RHETORIC AND IDEOLOGY: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF ANIS BASWEDAN'S LECTURING SPEECH AT 2023 ST. LEE LECTURE – CAN DEMOCRACY DELIVER? REFLECTIONS ON THE INDONESIAN CASE

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to explore Anis Baswedan's ideology manifested in his lecturing speech at St. Lee Lecture delivered on March 6, 2023. The investigation of this study was conducted under Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In understanding the ideology, the researchers worked on the microstructure level by employing Aristotle's rhetoric theory in terms of components and devices. The results of this study revealed that, in related to persuasive elements used to support claims or respond to arguments, there are three components used, i.e., logos (50%), ethos (30%), and pathos (20%). In terms of conveying information, there are three devices employed, i.e., anaphora (50%), epistrophe (30%), and conduplicatio (20%). The analysis of rhetoric finally led to the findings of Baswedan's ideology perspective towards the issues of emphasis on democratic accountability, challenges in democratic processes, reform focus, integration of political and bureaucratic processes, technocratic approach & delivery units, public-centered approach, infrastructure development for public welfare, negotiation & collaboration, and evaluation & adaptation.

Keywords: Rhetoric; Ideology; Critical Discourse Analysis

INTRODUCTION

On March 6, 2023, Dr. Anies Rasyid Baswedan, the Governor of Jakarta for the 2017 – 2022 period who is now running for Indonesian presidential election, delivered a lecture on St. Lee Lecture. This forum was created to facilitate an annual lecture that gives an opportunity for Asia Pacific leading figures to speak on developments or trends in the region. In this academic forum, Dr. Baswedan discussed his perspectives about the condition of Indonesia nowadays, particularly in regard to democracy and his vision for the future of the country.

Many experts are concerned that democracy is experiencing degradation around the world (Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018). One of the reasons for this tendency is because non-democratic development representatives are increasingly drawing more supporters. According to their perceptions, complicated democratic processes obstruct policy execution and eventually lead to a failure in providing benefits to society. On the contrary, the opinion itself says that less democratic forms of government, with fewer political controls, are able to accommodate a more rapid and powerful policy-making process, and thus be more successful in providing benefits to society. Both historically and today, this kind of narrative has political support in many regions, and in Indonesia as well.

In this lecture, Dr. Baswedan was against the notion that less democratic governments were better at achieving development success, and explained why he believed that democracy could make this happen. Based on his experience in public policy, particularly as the Governor of Jakarta, he shared his views on how democracy could function effectively to provide progress

and development for society. In delivering and explaining about this topic, a politician like him needs to have the ability to persuade other people. This ability needs to be supported by a good character and personality and a number of selected rhetorical components and devices in order to convince the audience so that the statement can be persuasive.

Since Dr. Anis Baswedan is well-known as a former Indonesian Ministry of Education, Jakarta Governor and a prominent politician with a good public speaking ability and personality, the researchers are interested to do an analysis on how he used rhetoric and the elements of persuasion in order to persuade, inspire, and attract the listeners. This research, conducted under Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis (1998), is mainly focused on the rhetorical components (i.e., *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos*), devices (i.e., *analogy*, *anaphora*, *idiom*, and *personification*), and ideological perspectives based on the lecturing speech by Dr. Anis Baswedan delivered at St. Lee Lecture, Australian National University, on March 6, 2023.

There are some studies on how rhetoric theory is used to analyze speech. The first one was conducted by Ariyanti, Sudar, & Tusino (2022). This study aimed to find rhetorical proofs and rhetorical figures or devices used by RM's speech at the United Nations General Assembly and the implementation of rhetoric in teaching speaking. The results showed that the rhetorical proofs used by RM was *logos*, *ethos*, and *pathos*. The second study was conducted by Suciati & Ambarini (2018). It aimed to study a collection of speeches delivered by three Indonesian women politicians. The results showed that there were four dominant ideological preoccupations; economic growth and independence in the three regions of Indonesia, nationalism, globalism, and self-reliance. The last one was conducted by Ardiansyah (2017). This study aimed to explore the rhetoric used by Basuki Tjahja Purnama in the campaign of Head of Special Capital Region of Jakarta Election at Lembang House. The results showed that there were five legal rhetorics used by Basuki Tjahja Purnama as the process of speech material production.

As an element of persuasion, among the classical figures to express the ideas about rhetoric was Aristotle (Bartlett, 2019). The rhetoric theory mostly deals with the way people attempt to persuade, inspire, modify, and attract other people through expressing ideas, values, thoughts, and messages in the communication contexts. Rhetoric was initially meant to expand oratorical persuasive speech in front of other people (Gunawan, Muhaimi, & Amrullah, 2019). According to Aristotle, rhetoric is defined as the capability to use devices of persuasion (Isai, Lin, Ching, Selvajothi, & Maruthai, 2020). By using rhetoric, a speaker intends to convey messages that are able to attract and persuade the listeners (Al-azzawi & Nashaat, 2021). For Aristotle, when using rhetoric, there are components and devices that can be employed.

These are the components used by speakers to persuade the listeners by supporting their claims or giving responses to arguments (Ariyanti, Sudar, Tusino, 2022). According to Aristotle, rhetorical components consist of three types; *logos* (the one that appeals to logic and reasoning), *ethos* (the one that appeals to ethic and credibility), and *pathos* (the one that appeals emotion or feeling).

a. *Logos* (logic & reasoning)

The word *logos* can be defined as delivering arguments and reasoning in a speech (Herrick, 2021). It involves presenting a well-structured and reasoned argument with supporting evidence. This could include facts, statistics, and any other form of evidence that helps to build a convincing case. The goal of logos is to persuade the audience by demonstrating the soundness of the argument. When using *logos*, what one has to logically provide is a rational argument that can be accpepted by listeners' logic. Other examples of *logos* are enthymeme

(logical reasoning) and example. The first one is a narrative argument which is not complete and one of the premises is left unstated but the audience can already understand it. The second one is used to support evidence and acts as a reasoning foundation.

b. *Ethos*

Ethos deals with the integrity or reputation of a speaker in influencing the audience (Fatkhiyati & Suharno, 2019). When conveying the speech, a speaker must appear integrous so that the audience can be influenced by his or her speech. According to Aristotle, there are three parts of ethos; *phronesis* (good sense), *arête* (moral character), and *eunoia* (good will).

c. *Pathos*

Pathos is the one that appeals to emotion in order to increase empathy from the listeners and make them feel what the speaker feels (Fanani, Setiawan, Purwati, Maisarah, & Qoyyimah, 2020). By using *pathos*, the speaker attempts to attract listeners' emotion and feelings and inspire them in making a decision. Among emotions that can be attracted from listeners are *sense of difficulty/challenge*, *concern/dissatisfaction*, and *confidence*.

Rhetorical devices are tools utilized in order to assist a speaker in gaining or attracting the attention of listeners (Taping, Juniardi, & Utomo, 2017). Through the use of the tools, a speaker is able to deliver effective and efficient speech. According to Harris (2008), among rhetorical devices that can be utilized are: *anaphora*, *epistrophe*, and *conduplicatio*. Anaphora is a rhetorical device that consists of word or phrase repetition at the beginning of a sentence. Epistrophe is a rhetorical device in which the same word or phrase is repeated at the end of successive clauses or sentences. It is the counterpart to anaphora, where repetition occurs at the beginning of clauses or sentences. Conduplicatio is a rhetorical device in which a key word or phrase is repeated at the beginning of successive clauses or sentences. Unlike anaphora (repetition at the beginning) or epistrophe (repetition at the end), conduplicatio involves the repetition of a word or phrase at the start of the next clause or sentence

Critical Discourse Analysis is an interdisciplinary method for examining discourse that perceives language as a manifestation of social activities. It involves evaluating discourse critically and elucidating its role within the prevailing social context, serving as a foundation for endeavors aimed at altering that context in specific aspects. Scholars aligned with CDA maintain that social practice, both linguistic and non-linguistic, mutually shape each other, concentrating on exploring how language use establishes and perpetuates societal power dynamics (Fairclough, 1995). Unlike traditional discourse analysis, CDA places emphasis on issues of power imbalances, manipulation, exploitation, and structural inequalities in realms such as education, media, and politics.

Fairclough (2015) introduced key concepts in CDA, such as discourse, power, ideology, social practice, and common sense. Fairclough advocates analyzing language as a social practice within discourse in both spoken and written forms. He presents a three-dimensional framework for discourse analysis, involving micro, meso, and macro levels. The micro-level examines textual/linguistic aspects, the meso-level focuses on production and consumption issues, and the macro-level considers intertextual and interdiscursive elements along with broader societal influences on the studied text. This approach aims to integrate various forms of analysis to comprehensively understand discourse and its socio-cultural implications.

As having been illustrated before that CDA is an approach employed to examine how discourse contributes to shaping knowledge, power structures, and ideology (Fairclough, 2015). Ideology

refs to a system of beliefs, values, and ideas that form the basis of a particular social, economic, or political theory. It often serves as a guiding framework that influences individuals' understanding of the world, shapes their opinions, and informs their actions. Ideologies can be explicit or implicit, and they play a significant role in shaping societal norms, institutions, and power dynamics.

According to Fairclough (1989), the relationship between language, power, and ideology is intricate and interconnected. Here are some key aspects of their relationship:
a. Language as a tool of power. Language is not just a means of communication; it is also a powerful tool for exercising and maintaining power. Those who control language can shape narratives, control information, and influence public opinion. Political leaders, media outlets, and other influential figures often use language strategically to assert authority and control.

b. Power in discourse. The way language is used in discourse reflects power relationships in society. Certain groups or individuals may have the linguistic power to dominate conversations, frame debates, and set the agenda. The power to define and control discourse contributes to the construction of social reality

c. Ideological dimensions of language. Language is a carrier of ideology. The words and phrases we use are not neutral; they often carry implicit ideological assumptions and biases. Ideology is embedded in language through cultural and social contexts, and certain terms may reflect and reinforce existing power structures and belief systems.

It can be stated that language is a dynamic force that is deeply entwined with power and ideology. The way language is used and manipulated can either reinforce existing power structures and ideologies or be a catalyst for challenging and transforming them. Understanding the interplay between language, power, and ideology is essential for comprehending the complexities of communication in societal contexts.

METHOD

This study employs descriptive qualitative research, focusing on exploring questions related to what, why, and how. The primary emphasis lies in understanding the meaning rather than quantitative measurement, as outlined by Creswell (2016). The research involves some stages, including the collection of the transcription of Anis Baswedan's lecturing speech delivered at St. Lee Lecture, Australian National University, on March 6, 2023. His lecturing speech was uploaded on Youtube channel named ANU TV (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GU-6SDK3XYk, accessed on December 27, 2023). Subsequently, the speech content is analyzed by using the theory of rhetoric, rhetorical components and devices. The study further involves extracting ideology by examining the meaning derived from rhetorical analysis, ultimately presenting the facets of Dr. Baswedan's ideology.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

The results indicated that the rhetorical components used by Dr. Anis Baswedan in his lecturing speech were *logos*, *ethos*, and *pathos*. He utilized rhetorical devices as well, such as *analogy*, *anaphora*, *idiom*, and *personification*. The results of Rhetorical Components percentage are presented below:

Table 1. Percentage of Rhetorical Components		
Rhetorical Components		
Logos	**Ethos**	**Pathos**
50x (50%)	40x (40%)	10x (10%)

a. *Logos* (the one that appeals to logic)

1. Enthymeme

   Data 1: "*In this evening, I've been asked to talk about to talk about how democracy delivers and it is a reflection on the case of Indonesia. But if I may also sor of refocus the subject not only so much on the case of Indonesia but also in the case of Jakarta.*"

   Through these rhetorical sentences, Dr. Baswedan uttered two prospective premises and a possible conclusion. He told the listeners that he had been requested to discuss how democracy functioned on the Indonesian context, but he would like to broaden the focus by also highlighting the case of Jakarta. He did that by utilizing two premises and a conclusion.

   1st premise: *I would like to discuss democracy in Indonesia.*

   2nd premise: *I refocus the subject of democracy in Indonesia by highlighting the case in Jakarta (as the Indonesian capitol).*

   Conclusion: *Discussing democracy in the case of Jakarta means talking about democracy in Indonesia.*

2. Example

   Data 2: "*People's expectations about what government can and should do is quite high nowadays, especially with transparencies, openness of information.*"

   Through these sentences, Dr. Baswedan highlighted that there was a significant elevation in people's expectations regarding the capabilities and responsibilities of the government. This was particularly emphasized by the increased transparency and openness of information.

b. *Ethos* (the one that appeals to ethic or integrity)

1. *Phronesis* (good sense)

   Data 3: "*Generally, we are able to deliver (the programs and election promises). But, I'll explain to you later why it is crucial to make a breakthrough on that aspect.*"

   Here, Dr. Baswedan began the statement with a positive assertion that, generally, there was an ability to deliver on programs and election promises. This conveyed a sense

of competence, reliability, and confidence in delivery. He also expressed a willingness to provide further clarification or details by stating, "I'll explain to you later." This suggests openness and a commitment to transparency, which is a positive attribute in communication. And by mentioning that *it is crucial to make a breakthrough on a certain aspect*, Dr. Baswedan was indicating awareness of the significance of a particular issue. This acknowledgment sets the stage for a more in-depth discussion and demonstrates a proactive approach. Overall, the sentence reflects a combination of confidence in delivery, a commitment to explanation, and an awareness of the importance of making progress in a specific area.

2. *Arête* (moral character)

Data 4: "*And we often hear during elections, what are the promises? What are the visions? And I think those are important.*"

By uttering this utterances, Dr. Baswedan explained about moral character to the audience. This sentence revolves around the importance of accountability and integrity in political discourse. Dr. Baswedan was emphasizing the significance of promises and visions made by candidates during elections, suggesting that these aspects were crucial for evaluating the moral standing and credibility of political figures. It reflects a concern for ethical behavior and a desire for elected leaders to uphold their commitments to the public.

3. *Eunoia* (good will)

Data 5: "*and there is a widespread belief that an elected leader in democratic process should be able to deliver what is expected in the public.*"

By using this utterance, Dr. Baswedan told the audience that there was a prevailing belief that leaders elected through democratic processes should be capable of fulfilling public expectations.

c. *Pathos* (the one that appeals to emotional feelings)

Based on the analysis, there are three types of emotional feelings existing in the entire lecturing speech of Dr. Baswedan, which are:

1. Sense of difficulty/challenge
Data 6: "*can you imagine campaign promises being given to bureaucracy that have been doing the same things for so many years and expect bureaucracy to make that change immediately? That's tough.*"

There is an element of pathos here, as the word "tough" appeals to the emotions by conveying a sense of difficulty or challenge.

2. Concern/dissatisfaction
Data 7: "*What I've been observing of this electoral process and bureaucratic process is there is something missing in between.*"

There is a subtle element of pathos in the sentence. The phrase "there is something missing in between" suggests a feeling of concern or dissatisfaction on the part of the

speaker. The use of the word "missing" can evoke a sense of longing or a desire for completeness, and this emotional undertone contributes to a subtle appeal to the audience's emotions. While the sentence is primarily informative, the choice of language implies a subjective and emotional response to what the speaker has observed in the electoral and bureaucratic processes.

3. Confidence
Data 8: "*We're happy to tell you that in four years, we were able to do major reforms in several areas.*"

    In this utterance, there is a mild emotional tone in the phrase "we're happy to tell you," which conveys a positive emotion related to the accomplishment. The use of the word "happy" can evoke a positive emotional response in the listeners.

Rhetorical Devices
Below is the table to explain the rhetorical devices used by Dr. Baswedan at his 2023 St. Lee Lecture:

Table 2. Percentage of Rhetorical Devices

Rhetorical Devices		
Anaphora	**Epistrophe**	**Conduplicatio**
5x (50%)	3x (30%)	2x (20%)

a. Anaphora
Data 9: "*As **you enter office**, you are the only person **who is new**. So, **you enter office** as new governor and you're the only person **who is new**.*"

    There is an example of anaphora in the provided sentences. Anaphora is a rhetorical device where a word or phrase is repeated at the beginning of successive clauses or sentences. In this case, the repetition of the phrase "you are the only person who is new" at the beginning of both sentences serve as an example of anaphora.

b. Epistrophe
Data 10: "*I have these campaign promises. Please **deliver**. And everyone says yes, we'll **deliver**.*"

    There is an example of epistrophe in the sentence you provided. The repetition of the word "deliver" at the end of both sentences constitutes epistrophe. In this sentence, Dr. Baswedan tells those in the bureaucracy to deliver what was promised in the campaign.

c. Conduplicatio
Data 11: "*So, we have to work together, we have to work collaboratively.*"

    Here, Dr. Baswedan uses the statement when negotiating with everyone in the bureaucracy and all public transportation operators in discussing about how to take care of traffic congestion in Jakarta. The statement "we have to work together, we have to work

collaboratively" is an example of conduplicatio. In this case, the phrase "we have to work" is repeated to emphasize the idea of cooperation and joint effort. Conduplicatio involves repeating a word or words at the beginning of successive clauses or sentences for emphasis, and that pattern is evident in this example.

Discussion

Rhetorical Analysis

Based on the results above, in related to rhetorical components, we can see that in his lecturing speech at 2023 St. Lee Lecture, Dr. Anis Baswedan uses logos as many as 50%, ethos as many as 40%, and pathos as many as 10%. So, it implies that Dr. Baswedan, as the speaker, places a significant emphasis on logical reasoning, evidence, and factual information. Half of the speech is dedicated to presenting a well-reasoned argument, using data, statistics, and logical structures to support his points. This suggests a strong commitment to delivering a message based on sound logic and evidence.

Ethos, which pertains to the speaker's credibility, character, and authority, is a major focus in this case. Dr. Baswedan devotes a substantial portion of the speech to establishing and reinforcing their credibility, likely emphasizing their expertise, qualifications, and connection to the subject matter. This indicates a deliberate effort to enhance the audience's trust in the speaker.

Pathos, the appeal to emotions, plays a relatively minor role in this speech. Dr. Baswedan uses a small portion of the content to connect with the audience emotionally. This could involve incorporating anecdotes, stories, or examples designed to evoke certain feelings, but it is not the primary driver of the persuasive message.

In regard to rhetorical devices, we can understand that Dr. Anis Baswedan uses anaphora as many as 50%, epistrophe as many as 30%, and conduplicatio as many as 20%. So, it means that half of his speech is characterized by the intentional repetition of certain words or phrases at the beginning of consecutive statements. This can create emphasis and rhythm, making key points more memorable.

Using epistrophe at a rate of 30% means that a significant portion of Dr. Baswedan's speech involves the intentional repetition of specific words or phrases at the end of consecutive statements. Like anaphora, epistrophe can create emphasis and a rhythmic effect, reinforcing key ideas.

Utilizing conduplicatio at a rate of 20% means that Dr. Baswedan's speech involves this particular form of repetition. This can contribute to coherence and connection between statements, reinforcing the speaker's message.

Ideological Perspectives

Seen from ideological perspectives, there are several ideological points to be highlighted, which are:

Emphasis on democratic accountability
Dr. Anis Baswedan emphasizes the importance of democratic accountability, calling for transparency, openness of information, and delivering on public expectations and promises

made during elections. This suggests a commitment to democratic principles and holding the government accountable to its citizens.

Challenges in democratic processes
Dr. Baswedan discusses two significant issues in the democratic process – bureaucracy and the electoral process. There is an acknowledgment that something is missing in between these two issues, indicating a recognition of gaps or challenges in the democratic system.

Reform focus
The statement mentions that the focus of the 25 years of reform has been more on democratic aspects than bureaucratic aspects. This suggests a deliberate effort to accommodate political change and improve democratic institutions.

Integration of political bureaucratic processes
There is a recognition that the political process doesn't automatically translate into bureaucratic processes. The need for a bridge or system to ensure that political promises are effectively translated into technocratic programs is highlighted. This reflects an awareness of the challenges of making political changes operational within the bureaucratic structure.

Technocratic approach and delivery units
Dr. Baswedan advocates for a technocratic approach to address challenges, emphasizing the importance of tools, monitoring, and assessment in executing programs. The establishment of a delivery unit (TGUPP) is presented as an instrumental tool in ensuring that programs are on the right track and achieving their targets.

Public-centered approach
The approach adopted is described as paying more attention to issues that the general public cares about, such as cost of living, health services, education, flood, traffic, and social cohesion. This reflects a commitment to addressing the practical concerns of the citizens.

Infrastructure development for public welfare
Dr. Baswedan highlights successful reforms in areas such as infrastructure for mobility, demonstrating a commitment to improving the quality of life for the public through tangible projects and initiatives.

Negotiation and collaboration
The mention of negotiating and working together with all operators of public transport suggests a collaborative approach to problem-solving, emphasizing the importance of partnerships in achieving goals.

Evaluation and adaptation
The importance of monitoring, assessment, and adaptability is stressed. The text suggests that a system of regular evaluation is crucial to making adjustments to the budget, adopting new programs, and ensuring the success of initiatives.

CONCLUSION

In summary, Dr. Baswedan's approach is characterized by a balanced combination of logical reasoning (logos) and credibility-building (ethos), with a lesser focus on emotional appeal

(pathos). The speaker aims to convince the audience through a combination of sound logic and a strong establishment of their own credibility. The limited use of emotional appeal suggests a more restrained or calculated approach to engaging the audience's emotions. Dr. Baswedan also heavily relies on anaphora for repetition at the beginning of statements, followed by a substantial use of epistrophe for repetition at the end of statements. Additionally, there's a moderate use of conduplicatio for linking ideas between clauses or sentences. This rhetorical strategy suggests an intentional and structured approach to repetition, likely aimed at emphasizing and reinforcing key points throughout the lecture. In terms of ideological perspectives, Dr. Anis Baswedan's lecturing speech at 2023 St. Lee Lecture revolves around democratic accountability, challenges in democratic processes, a focus on reform, the integration of political and bureaucratic processes, a technocratic and public-centric approach, infrastructure development for public welfare, negotiation and collaboration, and the importance of evaluation and adaptation.

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