

Rhetoric Situation of Political Parties in Social Media

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to give the reader a description of the situation rhetoric of political parties in social media. To get a description, the researcher uses the situation theory rhetoric of Bitzer, communicative action Habermas, and Toulmin model of argumentation. The results showed rhetoric situation led to the construction of the rhetoric message produced in social media. The rhetoric message was the subject of conversation in social media, which is produced intentionally to persuade others. In order to persuade others, the political parties made a number of claims that political parties have been working for the interests of the people, by using a number of data, such as photos of activities, growth chart, statement, and so forth. Based on the claim, the political parties are trying to influence netcitizens to give voice support to political parties. Thus, an agreement together was made to win the candidate of a particular political party.

Keywords: rhetoric situation, social media, communicative action, Toulmin model, conversation, political communication.

Interact:

Vol.5, No.2, Hal 48 – 62.
November 2016
Prodi Ilmu Komunikasi,
Unika Atma Jaya

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I. INTRODUCTION

The development of human communications technologies has now penetrated in all spheres of life, ranging from social, economic to political. In the political world, the presence of communication technology is also welcomed. With the communication technology, political parties competing to attract the sympathy and support of the people to be elected to the party winning the elections. Various techniques such persuasion is done by using the election situation and produces a populist discourse that is appreciated by the public. The discourse is produced and then disseminated through social media and to the community through a gadget that provides social media applications.

Through the gadget, which include social media content, bring up a new habit in determining the political choice of the people. Among the ways to decide on political choices, today's society has a way of reading the track record of political parties via online. In the act of reading this online, the appeal is visual elements in the text that could attract attention. To that end, the rhetoric techniques are also needed to persuade people to seek out ideas, attitudes, until the work program of the political parties to achieve sound support.

Diverse social media content has also become an important part of the dissemination of information in Indonesia over the last few years. Based on the search Hearne, twitter Jakarta is the capital of the world, and Bandung was ranked 6th in the number of twitter users universal feast. In 2015, the number of active SIM cards in Indonesia are more than the total population, and with cheap smart phones are increasingly available, the use of social media in Indonesia will continue to grow. In the 2014 election, the candidates and political parties compete to take advantage of social media to attract about 21 million voters to vote for them, because there is more than 80 percent of Internet users in Indonesia are under 35 years old.

Social media is the modern face of Indonesian politics. Although on the one hand, the political face of social media, is also similar to the face of politics in general, i.e. just by approximately Rp 40 thousand, can buy 1000 followers on Twitter, like mass paid a fee to participate in the campaign marches or street demonstrations. Apart from the issue of payment of followers in social media, social media has become aspects of daily life in Indonesia. The phenomenon of making news and discuss about it in social media, makes the issue of Indonesia into the global conversation. Every day, 2.4 percent of the world tweet originated from Indonesia, it means 1 tweet sent every 15 seconds. This potential, it is fitting properly managed in the management of the construction of rhetoric and argumentation that social media Indonesian citizen, involved in the management of the country, knowing the political process, and create a dialogue between political parties and citizens as a whole.

A research institute, Katapedia, conduct a study on the activities and strategies of political parties in social media such as Twitter and Facebook. The research was conducted from 1 November 2013 to 1 December 2013. The method used is to monitor the activities or conversations tens of thousands of Twitter and Facebook in the social media such mention, reply, hashtag, and others by using certain software. According Katapedia director, Deddy Rahman, political parties in Indonesia have understood the power of social media such as Twitter and Facebook.

"Between the social media with real conditions on the ground there is a correlation. It is also a question and study programs of doctoral studies at foreign universities, and the result is a reflection, anyone who supported in social media, it will be supported by real voters real. The reason is users are higher: internet users 150 million, 40 million Twitter users, 50 million Facebook users. In addition, mobile phones cost to access use of Twitter and has become cheaper, less than IDR 300,000 (less than 25 USD

Following the popularity of political parties according to Katapedia: 1. Gerindra 19.67 percent, 13.68 percent 2. Nasdem, 3. PKS 12.97 percent, 12.12 percent 4. PDIP, Golkar 5. 11.45 percent, 10.17 percent Hanura 6., 7. PPP 9.84 percent, 9.65 percent 8. Democrat "said Deddy. Based on such political situation in the above, we can conclude, social media is a persuasion that is taken into account by the political parties. Social media is like a market, where political parties can market political activities of influential figures. Activity leaders or political parties, organized into content ready to spread on social media and then be consumed by as many users of social media. This is where the role of social networking. Through a status on Facebook / Twitter, news headlines along the link, it will be read by friends or followers who are connected through social networking.

In this era, political parties are also challenged to have an official account on a social network. Through the official account of the party, the political parties will be able to deliver the news about the party, both at the national or regional level. Thus, information about the party will flood the social networks. Unfortunately, the use of the party's official account has not been managed properly. Accounts of political parties are only active in the election campaign; the rest contain content that has long been made. Although the accounts of political parties have a weakness, which usually only have a friend / follower of people who have sympathy with the party. While the target is the general public, who still possess choice. Then this party account, will be more effective when passed by the personal account of a party cadres or sympathizers of the party. Because of the personal accounts, would have a friend / follower of usually also comrades from everyday social life, although it was likely a

friend who had just met at social networking. When a party cadre wrote about his party's status, that status will be read by a friend on the social network. Even if your friends do not have a tendency with the party cadres, but the news of the party has been widespread.

A party cadre who pass on the news of the party in his status had the opportunity to discuss directly with their friends who are interested in the news. These discussions usually are fluid and relaxed, although not infrequently also lead to abuse and eventually broke up friendships in social networks. Which can establish a value, if the account owner's personal integrity and influence. In rhetoric, the integrity of the account owner called ethos.

When looking back at the beginning of the history of rhetoric, namely the 4th century BC, in which Aristotle wrote on rhetoric. He defines rhetoric as any means used to persuasion about a topic. According to him, the rhetoric contains three elements, namely: ethos, pathos, and logos. Ethos concerning the credibility of the communicators. Pathos of the ability to stimulate the emotions / feelings, and logos interpreted logical evidence that the nature of the message, the message is based on the arguments and evidence, rationalization discourse is used, with the ability to express arguments in favor of becoming a rational proposition.

Of the three elements above, Aristotle believed that the most important is the ethic, because someone will believe it because of the reputation or charisma communicator, even though the facts weak message. This explains why people who run for office, undergo extensive training on how to deal with people, to develop public charisma. Aristotle believed that ideally, people will be persuaded by the logos, but he acknowledged that most people are more influenced by what we feel and care, rather than what is believed to be factual evidence.

Rhetoric Aristotle had a major influence on the development of the art of rhetoric. The effect is not only transmitted to the famous roman characters, such as Cicero and Quintilian, who is often called the Aristotelian. But until the last few decades now, philosophical feature of rhetoric Aristotle was rediscovered in interpreting the general theory persuasive. His theory of rhetorical argument, the basis of the dialectic, logic, and demonstration events. In the process, the rhetoric has a clear persuasive function, at the same epistemic function is a way to discover what is known and what is known about the subject. Therefore, the modern definition, rhetoric merely deliberate use of language to influence others. Whenever we use language, we are engaged in the act of rhetoric.

Based on the above explanation, through the ethos of the account owner, sometimes rationality which is arranged in the form of logos had no effect. Someone who has captivated his heart by a party, he himself would conduct the defense. The account owner will use the capabilities of logic when there slanted news hit of a party. Here, the role of rhetoric

arguments role through social networks. This phenomenon has become a new challenge for political parties in developing the ethos, logos and pathos of his party, not just to be liked and chosen by the community, but can raise awareness of the public to participate emancipatory politics.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Bitzer (1992: 8) says, the situation is the source and basis of the activity rhetoric and rhetorical criticism. There are three constituents of the situation rhetoric, namely urgency, Attendance, and Constraints. Urgency is characterized by defective imperfections, barriers, something that is waiting to be done, things that are other than it should be. Urgency is positive that require modification can be assisted by a discourse or discourse. For example, the human actions that are harmful to people and actions can be changed only if the discourse addressed to him. For example: air pollution, has urgency because the need for modification of positive rhetoric, namely the reduction of pollution. Effort to reduce air pollution, it is very urgent to invite the help of discourse.

Discourse is needed to produce public awareness, anger, and appropriate action. The strength or weakness of urgency, depending on the clarity of perception and the level of interest in it, so that the discourse can remove, or persist despite repeated modified. Party cadres who have become party lovers, are very aware of the urgency of the situation rhetoric, especially for political communication. They take advantage of the characteristics of social media, which is able to reach all people, to construct a positive message about the party.

Meanwhile, the characteristics of social media by Antony Mayfield (2008: 05) there are five, namely: 1). Participation, 2). Openness, 3). Conversations / Chat, 4). Community, and 5). Connectedness. The first character is participation. Social media encourages contributions and feedback (feedback) from any interested person, or are interested in using social media. Social media allow users to easily participate in it, share and create the message.

The second character is openness. Almost all social media services, open to feedback by means of elections, comment, and share information. Rarely encountered restrictions to access and utilize the contents of the message in social media. If no password protection for the contents on social media, then it is likely to be considered strange.

The third character is a conversation/ chat. Social media, enabling conversations or chats between users in two directions. The fourth character is a community. Social media allows the formation of communities quickly and communicate effectively, on a variety of

issues or interests, ranging from hobbies, politics, up favorite TV shows. And the fifth character is connectedness. The majority of social media thrives, because it has the ability to serve connectivity between users. The ability of facilities obtained through links to websites, sources of information, and other user-users. Social media is media designed to extend human social interaction, using the internet and web technologies.

The second constituent rhetorical situation is the audience / audiences. Because of the rhetoric discourse can produce changes, by influencing the decisions and actions of those who serve as mediators of change, then the rhetoric always need an audience. Rhetoric spectators / audience consist only of those who are able to be influenced by the discourse, and be a mediator changed. Audience / public rhetoric also acts as a mediator function produces a change in the discourse. For political parties, friends in Facebook are the audience, which together can form a community as a mediator of change. Through a connection between the audience, there will be interaction, which expands discourse into the discourse of political parties 'urgent / important' in the rhetorical situation. Political parties hope friends in the social network Facebook chat can invite as an aid in producing a discourse of public awareness, which then encourage appropriate action in accepting the idea of political parties, with the aim of making friends in social media become cadres or sympathizers of political parties.

And the third constituent of the rhetoric situation is an obstacle. Constraints consist of people, events, objects, and relationships that are part of the situation, because they have the power to limit the decisions and actions necessary to modify urgency. Source obstacle is the belief, attitude, documents, facts, traditions, pictures, interests, motives and the like. Political parties know that on the one hand, instead reinforced by the community, the situation in the rhetoric of social media, he also will be blasted by various constraints of beliefs, attitudes, interests and motives are different from friends in Facebook. Here is an interesting point to prove, how the political parties' resilience in the face of obstacles in the rhetorical situation.

Choice of political party, inviting chatter on social media, is a response to the rhetorical situation today. Rhetoric of the current situation, cannot ignore the role of rhetorical arguments in the digital era, or better known as the digital rhetoric. Looking at the phenomenon of social media can be used as a means to respond to the situational rhetoric, political parties realize that social media should be used. On the other hand, the development trend of the science of rhetoric, rhetoric makes should not be identical with the speech. Warnick and Heineman has initiated a study on the use of rhetoric in a variety of new media technologies, especially for political activities, since 1998, at which time it was just known

internet communities. This effort was later developed into a separate study published in the form of online journal rhetoric.

In the second edition of the online rhetoric, writing published is the result of a study on how the rhetorical theory can be applied to political activities in a variety of new media technologies. Warnick and Heineman study the web as a public space. How websites, social media, smartphone apps, blogs, and web-based anti-institutional as practices of hackers in the activities of electoral politics, provides important insights into the theory of rhetoric about how persuasion, identity, narrative, intertextuality, social movements, in the context of technology media. How can the viral video, social identity, social media, and anti-institutional political activities online? They give examples of rhetorical analysis of political communication and persuasion in information and communication technology, as well as provide guidance for those who are interested in the analysis of the rhetoric of digital communication in the practice of rhetoric to digital and social media.

According to Zachry (2009), analysis of rhetoric, can be applied to almost any text or graphic, such as speeches, essays, advertising, poetry, photos, web pages, and even stickers. Text analysis becomes an important element in researching aspects of highly interpretive, especially analyst for the effect of the text. Textual elements, different identified on the perception of people who read the text, so that the analytical work involves the cumulative effect of the selected combination of features in the text. It shows the diversity of research field in rhetoric took a variety of different disciplines (multidisciplinary).

The diversity of the scope of research on rhetoric, because rhetoric offers a number of practical suggestions. Among them suggestions on how to establish credibility, how to construct a logical argument, and how emotionally connect with an audience. Rhetoric also presents epistemology that directs a person to show how social knowledge is generated and built through communication. This allows the practitioner to understand the complexity in building relationships with others, including the use of rhetoric to understand how organizations try to achieve certain political or economic goals, and also shows some of the challenges faced.

A wide variety of rhetorical theory above, interesting when linked with the ability of argumentation in the community who like to write and read online. Because, when the article was published online, it will spread to a wide range of people and communication networks. But unfortunately, not many people are aware of the arguments in situations rhetoric. In fact, the use of online media is massively used in everyday life, requires knowledge in using online media, in particular establishing an effective rhetorical argument in rhetoric situation.

The essential requirement learned by everyone, in particular political parties and citizen social media. Why? Due to the utilization of social media today are very important, especially to form a positive opinion on political parties.

The background of this study by researchers drive and desire to always want to know more about the workings of social media for political communication today, and how it can work better, tomorrow. Therefore, this study aims to provide realistic input but remain optimistic. Researchers are in a position to believe that one of the objectives of the formation of political parties is a state institution that is committed to oversee the government, in order to run properly, with a strategic role in society. Researchers also realize that the position of political parties in the government also has its limitations. However, through it, the researchers realized that the ability of researchers as academics is to design a research institute which examines the part of human nature as an individual, human nature who gathered in groups (political parties), the nature of the group with the trend of using the media, and as academic insights in producing discourse group (Lovers) based on the rhetoric situation.

Things that make me interested in studying the situation rhetorical argumentation studies political party, is the amount of pressure or negative issues that strike a political party, I observed, has always been a trending topic on social media. It gives me the question why, and what the political parties? Political parties as subjects of research questions, has three dimensions to be studied, i.e. understanding the political parties as the discourse of the past, present, and future. It is rhetorical arguments relate to the situation, where the use of rhetoric discourse construction are uneven in practice the rhetoric, and challenges for researchers to obtain the theory in practice the rhetoric of political parties.

Modern political rhetoric with social media, often called evil reasoned, with reactions and solutions to attack someone, or some organization, which does not meet the expectations of the critics. In the arena of public rhetoric, critics narrow the focus of rhetoric on failure, or about the scandal or crisis. In the study Romzek, models rhetoric above is an example of the "Hot Rhetoric", where rhetoric created outside rationality and logic. The study also linked to how the theory of political communication studies discuss the relationship of discourse and democracy, with the behavior of voters who adjust their view about who successfully obtain voter alignments, which is associated with the preferred party.

All political parties realize the importance of social media in the dissemination of information about the activities of political parties. This is done because the political parties realize that social media is a tool that serves as a source of news and information. Political

parties hope their activities in the form of chatter on social media, can be an inclusive movement, and finally are accepted by society. But as the development, movement of political parties to be active in social media, could also be the deconstructive to his own political party.

III. RESEARCH METHOD

This research approach is qualitative approach using critical paradigm. Critical paradigm used to dismantle the constructed pseudo-reality of social forces, political and economic. In the critical paradigm, a theory is a critique to reveal the actual conditions behind a reality (false) or false consciousness that is observed empirically.

Ontological aspect of critical paradigm is the reality observed, is the reality of "pseudo" which has been formed by the historical process and social, cultural, economic and political. Epistemological paradigm is a critical aspect of the relationship between researcher and researched reality is always mediated by specific values. Critical axiological paradigm aspect is the values, ethics and moral choice is an inseparable part of the study. Researcher place herself as activists, advocates or intellectual actor behind the process of social transformation. The aim of research for social criticism, transformation, emancipation and social movements.

Methodological aspects of the critical paradigm Prioritize comprehensive analysis, contextual and multi-level analysis can be done by placing themselves as activists / participants in the social transformation of research quality criteria determined by the historical situation (Historical situation); the extent to which research attention to historical context, social, cultural, economic and political.

IV. ANALYSIS

Activities of political parties in social media did not emphasize the communicative rationality. Political party communications made in social media did not make the citizens of social media as the two subjects are equal. Dialogue that exists is not the dialogue that often, but the character at any time, so it is not growing understanding between the political parties with the residents. Thus, the resulting consensus has not been born out of the understanding intersubjective participants.

Within the framework of a great theory, Habermas does not want to solve the problem of political parties by way of power or violence, but by way of argument. In the argument of political parties in social media, the political parties have not been able to position itself as

participants who lost in preparing or giving his opinion. The process of error correction can rarely occur.

Habermas explains that intersubjective communication is a form of emancipatory praxis that can occur when every individual affirms the validity of four claims, namely truth, honesty, clarity, and accuracy. In addition, he also outlined that the communication should be away from pressure or domination. In the communication of political parties in a number of social media, the validity of the claim has not been seen as truth, honesty, clarity let alone accuracy. Truth presented the agenda of the party that is rarely updated, so honesty to work on the basis of people's interests, is also doubtful. That look is working on the basis of party interests.

Clarity of information is also not obvious, because it is less up dated info about the party that is in the websites of political parties, as well as on social networking page official political parties. This gave rise to communicative action that is not appropriate, because it is not responsive to complaints or voice of people who want novelty and speed information in renewing the activity of political parties. This indicates that the work of political parties tend to be slow, to keep pace with changes in the show on social media pages of political parties.

According to Habermas, human instrumental rationality is wrong, then Habermas makes a theory of rationality that is communicative, located on a man's ability to achieve mutual understanding towards other humans. Human relations are not based on dominance orientation, but the orientation of mutual understanding. Basically, communicative rationality is embedded in the human mind itself, so it will always be there and could not be eliminated as long as man is still there. The problem, communication link that exists between political parties and the public is still domination. Because the argument politik party, bleum qualify three basic elements of communicative action.

First, in expressing something, political parties should be completely reveal the truth. Secondly, in expressing the truth, political parties must seek justice against the other. Third, hinted at the existence of sincerity when in a relationship with another, albeit against political opponents though. The third requirement is the primary basis, can not be freely performed, because the interests of political parties, the terms with pragmatic interests, the domination of power, as well as the distribution of seats in the government based on the acquisition of the party in the election ballot.

Habermas explains that communicative action is a form of interaction that the success rate depends on the two parties interact in reaching agreement or an agreement, based on mutual understanding, or the relationship between the subjects with the subjects take place in

dialogue, and not targeted or monological rationality relationship. In social media, political parties do not offer a deal to his followers in social media. Besides, the interaction that exists also does not require the approval of the followers in the social media, the political parties have communicated is program A, please be supported. If there is a conflict in the program, political party also does not necessarily give claim clarity in the matter. Sometimes statement also drawn objections from the public voice of social media, but many sound objections were not responded with equal dialogue between political parties and social citizen media.

Habermas also parse the constellation of interests within society through communicative action theory. It offers an ideal form of society. According to Habermas, the public has three types of interests. First, the technical interest, namely the need to provide resources. Secondly, the interests of the interaction. Therefore, social cooperation is needed to survive, then Habermas called it practical interest. The second interest includes the human need to communicate with each other and their practices. Thirdly, the interests of power. Social order, are naturally inclined to the distribution of power, but at the same time, we also have an interest to liberate themselves from domination.

Based on the above three types of interests, the interests of political parties on the resource is huge. A political party is in need of community resources to select and won in a political party. The second interest is the interaction, both political parties who are in need of interaction with the public to capture the aspirations, knowing what the community needs, to calm the public with moral support and material, as the mandate that has been given to political parties by the public. While the third interest is the basic interests of the political party that gained power over society, which is used to change the state become emancipatory. In reality, people are only taken its resources as voters, but have not been invited to interact in the concept of public space for ideas or ideas contributed to political parties, so the situation is still a utopian emancipatory.

According to Habermas, the public sphere is a vehicle, where every interest is revealed clearly, every citizen has equal access to participate, then they are compelled to put the interests together and reach a consensus on the direction that society forward and find solutions together to solve problems they face. The nature of social media does not have a hierarchy, in reality cannot be a public space to reach a consensus to solve the problem in government. This is because the model of rhetorical arguments of political parties that have not containing four forms of emancipatory praxis of communicative action of political parties which contain truth, honesty, clarity, and accuracy.

As we know, Habermas's theory is also not free from criticism, particularly from the criticism leveled by postmodern thinkers like Derrida, Lyotard, or Foucault. This postmodern thinkers suspecting that forms Habermas's theory comes from metaphysical reflection. The concept of communicative rationality is also suspected of being a universal solution that also saves suppression element behind it. The suppression element lies in its universal claims are considered to eliminate the difference, locality, as well as everything that is particular.

According to the authors, criticism of communicative action Habermas, also disregard the basic objectives of the interests of power. Emancipatory power of value, it is still be something utopian. In terms of locality Indonesia, the ideology of making this emancipatory activity has a negative value. For example, a party with Islamic ideology, will assess the emancipatory power that legalized Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans-gender (LGBT) practice would denounce such actions, as opposed to religious values. Thus, the authors conclude emancipatory practices at large cannot be free-free, because there are rules, norms and consensus-based ideology that restrict freedom. But Habermas's theory associated with the condition of Indonesian society, pluralistic, due to differences in perception, ideology, religion, and interests, of course, requires good communication skills to achieve mutual understanding interrelatedness. Mutual understanding is the communicative act that must continue to be built by a political party

Researchers also saw, there are several stages in the process that has not been disclosed communicative action Habermas on social media. This stage is based on the characteristics of 'inviting chatter' on social media, as a means of speeding up a communicative action can be accepted into the consensus, the friendship on social media interaction. In addition, the researchers also incorporate rhetoric situation in this phase as well as accelerate stimulus communicative action on social media. The stages are:

1. The situation that invites conversation and participation. There are three important things in this stage are: Urgency chat, social media citizen's role as a mediator of change, the consensus of citizens to the discourse of social media.
2. The construction phase of the message, a basic principle of social media communicative action. On this principle, communicative action is all the information submitted to the public, is based on the rhetoric of rational argument.
3. Stage of the battle of ideas and discourse in the forum, is the stage when social media chatter citizens in an atmosphere filled with clashing arguments, but then there was a dialogue of mutual understanding in the formation of communicative action.

The above steps used to examine the evidence which can be used to organize the arguments of political parties in social media. There are 6 argumentative strategies used by political parties to show the relationship between the claims and the data used arguments of political parties in social media, with acronym of GASCAP, ie generalizations, analogies, Sign, causality, authority, and principles.

Based on the results obtained Generalization argument, that political parties often use a specific vocabulary that is often used to argue, as a feature of the political party groups of the population. Based on analogy argument, political parties often use an analogy to explain the picture of the situation experienced political party, that incident is being experienced at the moment, ever experienced from a situation or event similar to that experienced by other political parties in different contexts. Based on the incoming argument, political parties also use symbols that exist in the community to produce discourse rhetorical argumentation. Based on the causal argument, political parties are trying to explain why the event or events that creates a political party to respond to the situation in social media. Political parties active in social media in the campaign and relatively rarely active in social media after the election is over. If there is a case of a party, then active in social media activities will be more massive than usual.

Based on the arguments of authority, political parties spread the discourse on social media related political interests and economic ideology of the party. Based on the arguments of principle, political parties in the relations of friendship on social media are trying to be widely accepted by the public. In the use of arguments, Toulmin refers to the argument forum, detailing contextual 'debate' as an activity. Political parties use arguments in a social media forum with the aim of proposing the idea of a political party which was considered as a new social movement that is needed by the community.

Political parties as social media users, constructing a number of ideas that reveal the values, both pros and cons, which is used in a rhetorical argument in social media. Political parties do interaction, provide an explanation of narrative and description are free of the political situation at hand, especially the negative issues that are befalling the party, such as the issue of corruption that ensnared the elite political parties, polemic split within the party, to debate in the council related to the discussion of a bill that highlight the attention of mass media, NGOs, and the public at large.

V. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Situation rhetorical arguments of political parties in social media chatter is a situation that invites citizens, and make political parties perform communicative action in producing a message on social media massively. The message was the subject of conversation in social media, which will be a lot of feedback coming. In order for the forum chatter did not result in a debate that led to the absence of consensus, the political parties perform a number of communicative action in the form of rhetoric in forum social media, using a number of data rationally, in the form of evidence of activity, statement, and spread the message continuously in relation friendship in social media. However, public spaces as desired Habermas, still far to be applicable today. But with social media, started an open public space that leads to communicative action.

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