

ANALISIS RETORIKA POLITIK ANIES RASYID BASWEDAN DALAM PEMILIHAN GUBERNUR DKI JAKARTA 2017

Analysis of Anies Rasyid Baswedan's Political Rhetoric in the 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election

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Abstract: *Rhetoric is closely related to a person's ability to speak before an audience. In the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election, debate forums gave candidates an opportunity to attract public sympathy and political support through effective rhetoric. This study analyzes how Anies Rasyid Baswedan used Aristotle's rhetorical concepts and invitational rhetoric in debates organized by the Jakarta General Elections Commission. The qualitative study applies rhetorical analysis to digital-trace documentation obtained from debate recordings on CNN Indonesia's YouTube channel. The findings show that Anies effectively used ethos, pathos, and logos and applied an audience approach based on equality, immanent value, and self-determination. These strategies attracted sympathy and political support and contributed to his victory in the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election.*

Keywords: Political rhetoric; Anies Baswedan; Ethos; Pathos; Logos

Abstrak: Retorika berkaitan erat dengan kemampuan seseorang berbicara di hadapan khalayak. Dalam Pemilihan Gubernur DKI Jakarta 2017, forum debat memberi kesempatan kepada kandidat untuk menarik simpati dan dukungan politik publik melalui retorika yang efektif. Penelitian ini menganalisis penggunaan konsep retorika Aristoteles dan retorika undangan oleh Anies Rasyid Baswedan dalam debat yang diselenggarakan Komisi Pemilihan Umum DKI Jakarta. Penelitian kualitatif ini menerapkan analisis retorika terhadap dokumentasi jejak digital berupa rekaman debat pada kanal YouTube CNN Indonesia. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Anies secara efektif menggunakan ethos, pathos, dan logos serta menerapkan pendekatan kepada khalayak berdasarkan kesetaraan, nilai imanen, dan penentuan diri. Strategi tersebut menarik simpati dan dukungan politik serta berkontribusi pada kemenangannya dalam Pemilihan Gubernur DKI Jakarta 2017.

Kata Kunci: Retorika politik; Anies Baswedan; Ethos; Pathos; Logos

1. Pendahuluan

In 2017, DKI Jakarta Province held a Regional Election (Pilkada) to elect a Governor and Vice Governor. The local elections in that year became very important in the context of Indonesian politics. This is due to Jakarta's status as the capital city of the Republic of Indonesia. In addition, Jakarta is also the national political, economic and cultural center of Indonesia, which has a great influence in determining the direction of national politics. That is what makes the election of the governor and deputy governor of DKI Jakarta an early indicator for national political dynamics.

The Central Bureau of Statistics of DKI Jakarta Province noted that Jakarta in 2017 had a population of approximately 10,374,235 people. These statistics make Jakarta one of the provinces with the highest population density in Indonesia. Moreover, with its status as the nation's capital, Jakarta is inhabited by a diverse population that reflects the diversity of Indonesia. However, with such a large population of residents, Jakarta in 2017 faced major challenges in various aspects. Such as urban issues, transportation, environment, social and economic issues such as poverty alleviation, unemployment, economic inequality and so on.

Based on this fact, the 2017 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial elections became a national spotlight, where the emergence of gubernatorial candidates and their running mates who were considered to have potential as leaders at the national level. One of the figures who emerged as a potential candidate was Anies Rasyid Baswedan, carried by the Gerindra and PKS parties. While his political opponent at the time was a young figure with a military background, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono. The figure of Agus H. Yudhoyono received support from four supporting parties, namely as the main supporter of the Democratic Party. Supporting parties come from PPP, PKB and PAN. In addition, there is an incumbent candidate, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok). Basuki has the support of four supporting parties, namely the PDI-P as the main supporter supported by three other parties namely; Golkar, Hanura and NasDem.

Before entering politics, Anies Baswedan was an academic. Anies was involved in politics in the 2014 presidential election. In the 2014 presidential election Anies served as a spokesperson for the Jokowi-Kalla National Winning Team. After the 2014 presidential election Anies then held the position of Minister of Education and Culture. In 2016, after not serving as Minister, Anies then advanced in the political contestation of the 2017 DKI Jakarta Gubernatorial Election, with Sandiaga Salahudin Uno as his running mate.

The fact is that the Anies-Sandi pair is a candidate pair that often occupies the lowest position before voting day. Electability survey reports from several survey institutions revealed that the Anies-Sandi pair lost to candidates Agus-Sylvi pair and Basuki-Djarot pair. The following is a list of the results of a number of survey institutions as quoted from republika.co.id in an article entitled "This is the Last Survey Results of Five Research Institutions in the DKI Pilkada".

Tabel 1: Hasil survei Pemilihan Gubernur DKI Jakarta 2017

Pollsters	Date	Agus-Sylvi	Basuki-Djarot	Anies -Sandi
LSI Denny JA	5-11 Januari 2017	36,7	32,6	21,06
Poltracking	7-11 November 2016	27,92	22	20,42
Indikator Politik	15-22 November 2016	30,04	26,2	24,5
Charta Politica	17-24 November 2016	29,5	28,9	26,7
LSI Denny JA	3-8 Desember 2016	33,6	27,1	23,6
LSI Dodi Ambardi	3-11 Desember 2016	26,5	31,8	23,9

Sumber: data penelitian

However, the voting results in the first round of the Jakarta Pilkada according to KPU data as quoted on the page show different results from the survey statistics of research institutions. Anies-Sandi received 39.9% or 2,193,530 votes. Basuki-Djarot occupied the first position with 42.96% or 2,357,7885 votes. Meanwhile, the candidate pair Agus-Sylvi had to be eliminated in the first round because they only received 17.06% of the votes or 936,461 votes.

With the votes obtained in the first round, Basuki-Djarot and Anies-Sandi are entitled to advance to the second round. In the end, Anies-Sandi won the 2017 Jakarta elections by obtaining 3,240,987 valid votes or 57.95%. In contrast, Basuki-Djarot only received 2,351,245 valid votes or 42.04%. The KPU of DKI Jakarta Province then determined Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno as the winner of the election. Both served as Governor and Deputy Governor of DKI Jakarta for the period 2017-2022.

Tabel 2: Hasil Pemilihan Gubernur DKI Jakarta 2017

Candidates	First Round	First Round	Second Round	Second Round
Candidates	voter	Percentage	voter	Percentage
Valid vote	5.499.865	100,00%	5.591.577	100,00%
Agus-Sylvi	937.955	17,06%	N/A	N/A
Ahok-Djarot	2.364.577	42,99%	2.351.245	42,05%
Anies-Sandi	2.197.333	39,95%	3.240.332	57,95%

Sumber: data penelitian

The fact that Anies-Sandi won the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial Election can indicate that Anies utilized the debate moment as a special opportunity to build rhetoric that could attract sympathy and political support from Jakarta residents to elect him as governor of DKI Jakarta. For this reason, this research wants to analyze more deeply Anies Baswedan's political rhetoric in the political contestation. An analysis of Anies' use and influence of political rhetoric in the 2017 DKI Jakarta regional election political contestation can provide a unique and in-depth perspective on how a person can use rhetoric in building political communication to influence the audience to vote for him.

2. Tinjauan Pustaka

Two theories are applied in this research, namely the concept of Aristotle's rhetoric theory in the aspects of ethos, pathos and logos and the concept of invitation rhetoric theory. The first theory is the concept of Aristotle's rhetoric which is described in three aspects namely ethos, pathos and logos. These three aspects as described by Syarif in the Analysis of ethos, Pathos and Logos of Susilo Bambang Yuhdoyono's Leadership and Hutapea in Political Communication (2020: 247-248) and also regarding the five stages of Aristotle's rhetoric explain as a speaker must understand three ways to influence humans which in Aristotle's concept are called Pathos (related to Emotions), Ethos (Trustworthy personality) and Logos (Knowledge).

The second theory is the theory of invitational rhetoric developed by two figures from Colorado University, namely Sonja Foss and another figure is Cindy Griffin. The invitational rhetoric theory developed by Foss & Griffin criticizes the interaction mode of persuasion where the communicator in the interaction aims to change the perception of the behavior of the persuaded party. Foss & Griffin offer a view on interaction, and it is different from persuasion. For Foss & Griffin persuasion as a violence. That's because persuasion either implicitly or explicitly wants to say that my perspective is right, and your perspective is wrong. Therein lies the problem in persuasion. Persuasion rejects the authenticity and integrity of other people's perspectives. Whereas basically everyone has their own perspective that is obtained from their life experiences.

The rhetorical theory of invitation is based on the concept of invitation. During a conversation or interaction, we may offer an invitation. This is a common thing to do in interaction. We offer our perspective for others to know. However, whether the other person wants to use our perspective or not is up to the discretion of the other person. Because the main purpose of a conversation is to clarify the ideas of everyone in the interaction/conversation. Invitational rhetoric is also based on the assumption that when we are open to diverse ideas, it provides more opportunities for us to reach a better understanding. In a conversation, we are not trying to force others to agree that our views are right and better than others' views.

3. Metode Penelitian

This research uses a constructivist paradigm or often called an interpretive paradigm. The constructivist paradigm as outlined by Hutapea in *Political Communication* (2020:50) looks at social reality as a result of individual constructions in research. According to Chua (1969) as in Hutapea (2020:51), the constructivist paradigm emphasizes the role of the use of language, interpretation, and a deep understanding of the meaning of a reality.

Meanwhile, the method in this study is qualitative with a rhetorical analysis approach. The purpose is to analyze how Anies Baswedan builds political rhetoric in the debate in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Provincial Head General Election contest. According to Sugiyono (2022), qualitative research is usually carried out in a natural setting. In a sense, the researcher in conducting his research cannot manipulate the research object. The presence and presence of the researcher does not affect the dynamics of the object. For this reason, qualitative research forces researchers to have broad insights and adequate theoretical provisions in conducting research. This is useful in asking questions, observing, analyzing, constructing and analyzing the social situation that is the object of the research so as to obtain accurate results. (Sugiyono, 2022:8-9)

Furthermore, rhetorical analysis as described by Elisabeth Browning in the book *Let's Get Writing* accessed through <https://viva.pressbooks.pub/letsgetwriting/> on Saturday, September 21, 2024 explains that it is a method used to analyze how communication, both verbal and written, can affect the audience through the use of rhetoric. In other words, it can be called the art of persuasion. This analysis focuses on the strategies used by speakers to convince the audience, influence emotions, build credibility and present logical arguments. In rhetorical analysis, the main focus is usually on Aristotle's rhetorical concepts, namely ethos, pathos and logos.

The main data source in this study is the recording of the 2017 Jakarta Regional Election Candidates. Audio and video recordings can be obtained from the DKI KPU digital recordings released on YouTube, various television media, etc. However, in this study, the researcher used coverage that was broadcast on the CNN Indonesia youtube channel. The first debate was broadcast live on CNN Indonesia's YouTube channel, January 13, 2017. The second debate aired on January 27, 2017, and the third debate on February 10, 2017. Meanwhile, the second round of debate is on April 12, 2017. These four data will be the main sources used in conducting this study.

4. Hasil dan Pembahasan

In analyzing Anies Baswedan's political rhetoric, it is first important to understand how Anies uses Aristotle's rhetorical concepts to influence the audience. The concepts are ethos, pathos and logos. Ethos (related to the speaker's credibility/trustworthy personality). Pathos (related to the emotional side). While logos (related to the side of knowledge, logic, reasoning). Aristotle's classic rhetorical strategy is used to build convincing arguments and influence the audience. In addition, this discussion will present Sonja Foss and Cindy Griffin's use of invitation rhetoric to reveal the uniqueness of their thoughts and strategies in persuading audiences. Finally, all the descriptions will lead to an analysis of how to combine the three elements of Aristotle's classical rhetoric and invitation rhetoric used by Anies Baswedan to deliver a strong message and be able to mobilize the audience in supporting his vision and mission for Jakarta.

4.1. Penggunaan Ethos

Zainul Maarif in the book *Rhetoric: Methods of Public Communication* (2015: 9-10) as quoted from (Herrick, 20001: 89) explains ethos in rhetoric as persuasive potential. This potential is related to the character and personal credibility of a communicator (speaker). According to Herrick, the parameters of ethos are in public perception. According to James M. May (May, 1988: 2&9) which was later cited by Zainul Maarif (2015: 10-17) explained that a speaker with ethos according to Aristotle at least has three things, namely;

First, Phronesis. Phronesis as described by Maarif (2015: 11-12) defines as the ability to decide cases. In other words, it is practical wisdom. As a practical concept phronesis is not just knowledge. But also action that can be done. This practicality emphasizes the consideration of good and bad for humans. A person who has phronesis does not only think of himself (at the particular level), but also of the good life in general (at the universal level). His thoughts extend to the good of human beings as human beings, even humanity as a whole. It is at this moment that the person with phronesis is involved in political life. Maarif further explained that to achieve phronesis, one needs experience. Experience needs interaction with reality in space and time and full of awareness. Without awareness, the interaction will not be recorded as experience. So, phronesis is the practical ability that a person has in considering making decisions both for oneself and many people. Such ability can be obtained through experience achieved through awareness in interacting with the reality of space and time.

Second, Arete. In Aristotle's concept, Arete is associated with happiness (eudaimonia). What is meant by arete is a moderate attitude between two extremes. For Aristotle, arete can be achieved by having theoretical wisdom (sophia) and practical wisdom (phronesis) at the same time. Theoretical wisdom is needed to know the nature of arete. While practical wisdom is for deciding between extremes. These two displays of arete can be intellect which can be achieved through education and character which is achieved through habit. So the ultimate goal of arete is happiness for the individual and society. Happiness is achieved by moderation between extremes. If extremism can be transcended then peace will be achieved. (Maarif, 2015:13-15-)

Third, Eunoia. In English it is usually interpreted as good will. Maarif quoting from Riger Crips in the "Introduction" to Aristotle's book, *Nicomachean Ethics* translates eunoia as "The wishing of goods for the sake of the other": wishing good for others. Such is the person who gives rise to eunoia where the benefit hoped for is not primarily for himself but for others. Eunoia requires the absence of self-interest from a good intention. Thus, when a speaker manifests that what he is saying is solely for the good of the audience, his talk has a great potential to be accepted. Therefore, eunoia is a measure of the audience's acceptance of a speaker who is only oriented towards the good of the other party in the conversation.

Self-interest must be dismissed because *eunoia* appears as an altruistic attitude. (Maarif, 2015:15-17)

In relation to Anies Baswedan's political rhetoric regarding *ethos*, the following is a description. In the first debate, during the vision and mission delivery segment, Anies began by building his personal *ethos* (credibility). Anies tried to build his credibility by revealing that he had experience and knowledge as well as accumulated networks.

"We come to Jakarta with experience, knowledge, and an accumulated network..... We place Jakarta as a place for us to serve. Inviting forward together and Insya Allaha place of reward for all."

Anies's statement emphasizes the fundamental facts that exist in Anies Baswedan. Anies wants to build an image of himself as a prospective leader who has *ethos* (credibility that can be trusted). Anies describes himself as a figure who has the capacity, ability and practical wisdom to make wise decisions based on previous experience.

The first aspect of *ethos* is *Phronesis* as described by Maarif (2015: 11-12) defines as the ability to decide cases. This ability is gained from experience. Experience requires interaction with reality in space and time and full awareness. Without awareness, the interaction will not be recorded as experience. So it can be concluded that Anies Baswedan through this statement emphasizes himself as a person who has experience gained through awareness in interaction. From this experience, Anies has the theoretical ability and practical ability to decide something. It is at this moment that people who are *phronesis* are involved in political life. The mind of a philosophical person extends to the goodness of human beings as humans, even humans as a whole.

Furthermore, by saying "Jakarta is not a testing ground, but a place to serve" would show commitment and moral responsibility to serve and be dedicated to the city of Jakarta. The dedication is certainly not for oneself, not for power but to serve the city of Jakarta and its citizens. This shows Anies' moral virtue between power and responsibility to the people. Anies Baswedan also wants to show good will to achieve common welfare. Anies shows his figure as a leader who will be elected by Jakarta residents is a figure who cares about the common progress and welfare of Jakarta residents.

This is as seen in Anies' statement "...inviting to move forward together and Jakarta to make Jakarta a place of reward for all". This is as the concept of *Eunoia* in English is usually interpreted as good will. As Aristotle said, in Maarif's description, the party that raises the *eunoia* aspect in Aristotle's *ethos* concept no longer expects benefits for itself.

Anies also conveyed concrete policies that he would do. Such as prioritizing job creation so that Jakarta residents enjoy a good life. This is reflected in the next sentence in the delivery of the vision/mission of the candidate pair.

"We are both here to ensure that welfare and justice are present for all Jakarta residents. For this reason, employment is a priority. Justice over employment is very basic. Next is access to quality and complete education."

"We want parents to be able to take their children to school, to be able to take their children to Madrasah with a feeling of calm, with a feeling of confidence, full of love. Then we educate those children, so that they become children with morals, children with character, competent. We will present a city that is advanced, happy, safe, peaceful and free from all kinds of crime."

In terms of practical wisdom, Anies through this statement shows his strong focus on job creation and quality and complete education. This shows he has a practical understanding of the basic needs of society and the main issues of society. The statement shows Anies' moral virtues for the welfare and justice of all Jakarta residents. Anies shows strong goodwill in the presence of welfare and justice values for all citizens of Jakarta. A happy, prosperous and just life where citizens can live safely, happily, calmly, peacefully, and free from crime.

The *ethos* side built by Anies can also be reflected in sentences like the following:

"We are actually part of those who want to ensure that in Jakarta you violate, you are punished. You have different thoughts, we have a dialog. But if you impose your mind, you face the law. And we have zero compromise on lawbreakers whoever they are, wherever they are and whenever they are."

In the sentence above, especially in the phrase "...you violate you are punished" or in "...we have zero compromise on lawbreakers whoever, wherever and whenever." Anies wants to show the side of his *ethos* or credibility that is firm, committed to enforcing the law for all groups. The uncompromising attitude towards lawbreakers describes Anies Baswedan who is trying to build his credibility as a leader with integrity who cares about justice and law enforcement.

On the other hand, Anies also declared himself as a moderate person, especially when there are differences of opinion. "You have different thoughts, we will have a dialog". Here it appears that Anies displays another side of himself who is not only firm and has integrity, but is still a moderate leader and wants to nurture when there are differences of opinion. Anies gives a message that he remains open to differences and facilitates dialog space in dealing with differences. Anies in this statement shows that in addition to being firm and full of commitment to violating the law, he can remain open to dialogue when there are differences. Here the *arete* side in Aristotle's *ethos* concept appears to be practiced by Anies in the debate. In Aristotle's concept, *Arete* is associated with happiness (*eudaimonia*). What is meant by *arete* is a moderate attitude between two extremes. For Aristotle, *arete* can be achieved by having theoretical wisdom (*sophia*) and practical wisdom (*phronesis*) at the same time.

4.2. Penggunaan Pathos

In Zainul Maarif's work, it is stated that Aristotle with the concept of *pathos* refers to the aspect of human emotions. *Pathos* contains the feeling or emotional side of the human soul. Maarif further explained that in Aristotle's book *Rhetoric*, the concept of *pathos* is expressed as a technique to influence the emotional/feeling side of the listener. An effective communicator must be able to touch and influence the feelings of the audience. Because emotions have the power to change both pleasant and painful decisions. What Aristotle meant by emotion is "all feelings that can change decisions, including anger, calm, friendly and hostile, fear and courage/confidence, shame and shamelessness, affection and annoyance, envy and competition, and so on".

The concept of *Pathos* focuses on the speaker's ability to evoke the emotional side of the audience to strengthen the arguments presented by the speaker. *Pathos* as described by Syahri & Manghayu emphasizes the ability of a speaker to

influence the emotions/feelings of his audience (message recipients). This is also emphasized in the book *Rhetoric: The Art of Speaking* Aristotle translated into Indonesian by Dedeh Sri Handayani (Aristotle, 2018: 19) explains that persuasion will reach the listener when the content of the conversation can move the listener's emotions. People's judgment when they feel happy and in a friendly atmosphere is different from when they feel sad. By understanding emotions such as knowing and mentioning names, explanations, causes and how to bring them up can move the hearts of the audience to provide political support. (Aristotle, 2018:19)

Anies Baswedan in the third debate of the DKI Jakarta Regional Election seems to use pathos to ignite the emotional side, the feelings of the audience. As in the delivery of the vision and mission in the third debate of the DKI Jakarta 2017 Pilkada. Anies Baswedan began his statement by addressing the main object in the DKI Jakarta Pilkada debate session. Anies was seen mentioning names, explaining why he was present in the world thanks to the services of women, especially Anies' mother.

"Asalamualaikum wrwb, tonight we will talk about women. So let us start by appreciating the great women who accompany us. Mrs. Veronica, Mrs. Anisa, Mrs. Happy, Mpok Nur, Very, my wife, our mother, the mother who has given birth and educated bang Sandi, also my mother, mama thank you. I was born in Kuningan, West Java by her."

By starting and prefacing statements in his debate with sensitive and emotional topics such as the word women and addressing and naming some of them. Anies started with a warm and formal greeting. This elicits and shows respect and builds emotional closeness with the audience. The tributes to wives, mothers and other female figures strengthened the emotional bond with the audience who shared the same values about the important role of women in people's lives. This has added a personal element and emotional bond that makes the audience feel recognized, valued and considered.

Furthermore, after expressing appreciation and respect for women, Anies delivered a narrative that created negative feelings towards the reality of Jakarta. Anies emphasized the serious problems faced by Jakarta residents that need to be fixed. Anies evokes feelings of anger, sadness, and concern in the audience. This can be seen in Anies' statement below.

".... Let us emphasize that Jakarta today is a city that is not child-friendly, not women-friendly, not disabled-friendly and very friendly to drugs."

Starting from the negative reality above, Anies tried to evoke the emotional side of the audience and positive feelings full of confidence and optimism. Anies wants to foster the audience's hope that under Anies-Sandi's leadership, all these negative things will be reversed and turned into positive things. The promise for positive change and a sense of optimism have fostered hope in the audience for life in the future. This can be seen in the following optimistic sentence.

"We will turn it all around to become a city that is child-friendly, disabled-friendly, women-friendly and not friendly at all to drugs. That's what we will do."

Anies Baswedan on this occasion also tried to avoid blaming certain individuals. In this case, the intended opponent could be the debate opponent on the occasion of this election, which is the incumbent candidate Basuki Tjahaja Purnama. Anies focused more on the problems that have become the reality of the city of Jakarta. This, of course, is able to prevent defensive feelings among supporters and candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor.

Anies Baswedan wants to invite all parties, citizens of Jakarta to see the reality and systemic problems together without appearing tendentious. He even uses the word "we" to create a sense of togetherness and shared ownership. This triggers feelings of solidarity. Note Anies Baswedan's statement below.

"Reality shows and this is not the fault of the Governor.... This is a portrait of our Jakarta. The Jakarta of all of us. Let's see it here."

Furthermore, Anies presented statistical data to show measurable things and made comparisons between Jakarta and other cities in the world. The fact that Jakarta is in the order of "getting carried away" creates a sense of shame and failure. Anies explained this to arouse and motivate the audience that changes must be taken immediately for the presence of a sense of justice and pride as Jakarta residents.

"Women in transportation media we are the fifth worst in the world. We are below Malaysia, below Kuala Lumpur, below Manila, below Bangkok."

Anies also presented statistical data to cause fear and deep concern about the reality that occurs in Jakarta. Especially regarding drug abuse in Jakarta. What is interesting is that Anies changed these statistics and emphasized that the numbers are not just numbers. Anies brought it into human experience and values. That statistics are evidence of the feelings of suffering of Jakarta residents and families who are part of drug victims.

"Then we see now, drugs have increased significantly. 35 percent in one year. Ladies and gentlemen, these are not statistics. This is a feeling of suffering experienced by Jakarta residents and Jakarta families."

And at the end of the delivery of this vision and mission Anies Baswedan once again emphasized his firmness and siding with the victims. He invited everyone to be involved in fighting this problem together. Anies showed a leader who has an attitude of inclusiveness and collaboration. Anies invited the audience to be directly involved in Jakarta's problems. Being involved on the side of the victims and being able to feel empathy with the Jakarta drug victims fosters a sense of ownership and participation. And this fosters an emotional feeling with the audience who hears it.

"Therefore, we will side with women. We will side with the disabled. And we will emphasize, our alignment.... Let us formulate policies together. We will implement it together. Ideas from them, partisanship from us."

Anies' statements incorporate all elements of feeling (emotion). The Pathos element (emotional side) is in the form of positive feelings such as being recognized, appreciated for their efforts and services, empathy, sympathy, hope, and inclusiveness. Negative feelings such as shame, feeling inferior to other cities, sadness, concern about indifference to problems and so on. It evokes the emotions of the audience and may create an emotional bond of the audience to support Anies Baswedan in winning the political contestation of the 2017 DKI Jakarta elections.

4.3. Penggunaan Logos

The concept of logos is the main pillar in the concept of rhetoric according to Aristotle. The word logos (Greek) as described by Maarif in the book *Rhetoric: Methods of Public Communication* (Maarif, 2015:43) means “word or thought” and includes various meanings such as opinion and judgment. As noted by Herrick (2001:82) which was later cited by Maarif (2015:44), Aristotle used the word logos to refer to argumentation and logic in rhetoric. In other words, the word logos is related to speech.

In Aristotle’s rhetorical structure, logos is formatted in three forms, namely; sample / parable (example), adegium / proverb and argumentation (enthymeme). (Maarif, 2015: 43). The elements of logos in rhetoric are interconnected with each other. The sample is the inductive side of rhetoric. Argumentation (enthymeme) is the deductive side. The sample moves from the particular to the general, which he calls adegium.

Furthermore, the adage is the conclusion in the argument (enthymeme) while the enthymeme is the argument for the adage. In order for this ideal to be achieved, a communicator should master several things such as; historical insight, analogy, fiction, abstracting experience and logic. (Maarif, 2015: 44-55). Thus, the concept of logos emphasizes the logic of thinking, knowledge and reasoning in argument. Through this approach, a speaker in presenting his main argument must be coherent and sistematic. Where the argument is supported by strong data such as statistical data or concrete facts.

Anies Baswedan in the Jakarta Pilkada debate also used the concept of this-logos. As in the fourth debate (second round debate of the 2017 DKI Jakarta elections) when reviewing the reclamation of the Jakarta Bay. The following are the results of the analysis of some of Anies Baswedan’s statements included in the logos concept.

“There are at least 12,000 fishermen in Jakarta. Unfortunately, in the statistics of Jakarta, there is no fisherman profession there.”

This statement uses statistical data to show the number of fishermen in Jakarta. At the same time, Anies wants to criticize the discrepancy of existing official data. This is an example of using concrete evidence to support an argument. Anies’ statement reveals the negligence in recording the profession of fishermen in Jakarta’s official statistics which shows inaccuracies in government data. The fact of the data strengthens the argument that fishermen’s problems do not get the attention they deserve.

“Therefore, we will ensure that fishermen in Jakarta improve their welfare. And one of the ways is why we reject reclamation. Because the reclamation actually has a very bad impact on our fishermen. In addition, it has an impact on environmental management.”

5. Kesimpulan

This study has successfully identified and analyzed the political rhetoric strategies used by Anies Baswedan during the 2017 DKI Jakarta Gubernatorial Election debates. Utilizing Aristotle’s rhetorical theory and the invitational rhetoric framework by Sonja Foss and Cindy L. Griffin, the research highlights how Anies effectively applied ethos, pathos, and logos to connect with his audience and strengthen his arguments.

Through ethos, Anies demonstrated credibility by emphasizing his experience, practical wisdom (phronesis), collaborative leadership (arete), and goodwill (eunoia). He positioned himself as a leader who prioritizes inclusivity, avoids extremism, and focuses on the welfare of all citizens, particularly marginalized groups. His approach emphasized collaboration, equality, and justice, making him relatable and trustworthy to a broad audience.

In pathos, Anies adeptly evoked emotions such as empathy, concern, and hope. By addressing issues faced by vulnerable groups like fishermen and displaced residents, he established a strong emotional connection with his audience. He balanced negatif feelings about Jakarta’s challenges with optimism for a better future, fostering a sense of shared purpose and encouraging support for his vision of an inclusive Jakarta.

For logos, Anies sistematically presented data, concrete facts, and logical arguments. He linked cause and effect, offering well-reasoned solutions to Jakarta’s problems. His logical and structured communication strengthened his persuasive appeal, making his policies and ideas credible to the electorate.

Anies also paid close attention to rhetorical structure, style, and socio-cultural context. His arguments were sistematically organized, delivered in an engaging and respectful manner, and aligned with the cultural values of diversity, equality, and justice. Using inclusive language, metaphors, and relatable messages, he inspired collaboration and participation from all segments of society. The findings underline that invitational rhetoric, which fosters a safe, open, and respectful environment for dialogue, was a crucial element of Anies’ strategy. This approach allowed him to build trust, encourage understanding, and promote shared values among diverse audiences in urban Jakarta.

The research concludes that invitational rhetoric can be an effective strategy in political debates and campaigns, particularly in a multicultural urban context. Anies Baswedan’s rhetoric showcases the power of inclusivity, collaboration, and moral responsibility to engage audiences and build public trust, ultimately positioning him as a leader committed to the well-being of all citizens, not just the privileged few.

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