforts that were manifested in various elements. The main element is the condition of the town of Braddock, which its residents abandoned along with the decline of the steel industry. Snee et. al argues that Braddock is depicted in "Launch" as a representation of marginalized cities in the United States, especially by the political elite. The next element is Fetterman who is depicted as a figure who also represents the marginalized residents of Braddock through his appearance. The elements of the populist message contained in Braddock's rhetoric in the video to attract voter support are pro-people and anti-elite which is detrimental to the people.

Nyarwi Ahmad's (2022) research on the populist ideas of gubernatorial candidates in Indonesia in the 2018 regional elections which were conveyed via Facebook is an example of a study of populist rhetoric in Indonesia. The study focuses on identifying 3 (three) populist ideological orientations developing in Indonesia, namely: secular nationalist populism; Islamic populism; and Islamist populism. The results of his research show that in the context of gubernatorial elections, Islamist populism orientations were not adopted by candidate due to their nature of rejecting Pancasila. Candidates tend to use elements of ideas from secular-nationalist and Islamic populism by advocating elements of populism such as unity and sovereignty for secular and Islamic nationalist groups. In addition, candidates who adopt secular-nationalist populism or Islamic populism tend not to use rhetoric that excludes non-secular or non-Islamic.

The studies regarding the use of populist rhetoric mentioned above were carried out on political actors in the form of figures and political parties in positions as candidates who will and are currently fighting in election contestations. Populist rhetoric is conveyed through the media, especially social media, not directly in front of the audience. His use of populist rhetoric is intended as a communication style and political strategy to persuade and identify certain voter segments to vote for him in the election. The use of Burke's rhetorical theory, as in the research of Snee et. al (2021), does not use elements of the dramatic pentad as a whole, so it is not sufficient to reveal goals and motifs comprehensively. This is different from the author's research. The author's research was conducted on the populist rhetoric of political actors who have won election contests and hold government political power. His populist rhetoric was conveyed through speeches in front of audiences and broadcast by audio-visual media. The research is intended to understand and reveal the power motives and interests behind the use of populist rhetoric as a style of populist political communication by government political actors.

Based on the background description above, it can be identified that there is a difference in position between populism played by people who are outside the government and people who currently hold political power in the government. On the other hand, Anies Baswedan and his government's politics are closely related to the dynamics of the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election contestation which is centered on the fierce competition between Governor Ahok as the incumbent candidate and Anies Baswedan as his potential challenger to obtain the mandate for power to lead Jakarta for the 2017-2022 period. As a challenger, Anies Baswedan offers a leadership style, policies and way of communicating that can be read as the antithesis of the incumbent, Governor Ahok. To communicate his image as the antithesis of Ahok, Anies Baswedan often uses populist rhetoric to attract voters (citizens) of Jakarta, such as statements promising to stop the reclamation project, close Alexis which is considered a dirty place, not carry out evictions, and other things that are the opposite. with the policy practices

of Governor Ahok as the incumbent candidate. The result of this fierce competition resulted in a division or polarization of Jakarta residents based on their position of support for candidates who threatened social cohesion, as reflected in calls not to pray for the bodies of residents who supported Ahok and the emergence of anti-Chinese sentiment among Jakarta residents. Based on the identification of this problem, the research questions can be formulated as follows:

1. How is Anies Baswedan's populist political communication style as a government political actor reflected in the rhetoric of his first political speech?
2. What are the motives and interests of Anies Baswedan's power as a government political actor behind the use of a populist political communication style in the rhetoric of his first political speech?

Research method

This research uses a qualitative approach. According to Cresswell (2009) "qualitative research is a mean for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or group ascribe to a sosial or human problem. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures; collecting data in the participants' setting; analyzing the data inductively, building from particulars to general themes; and making interpretations of the meaning of data. The final written report has a flexible writing structure". In terms of basic principles, the research process carried out by researchers is similar to the description of qualitative research described by Cresswell.

Data was collected using a number of methods. First, in dept interview, conducted with the audience of Anies Baswedan's first political speech as governor of DKI Jakarta. Second, observation of the three components of a social situation, namely place, actor, and activity (Spradley in Sugiyono, 2014: 313). Third, literature and document study. Fourth, triangulation, is used to collect data and test the credibility of the data. Inductive data analysis was carried out based on the principles of qualitative data analysis put forward by Bogdan (1982) and Miles and Huberman (in Emzir, 2016: 129-135). The data analysis stages are as follows:

1. Classify the data collected based on the components of the populist political communication style and the elements of the Burkeian dramatic pentad consisting of agent, scene, act, agency, and purpose. Data that was not included in the 2 classification models mentioned above and was not related to the research objectives was discarded. In this case data reduction is carried out.
2. Presenting data that has been reduced into tables containing short narrative text
3. Draw conclusions inductively based on the results of data analysis on each pentad element and are oriented towards answering research problems and obtaining research findings.

Results and discussion

Based on the results of the Burkeian dramatic pentad analysis, Anies Baswedan's populist political communication style as governor of DKI Jakarta can be clearly identified from the results of the analysis of the act elements in his first political speech. As Burke explained, what is meant by act in delivering a speech refers to the speech itself. Political speeches as a symbolic action by Anies Baswedan as governor from the perspective of a populist political communication style contain 4 components of a populist message, namely: pro-people; anti-elite; exclusion of out-groups; and crisis narratives. Of the 4 components, only the pro-people

component is stated explicitly. Meanwhile, the other 3 (three) components can be read implicitly in pro-people statements. The three components in question are anti-elite; exclusion of out-groups; and the crisis narrative can only be read when linked to the context, namely the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election contestation.

The pro-people or people centrism message component is stated in 14 paragraphs of the total 22 paragraphs of Anies Baswedan's speech text. It is stated explicitly in paragraphs: 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, and 19. The pro-people message in these 14 paragraphs can be mapped based on the issue and its political function, can be classified into 7 (seven) types of political issues and 4 (four) types of political functions. The seven political issues in question are:

- 1) the promise of independence;
- 2) Realization or application of Pancasila;
- 3) Development policy approach;
- 4) Affirmative action;
- 5) Social cohesion;
- 6) Leader integrity; And
- 7) Jakarta city vision;

Meanwhile, the 4 political functions are: criticizing; building a positive political image and public opinion; building closeness and togetherness with the people; and build trust and support building. These four political functions, namely a rhetoric of critique, a rhetoric of collaboration, a rhetoric of trust building, a rhetoric of support building, are inherent in the first political speech as populist political rhetoric.

First, the critical function. Criticism of the 7 (seven) subject issues as mentioned above is reflected in the policies that Anies Baswedan will implement to overcome Jakarta's governance and development problems left behind by the previous Jakarta leadership. For example, when Anies stated that his government's development policy approach was based on aspirations and public interests by saying: "...policy making in this city must be based on public interests" (paragraph 12), then at the same time, implicitly, he stated that policies in the city (Jakarta) by previous leaders were not based on public interests.

According to Idris Ahmad, a member of the PSI faction of the DKI Jakarta DPRD, Anies Baswedan's leadership is the antithesis of Governor Ahok. The approach is also different. While Governor Ahok's leadership tends to focus on an infrastructure approach, Anies Baswedan emphasizes his approach to his vision, namely the happiness of his citizens (interview, 19 April 2022). Gembong Warsono, Chairman of the PDI P Fraction of the DKI Jakarta DPRD, also conveyed Ahok's antithesis. He said that Governor Anies often adopted policies that were different from those of Ahok. In fact, to look different, Governor Anies uses different terms for the same policies or programs as Ahok does. For example, Anies renamed RPTRA (Child Friendly Integrated Public Space) as Taman Maju Bersama (interview, 18 April 2022). The statements of the two members of the DKI Jakarta DPRD above confirm that Anies Baswedan's populism is a criticism of Ahok, and both of them also consider that Anies Baswedan's populism tends to be negative.

Second, the function of building closeness and togetherness with the people. This function can be examined from the use of the words: "brothers", "we", "let us", "together", "together", "fellow brothers", "all of us", "our traditions", "listen to the words of the people", "leader for all", "prioritize real defense", "we invite all citizens", "mutual cooperation", "work together", "collaborate", "approach the will of the people", "our struggle", "together to make efforts", "may Allah make our efforts easier". Apart from that, the use of rhymes, proverbs or

regional or ethnic proverbs living in Jakarta, as well as prayers are also indications of persuasion to build closeness and togetherness with the people. In Burke's rhetorical perspective, these persuasion efforts are one stage in achieving identification or consubstantial conditions.

Third, the function of building a positive political image and public opinion. Indications of this can be found in a number of populist messages that show Anies Baswedan's political image as the leader he wants to build. For example, the image as an exemplary leader who is Pancasila, humanist, aspirational, defender of the weak and religious (paragraphs 2, 11, 13, 16, 20 and 22). Anies wants Jakarta to be an arena for the application of Pancasila, a humane Jakarta, a united Jakarta, listening to the will of the people, defending people who are unable to defend themselves, and always praying for Allah SWT's help to fulfill his leadership duties are a number of examples of messages in his first political speech to build a positive political image of himself, at the same time it is hoped that positive public opinion can also be built.

Fourth, the function of building trust and support (trust and support building). As a newly appointed leader, after going through a confrontational contestation process, it is natural that he needs trust from the public he leads that he can be a leader for all and is able to carry out his leadership well. This desire is clearly visible from Anies' statement in his speech in paragraph 4. This statement contains the hope that all Jakarta residents can trust him as their leader. Meanwhile, the function of building support can be examined from a series of sentences in paragraphs 5, 15 and 16. In rhetoric, building support requires persuasion in it. Referring to Burke's concept of persuasion strategy, the persuasion to build support contained in the 3 paragraphs above can be explained that in paragraph 5 it uses a syllogistic or progressive form of strategy. If A then B, if B then C, and so on. If the scattered energy bonds are put together, the energy will be collected. If the energy is collected, then the city can be built together. That is the syllogistic form of Governor Anies' statement in paragraph 5 of his first political speech. In paragraph 15, Anies persuades with a strategy in the form of qualitative progression, namely a strategy by connecting qualities together. The qualities of mutual loyalty and mutual support are linked together to build the city for the next 5 years. Meanwhile, in paragraph 16, Anies seems to be persuading with a spiritualization strategy. According to Burke's concept, this occurs when symbolic action is linked to ideas or ideals in a way that resembles secular prayer. Anies' idea of inviting leadership elements in Jakarta to give their lives to the people of Jakarta is a spiritual strategy.

The function of building support contained in a series of sentences in the 3 paragraphs is explicitly directed at the citizens or people and leadership elements in Jakarta, so that they support Governor Anies' leadership in realizing his government and development programs. With the support of the people and all elements of leadership, the campaign promises included in government and development programs can be realized effectively. This function of building support is found in the 7 (seven) pro-people populist issue subjects as mentioned above.

The components of the anti-elite message, exclusion of outside groups, and crisis narrative in Governor Anies Baswedan's first political speech were not stated explicitly. However, indications are found in a number of series of words and/or sentences which indicate criticism directed at the elite in paragraphs 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, and 18. These six paragraphs show criticism of the elite on a number of issues: the promise of independence; indigenous matters; human values and justice; social gap; regional management; and ignoring the aspirations and interests of the people. The target of criticism in a number of issues in the 6 (six) paragraphs above, when related to the scene (namely the 2017 DKI Regional Election contestation) is the previous DKI leadership, namely Governor Ahok and the supporting elites behind him, both

political and government elites in DKI and the center, as well as the economic elite, especially conglomerates of Chinese descent.

Questioning the indigenous issue in Governor Anies Baswedan's first political speech (paragraph 10), Gembong Warsono commented that the use of the word "indigenous" shows that Anies' character has the potential to be different (read: discriminatory), distinguishing between natives and non-natives, namely (descendants of) China. This is not healthy for democracy. According to him, Anies considers natives to be small people whom he defends who are victims of barons of non-native descent (interview 18 April 2022). Gembong's colleague at the DKI DPRD, Idris Ahmad (member of the PSI Fraction of the DKI Jakarta DPRD) interpreted Anies' use of native diction as a kind of psychological incentive for his supporters, most of whom are indigenous people such as the Betawi people. According to Idris, based on his experience in the field during the 2017 DKI Pilkada campaign, the narrative of segregation between indigenous and non-indigenous people was intensively carried out by Anies' supporters below. And, what is meant by non-natives is Ahok and people of Chinese or Chinese descent (interview 19 April 2022). Idris Ahmad's statement about non-natives is in line with the indications conveyed by Zaki Mubarok (a political observer and academic at UIN Ciputat) who said that the "native" diction in Anies Baswedan's first political speech had the current context to show that native people, especially in Jakarta, were marginalized economically by people of Chinese/Chinese descent (interview, 27 March 2022). Political observer and academic at Al-Azhar University Indonesia, Ujang Komarudin, also agrees with Zaki Mubarok regarding the context of Anies' statement. He said that the colonialism that Anies meant was colonialism in the context of today's modern economy which makes Jakarta residents marginalized, such as those who live on riverbanks, in slum areas. According to him, they are indigenous products of the new style of colonialism. It is these natives who Anies wants to elevate so that they can also enjoy the development process in DKI (interview 29 March 2022).

Meanwhile, Mardani Ali Sera (member of the PKS faction of the Indonesian House of Representatives) explained that he tended to interpret Anies' indigenous diction as a form of partisanship towards oppressed and marginalized people. The explanations of Mardani Ali Sera, Zaki Mubarok and Ujang Komarudin have a common thread when correlated with Anies Baswedan's rhetoric in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election contestation regarding reclamation policy, which was the scene of his first political speech.

The issue of the use of the word "indigenous" in Anies Baswedan's first political speech became the center of attention of the public and observers in assessing the phenomenon of Anies Baswedan's populism. Assessments of populism vary. There are negative, positive and neutral assessments. In general, the public's negative assessment of Anies Baswedan's populism is based on the assumption that the messages in populist rhetoric have an impact on the emergence of negative public sentiment towards certain groups of society, such as in the case of "indigenous diction", which has the potential to give rise to discrimination and threaten plurality. Apart from that, the perception that there are public lies in a number of Anies' populist work promises, such as the zero percent down payment housing program, has also led to a negative assessment of Anies Baswedan's populism. Another basis for negative assessments, and this is the main one, lies in the assumption that populism is solely an instrument for achieving and maintaining political power through populist rhetoric.

Audiences who positively assess Anies Baswedan's populism tend to take a normative perspective on a number of populist messages that rely on taking sides or defending weak and marginalized people. Populism as a norm that fights for the interests and welfare of the people is a good and positive thing (Zaki Mubarok, 27 March 2022). In fact, the goals of the Republic

of Indonesia as stated in the preamble to the 1945 Constitution and a number of constitutional contents, such as welfare and social justice, are considered populism. Therefore, populism is seen as something constitutional and positive. There is nothing wrong with populism and pro-people populist rhetoric because it is in accordance with the constitution (Geisz Chalifah, 21 January 2022). In fact, pro-people populist rhetoric, from a democratic perspective, is an effort to renew or purify democracy by building direct relationships with the people, providing channels that are directly connected to political decision makers related to the public or people's interests. The overall message of populism in the text of Anies Baswedan's first political speech has a positive tone (Nyarwi Ahmad, 6 April 2022).

Meanwhile, those with a neutral opinion are based on the views and attitudes of the public who assume that populism is a pro-people promise. Therefore, they cannot immediately judge, but first see whether the populist promises are actually realized or not. If the promise is realized in reality, then populism is positive. On the other hand, if it is not implemented, populism will become negative.

All of the descriptions above have confirmed the truth of the hypothesis that the rhetoric of Anies Baswedan's first political speech as Governor of DKI Jakarta on October 16 2017, from a populism perspective, is a populist political communication style, namely a style of communication about political policies that are populist in nature

In Burke's dramatization perspective, the motive for using a populist political communication style in Anies Baswedan's first political speech as Governor is related to guilt. In Burke's concept of the guilt-redemption cycle, the motive of a symbolic action is something related to the desire to atone for an actor's guilt. So, referring to Burke's concept, the rhetoric of Governor Anies Baswedan's first political speech as a symbolic act was carried out because of the desire to atone for the Governor's guilt.

Indications of Anies Baswedan's guilt can be found in the Burkeian dramatic pentad analysis. In the pentad analysis, it was found that there was critical rhetoric aimed at the leadership of the previous governor, Ahok or Basuki Tjahaya Purnama, who were considered to represent the political elite and economic elite from a populist perspective. The rhetoric of criticism can be read from Anies Baswedan's statement in paragraphs 8, 10, 11, 12, 14 and 18 in relation to the context or scene. Anies Baswedan criticized Ahok as follows:

- Ahok represents elite interests (political and economic);
- Ahok does not side with the people, does not pay attention to the interests of the people;
- Ahok oppresses the poor and weak;
- Ahok is unfair to the people
- Ahok acted arbitrarily towards the people
- Ahok could not fulfill his promise of independence
- Ahok did not apply Pancasila correctly.

Anies Baswedan's critical rhetoric shows that the leadership of his predecessor, Governor Ahok, was considered a failure. This is a condition that is considered not ideal, not fulfilling the principle of perfection in Burke's perspective. Therefore, as the new governor who has the responsibility to improve the welfare of the citizens of Jakarta, Anies feels guilty if he does not make changes and improvements to the conditions of government left by his predecessor. Apart from that, the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election contestation which was fierce and left residue that has not disappeared, namely the polarization or division of Jakarta residents (interview with Taufik Damas, 6 April 2022), also gives rise to feelings of guilt.

Guided by Burke's perspective, the rhetoric of Anies Baswedan's first political speech as governor is understood to be intended to show a symbolic pattern: the negative situation left by his predecessor that he faced, feelings of guilt as a leader, purification through victimization or scapegoating, occurred redemption. In this case, the blame is placed on former governor Ahok and his supporting elites, both political elites and economic elites, as a symbol of purification.

This symbol of purification is a stepping stone for exploring the real symbolic motives related to the motive of the desire to redeem guilt. In other words, it is necessary to find the reasoning for why the election of Governor Anies Baswedan chose the symbol of purification in the form of victimage or scapegoating. The answer to this question can lead to the discovery of the true symbolic motif that drives symbolic language actions in the form of the rhetoric of Anies Baswedan's first political speech as Governor of DKI Jakarta.

To find out, this can be done through pentad analysis, especially on the elements of agency and purpose. In the previous section, it was revealed that Governor Anies Baswedan, in carrying out symbolic actions in the form of a populist political communication style, used 4 (four) strategies, namely: populism strategy; unity strategy; historical narrative strategies; and prayer strategies. Of the four strategies, the populism strategy is the most dominant one used. The four strategies above are used to achieve 10 types of goals, namely:

- 1) Criticize the leadership of former Governor Ahok and his supporting elites;
- 2) Realizing unity, equality and social cohesion, as well as encouraging the emergence of equality in relations between citizens;
- 3) Building the city together, working together and synergizing between citizens, as well as collaborating between the government and the people in advancing the city as an anti-thesis to the leadership of former Governor Ahok;
- 4) Encourage the realization of social justice for all Indonesian people by making efforts to realize social justice for the people of Jakarta;
- 5) Building closeness, togetherness and unity between the leader and the people;
- 6) Demonstrate that Governor Anies' government policies are pro-people and will take affirmative action policies for weak and marginalized people;
- 7) Building a self-image as an exemplary leader who is Pancasila, humanist, aspirational and religious;
- 8) Showing that Anies as a leader shares the same history with the people of Jakarta and Indonesia, has a shared collective memory as a victim of colonialism in the past. Therefore, we invite them to come together to face contemporary colonialism or neo-colonialism which is represented by political elites and economic elites which are considered detrimental to the people;
- 9) Convince the people that the promise of Indonesian independence can be fulfilled in Jakarta, where Indonesia was thought, designed and born, under his leadership;
- 10) Building people's trust and support for Governor Anies Baswedan's leadership.

The goals mentioned above are predominantly achieved with the symbolic strategy of populism which is characterized by being pro-people and anti-elite. This populism strategy, when linked to the context of the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election contestation, which was the scene of his first political speech, was a symbolic instrument used by Anies Baswedan to gain voters' trust and support to defeat Ahok. In fact, in the public sphere (read: media) there are many opinions stating that the populism strategy implemented by Anies Baswedan was the

main factor that led to his victory. One of them is reflected in an opinion article from Hasanudin Ali entitled "Anies, Riding The Populism Wave" (alvara-strategic.com, 3 May 2017). Therefore—based on a populist perspective—it is natural that the method of purification chosen by Anies Baswedan is victimage or scapegoating, by placing the blame on former governor Ahok.

From a political communication perspective (Anwar Arifin, 2011: 177-209), populism in the aims mentioned above can be interpreted as an effort to build a positive political image and public opinion towards the political communicator, namely Anies Baswedan. With a good political image and public opinion, the people's trust and support for his leadership as governor can be gained, so that his government leadership can be effective. That way, his power was maintained. This is the political motif contained in Anies Baswedan's populist political communication style as governor.

Anies Baswedan's populism as a style of political communication shown in the rhetoric of his first political speech as Governor of DKI Jakarta on October 16 2017, in the Burkeian dramatism perspective, is a symbolic act of an agent in a particular situation or context (scene) with strategic choices. certain (agency) to achieve certain goals (purpose), related to power (power struggle). Symbolic actions refer to the rhetoric of populist political speeches that contain elements of pro-people, anti-elite messages, exclusion of outside groups, and crisis narratives. Agent refers to a rhetor, speaker or communicator with various identities. In the study of speech rhetoric, what is meant by agent is the person making the speech with an identity attached to him. In this research, Anies Baswedan as governor is an agent. In his speech, Anies Baswedan's populism as governor was reflected in a statement containing the following message:

- revive all citizens' assemblies in Jakarta (paragraph 11);
- policy making will be based on public interests, not group or corporate interests (paragraph 12);
- Be a leader for all. However, emphasizing clear partiality for weak and marginalized people (paragraph 13)
- collaborate with the people in development (paragraph 14)
- Leadership must provide an example that reflects life's devotion to the citizens and city of Jakarta (paragraph 16)
- The will and aspirations of the people are the basis for governing (paragraph 18)

The situational environment or the context (scene) for Anies' first political speech was the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election contestation. For analysis purposes, this scene was found precisely through the method of identification and cross checking of words, phrases, sentences as well as messages and narratives, by means of : First, identify words, phrases and sentences in the first political speech related to the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada contestation. Second, explore the similarity of the messages and/or narratives conveyed by Anies Baswedan in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada contestation with the messages and/or narratives contained in his first political speech as governor. Third, as a complement, explore the audience's perception about the background or context of the speech through in-depth interviews. Determining the correct scene in reading a symbolic action will determine the accuracy of the meaning of the message and also the level of success in revealing what the interests of power are in it.

In Burke's dramatic perspective using scene-act ratio analysis, the influence of scene elements on symbolic action (act) can be known, in the sense that the symbolic action can be read as a response to the scene. Therefore, symbolic actions must be read as a package with the

scene that influences them. In this way, the meaning of symbolic actions can be understood and the power interests within them can potentially be revealed.

Governor Anies Baswedan's populist rhetoric as a symbolic act when read as a package with the context of the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election contestation as the scene has a number of political functions. First, criticizing former Governor Ahok and his policies, as well as the elites who support him, both political elites and economic elites. Second, building closeness and togetherness with the people, namely an entity that is separate and has opposing interests to the established elite which is considered corrupt. In this effort, Governor Anies Baswedan as an agent positions himself as part of and spokesperson for the people in front of the elite. Third, the function of building a positive political image and public opinion, such as an image as an exemplary leader who is nationalist, Pancasilaist, humanist, aspirational, defender of the weak and religious (paragraphs 2, 11, 13, 16, 20 and 22). Fourth, the function of building trust and support (trust and support building) of the people towards the leader, the governor. This was done by criticizing the previous former governor's policies while proposing alternative policies as his anti-thesis. That way, people's support for the leader can be built.

In Burke's rhetorical perspective, the above political functions reflect meanings. Where there is meaning there is persuasion, and where there is persuasion, there is rhetoric. Political functions or meanings: criticizing opponents or elites, building closeness or togetherness with the people, building a positive political image and public opinion; building people's trust and support is inherent in the implementation of a number of persuasion strategies, namely: naming strategy, form strategy, and spiritualization strategy. In order to build closeness and togetherness with the people, as well as build people's trust and support - in a Burkeian perspective - a populist leader as a speaker must be consubstantial with the people who are his audience. This consubstantial condition can be achieved through the identification process. For this reason, Governor Anies Baswedan uses a number of identification methods that refer to Burke's concept, namely the method of recognizing and identifying, framing and formal patterns.

An agent's symbolic action to achieve its goals requires agency or strategy, which Burke defines as the method chosen by the actor (who becomes the agent) to achieve his goals. Governor Anies Baswedan, in carrying out symbolic actions in the form of a populist political communication style, uses 4 (four) strategies, namely the unity strategy, populism strategy, historical narrative strategy and prayer strategy, to achieve goals that have motives related to power struggle.

Through the analysis of the Burkeian dramatic pentad along with political communication and populism perspectives, it has been revealed that the motive behind Governor Anies Baswedan's use of a populist political communication style as governor is to build a positive political image and public opinion to gain public trust and support so that he can govern effectively so that his power becomes the governor can be awake. Knowledge of this motive can be used as a guide to reveal what his power interests are, by linking it to Anies Baswedan's political identity and the background context of the situation in which he delivered his first political speech as governor.

From the perspective of political communication and power, Governor Anies Baswedan's first political speech can be understood as an act of political communication that functions to manage the interests inherent in his struggle to gain power through the 2017 DKI Regional Election contestation, and efforts to maintain it. Therefore, the dynamics of regional election contestation are an inseparable context for Governor Anies Baswedan's first political speech after being inaugurated by President Jokowi at the state palace a few hours earlier.

There are several objective facts behind the delivery of Governor Anies Baswedan's first political speech, namely as follows:

- Anies Baswedan was appointed Governor of DKI Jakarta by the president after successfully winning the democratic contestation (2017 DKI Pilkada) over the incumbent candidate, namely Governor Ahok, with 57.95 percent of the vote with voter participation in the Pilkada of 78 percent. There are still 22 percent who do not use their voting rights. This means that Anies Baswedan's victory does not actually reflect the support of the majority of all Jakarta residents.

- Anies Baswedan was promoted and supported by parties whose total number of seats in the DKI Jakarta DPRD for the 2014-2019 period was 28 (26%) seats out of a total of 106 seats. This number is categorized as a minority.

- Anies Baswedan's campaign promise was opposed by elements of the central government (at that time), namely stopping reclamation.

- Anies Baswedan is a non-party politician. He did not join any party, so he is not in the category of political elite who has direct control over the party machine.

These facts can be read as showing that Anies Baswedan's leadership is vulnerable to being weakened, especially by political parties through their representatives in parliament (DPRD DKI Jakarta). Apart from that, a number of campaign promises that have received public attention, such as reclamation, have the potential to fail to be implemented due to opposition from elements of the central government and elites who are their political opponents. If his campaign promises are not carried out it will have a negative impact on the legitimacy of his power as governor, and his political career will be threatened. For this reason, Anies Baswedan needs the support of political forces outside political parties. In the perspective of populism, support can be obtained from the people directly by identifying themselves with the people. Therefore, populist political rhetoric is needed by Anies Baswedan to achieve his identification with the people. From a political communication perspective, populist political rhetoric aims to build a positive political image and public opinion towards Anies Baswedan. The democratic system that is Anies Baswedan's political arena makes it possible to convert positive political image and public opinion into political power. This kind of political power as a representation of people's support is what Anies Baswedan wants to achieve to protect and strengthen the legitimacy of his power as Governor and pave the way for the advancement of his political career. This is the power interest behind the use of a populist political communication style in Anies Baswedan's first political speech as governor of DKI Jakarta.

The Burkeian dramatic pentad analysis of the rhetoric of Governor Anis Baswedan's first political speech is an attempt to understand populist rhetoric as a practice and communication style of political actors. The five elements of analysis, namely agent, scene, act, agency, and purpose used in the analysis process are relatively adequate to reveal the motives and power interests of political actors in the rhetoric of their speeches, provided that the scene elements can be identified precisely so that they match the act elements. As Burke describes, the right scene is like a suitable container for the act. Burke's description is a rule that must be fulfilled. However, Burke does not explain how to find the right scene, especially for acts in the form of rhetorical speeches by political actors. Therefore, researchers try to fulfill the rule of 'a fit container' by identifying and cross-checking words, phrases, sentences, messages and narratives of political actors in actions with suspected scenes. If similarities or matches are found, the suspected scene can be determined as the correct scene. Through this method and equipped with audience's perception, researchers determined the 2017 DKI Jakarta regional

election contestation as the appropriate scene for the rhetoric of Governor Anies Baswedan's first political speech.

The absence of Burke's explanation about how to find the right scene is a deficiency in the application of Burke's dramatism theory. Another shortcoming, viewed from the perspective of communication and rhetoric analysis, is that it does not pay attention to the audience's perception of the rhetoric of a speech delivered by a speaker or political actor. This causes difficulty in uncovering information that is vague (not clear) or deliberately obscured by the speaker, which is hidden in the meaning of the text (spoken or written, verbal or non-verbal). For example, researchers have difficulty uncovering the true meaning of the message surrounding the diction 'indigenous' in speech texts, for example behind the diction who is meant by non-native, who (the audience) is the target audience for the message and in what context. Researchers experienced difficulties because the speaker (Governor Anies Baswedan) did not provide any explanation at all about non-natives. The absence of this information can make it difficult for researchers to uncover the speaker's true motives. The new researcher obtained clarity on the information and was able to formulate its meaning after asking for opinions, information and perceptions from people close to the speaker and a number of people who were the audience for the delivery of the first political speech through interviews. Therefore, it is necessary to include an additional element in the form of audience perception in the Burkeian dramatic pentad analysis. In a political communication perspective, from the five elements, namely: communicator, message, media/channel, recipient and effect, the audience's perception plays a role in representing the elements of recipient and effect. This will increase the strength and sharpness of the analysis to reveal the motives and interests of the speaker's power in the rhetoric of his speech. This is a finding that renews the application of Burke's dramatism theory.

With the right scene, namely the political events of the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada contestation, the meaning of the rhetoric of Governor Anies Baswedan's first political speech must be read in the context of the political events of the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada contestation that preceded it as a single unit. In the political events of the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election contestation, there are a number of political facts attached to Anies Baswedan as an agent, namely:

- 1) Non-parties politicians, or not cadres of a particular party
- 2) Supporting parties are a minority in the DKI Jakarta DPRD for the 2014-2019 period, namely the Gerindra Party (15 seats), PKS (11 seats), and PAN (2 seats) totaling 28 seats (26%) out of 106 seats;
- 3) Populist campaign promises (such as stopping reclamation, no evictions, zero percent down payment on houses, arrangement and integration of pro-pedestrian modes of transportation, etc.);
- 4) Use of populism political strategies;
- 5) Criticism of Governor Ahok's policies and leadership;
- 6) Achieved victory with a voter turnout of 57.95%, with a voter participation rate of 78%.

Apart from these 6 (six) political facts, in the DKI Jakarta Pilkada contestation, a number of negative sentiments have also emerged in society which have the potential to lead to polarization and social disintegration and threaten unity, such as the appeal to prohibit praying for the bodies of Ahok supporters from certain community groups, pros and cons. (supporters and anti) '212 Movement', the phenomenon of using the term "kadrun" in society, and others.

The meaning of the rhetoric of the first political speech will always be related to political and social facts in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election contestation.

The rhetoric of Governor Anies Baswedan's first political speech—according to the scene—is the populist rhetoric of political actors to achieve their political goals, namely gaining and/or maintaining power. Populist rhetoric functions as a political communication strategy to build a political image of a leader who is pro-people and positive public opinion regarding that image, which can be converted into alternative political forces that support his leadership.

In the perspective of populist political communication style and Burke's dramatism theory, Governor Anies Baswedan's populist rhetoric is a communication act of government political power holders who persuade the people (audience) and build their identification with the people through messages: pro-people, anti-elite, exclusion of outside groups, and crisis narratives—both explicit and implicit—all of which are driven by motives in the form of a desire to build alternative political power from the people to protect and strengthen the legitimacy of the leadership in order to maintain its power and pave the way for the advancement of its political career. This shows that populist rhetoric can be an instrument of power for the sake of power. Populist messages pro-people's interests are essentially oriented towards perpetuating power.

The use of the perspective above to reveal the motives and interests of power behind the populist rhetoric of political actors is actually an attempt at a synthesis between Burke's dramatism theory and populism theory. Dramatic theory is an approach to understanding the use of language symbols in the social world. Humans are assumed to be symbol-using animals, which can be used to create and maintain hierarchies of power and identification among dissimilar groups. In dramatism there is the concept of identification which is also the core of Burke's rhetorical theory. Identification in Burke's perspective is a concept that brings together the interests of a person or group with the interests of other people or groups so that consubstantiality or a way of acting together is built to share sensations, concepts, images, ideas and attitudes. In simple terms, identification is the concept of building togetherness. To achieve this, an instrument called an agency or strategy is needed. Meanwhile, in populism there are pro-people ideas which function as an attraction to unite the interests of leaders and the people so that togetherness is built. In this case, populism is an identification instrument. It can act as an agency or strategy to achieve identification. With the addition of elements of populism, Burkeian rhetoric can become populist rhetoric. The power motives and interests behind populist rhetoric can be understood and revealed through a populist dramatization approach.

From a democratic perspective, populist rhetoric has 2 opposing potentials. First, the potential to renew or purify democracy. Restore the meaning of democracy as true sovereignty of the people. It is not elite or oligarchic sovereignty that has hijacked democracy. This is a positive potential. Second, the potential that could damage democratic order and values, which is categorized as negative potential. Anies Baswedan's populist rhetoric as governor in his first political speech contained two potentials at once, positive potential and negative potential.

First, regarding positive potential. Governor Anies Baswedan's populist rhetoric, which emphasizes an explicit pro-people message as the basis for government policy making, is a message that affirms the sovereignty of the people. This populist rhetoric which is directed at building togetherness between leaders and the people has the potential to provide direct access for the people to participate in determining and controlling political decisions in the form of public policies related to the interests of the people. This can eliminate the distortions that occur in representative democracy. In this way, the principles of democracy can be realized in their true meaning.

Second, related to negative potential. Governor Anies Baswedan's populist rhetoric which contains an anti-elite message and the exclusion of out-groups is implicit in his pro-people statements, especially hidden in the use of indigenous diction which invites controversy. This controversy is an indication that this statement is problematic. The 'indigenous' diction used by Governor Anies is a method of identifying ambiguous symbols, which is not appropriate to use in the current context of democracy in Indonesia. Ambiguous symbols are a language of symbols that can be interpreted in various ways. Therefore, the use of the term indigenous, and implicitly non-indigenous, without adequate explanation to provide a new, more emancipatory meaning is an act of communication that can threaten democratic values, especially the value of equality. The ambiguous position of political actors' populist rhetoric towards democracy shows that populism has not been treated as a strategy for renewing or refining democracy by populist political actors, but only as a political strategy for the interests of these actors. To transform populism from a political strategy into a strategy for democratic renewal or purification, a populist political actor needs to first eliminate the negative potential that exists in his populist rhetoric.

Referring to the communication style of a populist actor (Ernst, et. al, 2019), Governor Anies Baswedan's populist rhetoric in his first political speech was delivered in a number of styles, namely the patriotism style related to the statement of fulfilling the promise of independence, the colloquial style. Hari (the colloquial style) is related to the use of rhymes, proverbs or proverbs in several regional languages, and the intimation style which is shown in the use of the word "we" in various variants, which shows the closeness of populist political actors to the people.

The characteristic of Governor Anies Baswedan's populist rhetoric is that he does not use abrasive speech which is usually characteristic of the rhetoric of populist political actors, especially when directed at out-groups, such as the populist rhetoric model of Donald Trumps, Chavez, and other populist actors. in Europe. Governor Anies Baswedan's populist rhetoric is delivered in a polite speaking style. This is an additional treasure to the literature on the speaking styles of populist political actors when using rhetoric. Polite populist rhetoric also has the potential to eliminate the negative elements of populism, provided that it also eliminates ambiguous messages that can give rise to discriminatory sentiments in society. Thus, populism can be treated as a strategy for democratic renewal or purification.

Conclusion

Based on the entire description of the Burkeian dramatic pentad analysis of the message components of the populist political communication style in Governor Anies Baswedan's first political speech, a conclusion was drawn in response to the formulation of the research problem, namely as follows:

1. The populist political communication style is the populist rhetoric of a government political actor or leader that was born from the democratic process as a response to a particular political event. Populist rhetoric features pro-people, anti-elite messages, exclusion of outside groups, and crisis narratives that are stated explicitly or implicitly, and has a political function to criticize the establishment and status quo; building a positive political image and public opinion; building closeness and togetherness with the people; and build people's trust and support for their leadership.

2. The motive for populist rhetoric of a government political actor or political leader is the desire to build a positive political image and public opinion and convert it into political power that supports his leadership.

3. The power interest behind the populist rhetoric of a government political actor or political leader is to protect and strengthen the legitimacy of leadership to maintain power and pave the way for the advancement of his political career

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