



UNVEILING THE RHETORIC: ANALYZING ILLOCUTIONARY ACTS IN ANIES BASWEDAN’S 2024 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN “DESAK ANIES” PROGRAM

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Abstract

The research objectives are to describe the types of illocutionary acts in Anies Baswedan’s utterances in the political context as a pragmatic analysis. This descriptive qualitative research collected and analyzed the data using Searle’s theory of Illocutionary Acts (2005) and Levinson’s theory of the context (1983) using 30 utterances from the “Desak Anies” program conducted in Semarang and uploaded by Metro TV to its official YouTube channel a week before election day. The research findings revealed that the most used illocutionary acts by Baswedan in the “Desak Anies” program were assertives, for 45%, used to describe the world or convey information that the speaker believes to be true. Assertive utterances aim to inform, describe, or explain and are evaluated based on truthfulness or accuracy. Assertive utterances are key communication components that help share knowledge and convey facts. Baswedan is known for his rhetorical speech and his skills in speaking to persuade or convince audiences. Baswedan uses examples, facts, and logical explanations to support his ideas/ opinions in that part.

INTRODUCTION

As election voters, can we guess the intention of a political actor in his speech or debate program? In the dynamic landscape of political campaigns, the power of language cannot be underestimated. During the political campaign 2024 in Indonesia, many political actors used unique methods to convince voters and their supporters, who observed the candidates through social media, TV shows, and other media. Soekarwo (2021) shows that around 53.81% of the targeted voters for the presidential elections 2024 in Indonesia consisted of Millennial and Z generations, known as the digital generation, where the digital approach will be more relevant to them. Anies Baswedan, one of the presidential candidates, has emerged as a prominent figure, leveraging innovative campaign strategies to raise support across the archipelago called “Desak Anies,” representing a dynamic approach to political communication and voter engagement (Rahro et al. 2024). A similar campaign strategy was demonstrated by Abraham Lincoln in 1860 when he and his supporters created new forms of personal communication directly with the voters, which elevated his position to win the presidential election after his loss in 1858 (O’Connell, 2013). Using the strategy of communicative dialog with the voters who didn’t know Lincoln before, around 4.000.000 voters would get more information about him. It can be said that the “Desak Anies” program is not a new strategy in politics, but most candidates used to rely on debates and speech programs with structured situations.

Furthermore, the “Desak Anies” program enables Baswedan, as the presidential candidate, to exchange messages, ideas, feelings, and emotions with his targeted voters in a particular context and situation where the participants, the utterances, and the social aspects

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such as gender, occupation, education, and familiarity are connected (Ratnasari, 2017). In the political context, for example, politicians sometimes consider ways to say something to the voters and supporters to frame their image or protect something, which defines the politics itself; doing things with words to effectively emphasize political attitudes and opinions, manipulate public opinion, manufacture political consent, or legitimate political power (Hashim, 2015). In addition, Baswedan, as the political opponent of Jokowi's dynasty, needed to make a big move to show the targeted voters that changing the situation was a choice for now. Baswedan could directly reveal his thoughts, ideas, feelings, achievements, and political attitudes toward selected questions by doing the program and the whole thing called speech acts (Ramadhani, 2019). Thus, the "Desak Anies" is a communicative and inspired program run by Anies Baswedan as one of the presidential candidates in 2024 to promote his vision, mission, and work plans to the public, which includes dialogs and discussions attended by up to 500 people of various levels where they can ask questions, complain about current conditions and issues, and obtain political education from the program, especially to the youth; Millennials and Generation Z (Basyari-2023, Prasetyo-2024). The "Desak Anies" program started on November 28, 2023, and continued until February 10, 2024, in several cities in Indonesia. During his political campaign, it is believed that the "Desak Anies" program demonstrated his ideology and political strategies to gain more voters.

Moreover, speech acts happen in everyday communication. Rahardi (2006), Ratnasari (2017), Cruse in Ramadhani (2019), Sunendar (2024) stated that speech acts could be divided into three parts: a) a locutionary act is the original meaning of the speaker's utterance, b) illocutionary act is the intention of the speaker in saying something such as promising, denying, informing, and c) perlocutionary act is the effect or reaction on the hearer understanding such as gesture, behavior, or action. This research focused on illocutionary act types: 1) assertive is the statement that commits the speaker to the truth proportions; 2) directives is the statement that wants the hearer to do actions; 3) commissives is the statement that commits the speaker to do some future action; 4) expressive is the statement that expresses what the speaker feels; 5) declaration is the statement that from the content of utterances related with reality. To enhance the meaning of illocutionary acts, context must be the background of knowledge assumed to be shared by the speaker and hearer as a similar interpretation. Several aspects can define the context: 1) addresses and addressees, 2) the context of the utterances, 3) the goal (s) of utterances, 4) the utterances of act or activity, and 5) the utterance as a product or a verbal act (Levinson, 1983). Yule (1996) states that illocutionary acts are the power of communicative utterances, enabling the speaker to obtain his goal from his words. It can be said that the proper words could mobilize the masses in the political context. However, Baswedan did not win the presidential election conducted on February 14, 2024, which led to a big question: Did the voters misunderstand his intentions regarding several significant social problems?

RESEARCH METHOD

In this qualitative descriptive research, the utterances of Anies Baswedan in his presidential campaign, the "Desak Anies" program, were selected and analyzed using the Searle (2005) and Levinson (1983) framework of illocutionary acts and context. The data was taken from 31 utterances from the "Desak Anies" program conducted in Semarang and uploaded by Metro TV to its official YouTube channel a week before election day. Creswell (2012) states that qualitative research concerns the nature of the reality of the data and the social relationship between the researcher and the research object. The objective of the research was: 1) to find out the categories of illocutionary acts types found in the "Desak Anies" program, 2) to find out the context that influences the utterances of illocutionary acts

revealed in the “Desak Anies” program. The data was taken from his campaign program called “Desak Anies,” including six from fifteen selected topics of Baswedan in his Q & A session on several topics such as 1) Breaking the Democratic Principals committed by Jokowi's Dynasty, 2) Planning program on BUMN (The State-Owned Enterprise), 3) Using Social Assistance Funds during Political Campaigns, 4) Planning Program for UMKM (The Small and Medium Enterprises), 5) violence against women and children, and 6) Planning Programs on Diffabled Communities. From those topics, the researcher chose 30 highlighted quotations. In this research, the observation method is used to obtain conversation data through several techniques: 1) tapping, 2) participatory conversation, 3) non-participatory conversation, 4) recording, and 5) noting (Sudaryanto in Sunendar, 2024).

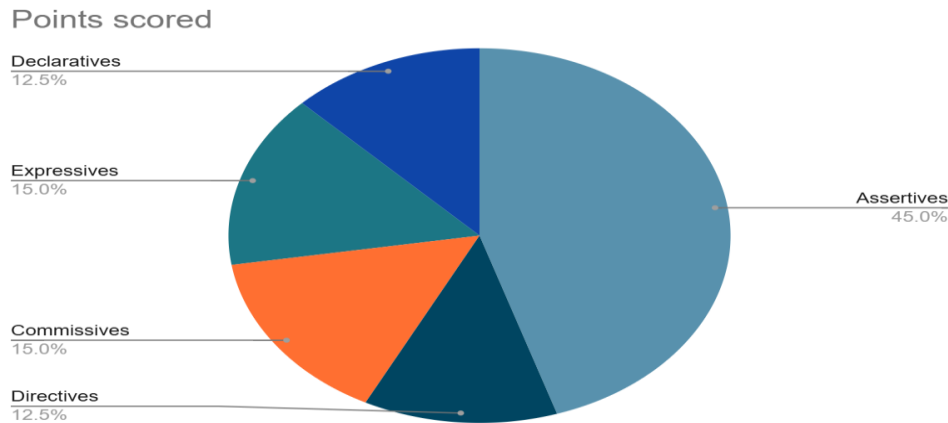
The recorded data would then be transcribed and classified according to the types of illocutionary acts. The tools used for the analysis were taken from Searle’s theory of Illocutionary Acts (2005) and Levinson’s theory of the context (1983). Several aspects can define the context that would be used in the analysis: 1) addresses and addressees, 2) the context of the utterances, and 3) the goal (s) of utterances. Then, the data is analyzed in three ways: reduction, presentation, and conclusion drawing. Baswedan's speech in the "Desak Anies" video in the data reduction stage is analyzed and classified according to the research questions. Next, the analysis results are integrated with other data to achieve the desired outcomes in the data presentation stage. The final stage of the process is concluding the collected data. The illocutionary acts can be seen in the table below:

Table.1 The Types of Illocutionary Acts

No	The Types of Illocutionary Acts	The Meaning	The Indicators
1.	Assertive	A statement that commits the speaker to the truth proportions	Stating, suggesting, boasting, complaining, and claiming
2.	Directives	A statement that wants the hearer to do action	Ordering, requesting, recommending, commanding, advising
3.	Commissives	A statement that commits the speaker to do some future action	Promising, offering, vowing
4.	Expressives	A statement that expresses what the speaker feels.	Thanking, congratulating, pardoning, blaming, praising, and condoling, deploring
5	Declarations	A statement that from the content of utterances related to reality.	Resigning, christening, dismissing, naming, appointing, excommunicating and sentencing.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The findings from the analysis of Baswedan's answers during the Desak Anies event indicated Anies's overall political utterances. This can be observed from the results of the illocutionary acts types and the context of the situation. The collected data of Baswedan’s illocutionary acts can be seen in general in the chart below:



The chart above shows that the most used illocutionary acts by Baswedan in the “Desak Anies” program were assertives for 45%, which are used to describe the world or convey information that the speaker believes to be true. Assertive utterances aim to inform, describe, or explain and are evaluated based on truthfulness or accuracy. Assertive utterances are key communication components that help share knowledge and convey facts. In fact, Baswedan is known for his rhetorical speech and his skills in speaking to persuade or convince audiences. Baswedan uses examples, facts, and logical explanations to support his ideas/ opinions in that part. Thus, explaining some information to the hearers is something Baswedan’s things. The second was expressive and commissive utterances for 15%, which convey the speaker’s feelings, emotions, attitudes, and psychological states. These utterances express the speaker’s inner state instead of asserting facts or requesting actions. Also, commissive utterances are statements in which the speaker commits to a particular course of action. These utterances reflect the speaker’s intention to do something in the future, often including promises, offers, vows, threats, or pledges. In essence, commissive utterances are about making commitments and ensuring the hearer of the speaker’s future actions. They play a crucial role in establishing trust and reliability in communication. The data on illocutionary acts from six topics can be seen below:

Topic 1

The context of the first topic was about the breaking of democratic Principles committed by Jokowi’s Dynasty, which led to the worst situation where many people, including academicians from universities in Indonesia, came out with “Darurat Demokrasi,” or “democratic emergency” Baswedan highlighted the role of academicians as the articulators of citizen aspiration if democracy doesn’t work as it is supposed to. From Baswedan’s statement, it can be inferred that Baswedan believes that the role of academics is more powerful than the role of political parties and the Indonesia House of Representatives (DPR). He believes that the democratic system in Indonesia needs to return to the principal rules where everyone stands on an equal footing, opportunity, and right without any interference from the power holder, as is happening currently. The types of illocutionary acts can be seen in the following table:

Table.2 The Types of Illocutionary Acts for Topic 1

No	Quotation	Illocutionary act types	The Indicators
1.	In a democratic system, channels such as the House of Representatives and political parties are used to voice the people's aspirations	Assertive	Suggesting
2.	However, when the House of Representatives and political parties no longer serve as channels for diverse public aspirations but enforce uniformity, a blockage occurs; those aspirations seek new pathways, and the campus always becomes the articulator to voice opinions not expressed by the existing political channels.	Expressive Assertive	Blaming Complaining
3.	In terms of freedom of speech, we are experiencing a significant decline, as evidenced by the many t-shirts that say "Wakanda No More, Indonesia Forever."	Assertive Expressive	Complaining Deploring
4	Let's see if, on February 14th, Indonesia will finally emerge as a country with a mature democracy.	Commissive	Offering
5	We are constitutionally responsible for safeguarding democracy during the election on February 14th tomorrow.	Directives	Commanding
6	Do not let tomorrow's election be taken over by those who seek to perpetuate inequality in this Republic.	Directives	Ordering

The data above showed that Baswedan inferred his belief about the blockage aspiration of the democracy channel committed by the House of Representatives and political parties, which stimulated new pathways from academicians (the assertive of informing). At the same time, he showed his feelings by blaming and deploring the situation created by the recent government. In his final words, he offered, commanded, and ordered the people on what they could do to change the situation (commissive and directive utterances).

Topic 2

The context of the second topic was the planning program on BUMN (The State-Owned Enterprise) because there was an issue saying that Baswedan would abolish the BUMN soon after his election win; he refused the accusation that he would abolish the BUMN. Baswedan gave more solutions on how BUMN should be working. Baswedan believes that BUMN, as a state-owned enterprise, should not trade with its citizens. In asking this question, Baswedan tends to be more offensive by saying, "How could state-owned enterprises be abolished? If the Minister himself says this, then is he not thinking critically? Where is the critical thinking?" He tried to attack the ministry of a state-owned company that spread the issue of abolishing BUMN by Baswedan.

Table.3 The Types of Illocutionary Acts for Topic 2

No	Quotation	Illocutionary act types	The Indicators
7	If those in authority quote this baseless information, then they are not exercising common sense.	Expressives	Deploring
8.	How could state-owned enterprises be abolished? If the Minister himself says this, then is the Minister not thinking critically? Where is the critical thinking?	Assertive Expressives	Complaining Deploring
9.	State-owned enterprises should not be viewed as entities that seek profit for the state. While it is good if they make a profit, that is not the priority. The state does not engage in commerce with its citizens.	Assertive	Suggesting

The data above showed that Baswedan inferred his misunderstanding about the baseless information created by the power holders, which showed their loss of common sense. He kept questioning the minister's critical thinking, who spread the issue about him abolishing the state-owned enterprises (BUMN), which was totally misleading. In this topic, Baswedan showed his assertive and expressive utterances. He showed his feelings and emotions while explaining what he was about to do for the state-owned enterprises. There was no way for him to abolish the enterprises. He stated that he wanted to replan the function and the workflow of the BUMN soon after his win in the presidential election.

Topic 3

The context of the following topic was the government's misuse of social assistance programs during the political campaign for the presidential election of 2024. His answer indicated that the power holder was misusing their power to gain more voters and supporters. At the same time, social assistance itself was a government program funded by tax revenue, not a candidate's campaign fund. Baswedan inferred that the power holder, Jokowi, as the president, was taking some advantages to elevate one of the presidential candidates over other opponents. He believed that this issue could be evaluated critically by the citizens of Indonesia who care about their voting rights.

Table.4 The Types of Illocutionary Acts for Topic 3

No	Quotation	Illocutionary act types	The Indicators
10	Social assistance benefits the recipient, not the giver.	Assertive	Suggesting
11	It is not owned by the giver but comes from the people's tax revenue.	Assertive	Stating
12	Social assistance should be provided according to the recipient's needs, not the giver; if it is needed in January, give it in January; if it is needed in April, give it in April.	Assertive	Suggesting

13	It's like having three meals; if I give all three in the morning, can you eat them all? Of course not. It has to be according to the needs.	Assertive	Boasting
14	I am increasingly convinced that Indonesia's people are becoming more critical every day, especially as everyone speaks about social assistance.	Expressives	Praising
15	Hopefully, their rights will be received, but their voting rights will be protected.	Directives	Recommending

The data showed that Baswedan believed in how social assistance should be defined to educate people. He frequently stated the roles of recipients and givers and the regular schedule of the program, which were crossed by the power holder who sounded his support to the other presidential candidates. He continued his description of this issue by giving more examples of how unfair it was (assertive utterances). Then, Baswedan closes his statement by praising the people who believe in him and directing them to take steps on election day to protect their voting rights (expressive and directive utterances).

Topic 4

The context of the following topic was the Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises facing the digital technology movement and how the government handles the situation. From his answer, Baswedan showed that both traditional and electronic commerce are essential for the county's economic growth, and both should have their own track, which must be legalized by systematic regulation from the government. Also, Baswedan inferred that the government needs to be fair in facilitating traditional and electronic commerce.

Table.5 The Types of Illocutionary Acts for Topic 4

No	Quotation	Illocutionary act types	The Indicators
16	The principle in developing MSMEs (Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises) is how to ensure the small ones grow without the big ones being antagonized.	Assertive	Stating
17	The small can grow, and the big can grow in larger areas as well, without overshadowing the small.	Assertive	Suggesting
18.	This requires a commitment from the State.	Commissives	Promising, Offering

The data showed that Baswedan defined how MSMEs should be and how the government should regulate the processes (assertive utterances). He indicated this problem could be handled if he were the power holder (commissive utterance).

Topic 5

The context of the following topic was about violence against women and the vulnerability of the victim in the weak implementation of policy or regulation by the

government. Baswedan stated that the government must be aware of the victim’s physical and psychological effects of the violence and take some steps to overcome the problems immediately. He showed his concern for women, the elderly, people with disabilities, and children through his track- record during his tenure in Jakarta as governor. He believed this issue should be taken as a national highest priority and ensured that implementing the regulation was a concern at every level of government.

Table.6 The Types of Illocutionary Acts for Topic 5

No	Quotation	Illocutionary act types	The Indicators
19	Data shows that 87% of violence against women is perpetrated by someone close to them, and less than 40% of these cases can be resolved.	Declarative	Appointing, Naming
20	Steps that can be taken include raising awareness that women's protection is an important priority in national leadership.	Assertive Commissives	Boasting Promising and Offering
21.	If it is not a priority for the highest levels of government, it will be difficult to see action taken at the lower levels.	Directives	Commanding
22	During my tenure in Jakarta, there was an incident involving a government official, a department head, who committed sexual harassment.	Declarative Assertive	Appointing Claiming
23	What I did: 1) suspend the official during the investigation, 2) ..., 3) ..., etc.	Declarative Assertive	Appointing and Sentencing Claiming
24	We want Indonesia to be a safe place for women, the elderly, people with disabilities, and children.	Commissives	Promising, offering

The data showed that in this topic, Baswedan believed the issue of violence against women needs to be regulated by the government seriously. The steps taken by the government would protect the victims from the psychological and physical effects (assertive and directive utterances). He continued by declaring his experiences during his tenure in Jakarta and what he could offer the people for the future (commissive and declarative utterances).

Topic 6

The last context came from the topic of his unfriendly campaign building facilities for people with disabilities, the planning programs on Diffabled Communities, and the indication of misuse of this issue only for campaign/ political purposes. In this part, Baswedan inferred that he never used the issue of women, the elderly, people with disabilities, and children for his campaign's political purposes, but it is a humanitarian commitment. During his tenure, some new buildings in Jakarta proved disabled-friendly, and he got control over the situation. He implied that the campaign building facilities for this “Desak Anies” in Semarang were out of his territory to control the situation.

Table.7 The Types of Illocutionary Acts for Topic 6

No	Quotation	Illocutionary act types	The Indicators
25	If the root cause is not addressed, the problem will persist.	Expressives	Blaming
26	For example, you may face difficulty accessing this building because it was not designed with disabilities in mind.	Assertive	Stating
27.	And I talk about disabilities not because of the presidential election but because it is a humanitarian commitment that has been undertaken since I served at the Ministry of Education and Culture.	Assertive Commissives	Claiming and Stating Vowing
28	In Jakarta, all new government buildings must be disability-friendly, and existing ones are being gradually corrected.	Assertive Declarations	Claiming Naming and Appointing
39	Whenever I talk about disabilities, I always include three others (women, children, and the elderly). Why?	Assertive	Stating and Claiming
30	Why do we choose to be open like this? So that in the future, we can hold each other accountable for what has been planned as a collective effort of the community	Directives Commissives	Requesting Promising

The data shows that Baswedan explained his concern for people with disabilities, women, children, and the elderly. He stated that this issue had nothing to do with the presidential election but was purely his humanitarian commitment (assertive utterances). Baswedan expressed that the “Desak Anies” program building in Semarang was out of his control (expressive utterance), so there was nothing he could do about the facilities for people with disabilities. He continued his statement by claiming some track records of his work in Jakarta as governor. Eventually, he asked the people to prove his promises in the future regarding the issue of people with disabilities, women, children, and the elderly.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, analyzing Anies Baswedan's utterances in the "Desak Anies" program highlights the predominance of assertive illocutionary acts, which constitute 45% of his speech. These acts are crucial in conveying information and describing the world as the speaker perceives it, thereby playing a significant role in effective communication. Baswedan's adept use of rhetorical strategies, including examples, facts, and logical explanations, underscores his ability to persuade and convince his audience. This study sheds light on the illocutionary acts employed in political discourse and emphasizes the importance of assertive utterances in sharing knowledge and conveying facts.

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