

Rhetoric Analysis of Alissa Wahid's Speech in the Webinar of Women Speak Religious Moderation on The Youtube Chanel Convey Indonesia

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Abstract

This article discusses the Rhetoric Analysis of Alissa Wahid's Speech in the Women's Webinar Talking Religious Moderation on the Convey Indonesia YouTube Chanel, August 14, 2020. Alissa Wahid is the daughter of the 3rd former president of Indonesia, KH. Abdur Rahman Wahid, who called Gus Dur, is the Father of Tolerance in Indonesia and is also the coordinator of the Indonesian Gusdurian Network. It is important to analyze it because the presentation in the webinar discusses Religious Moderation and Women as Actors, and how women become actors who drive society. For this reason, researchers use descriptive qualitative methods through an interpretive paradigm. The data collection technique is watching, listening, reading, and taking notes. the analysis by interpreting the concept of persuasion and the five laws of Aristotelian rhetoric. The analytical technique used is the Miles, Huberman, and Saldana model, namely data collection, data condensation, data presentation, and leverage. The results showed that there were three persuasive rhetoric's, those are Forensic Rhetoric, Demonstrative Rhetoric, and Deliberative Rhetoric used by Alissa Wahid. Furthermore, the findings on Alissa Wahid's speech contained a total of 41 data findings with details of 12 data from the concept of persuasive rhetoric and 15 data from the five principles of Aristotle's rhetorical law.

Keywords: *Rhetoric, Alissa Wahid, Women, Religious Moderation*

Introduction

Moderation comes from the word moderatio (Latin) which means moderate. It

means neither less nor more. The English is moderation and the Arabic is *wasath*, which means mediator, mediator, leader. The



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Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia interprets it as a middle way of religion according to the understanding of moderation earlier.¹

The Government of Indonesia through the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia has promoted religious moderation since 2014. That year Indonesia was considered an emergency of religious moderation because of the many acts of radicalism and terrorism so that it was necessary to socialize again about Islam which historically entered Indonesia through the moderate path, namely Local values (local wisdom) as a legacy. Nusantara culture, can be juxtaposed in parallel so that the spirit of Islam and cultural wisdom go hand in hand, do not negate each other.² This apparently is not understood by some groups of women and young people who are easily recruited by radical Islamic groups to carry out acts that lead to terrorism. It is the lack of understanding of women and the younger generation in understanding moderate Islam that makes Indonesia considered an emergency of religious moderation, so ideally religious moderation at all ages from kindergarten to university.

Based on these efforts, it is necessary for Islamic Universities to develop multicultural insight for lecturers and students

through scientific study activities in the form of seminars, workshops, or research. For this reason, many State Islamic Religious Universities (PTKIN) are moving quickly in pioneering houses of religious moderation. So far, several PTKIN that have transformed mainstreaming and strengthening religious moderation through digital spaces include: The State Islamic University Of Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, The State Islamic University Of Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, The State Islamic University Of Walisongo Semarang, The State Islamic University of Kiai Haji Achmad Shiddiq Jember, The State Islamic University Of Raden Intan Lampung, The State Islamic Institut of Kudus, and The State Islamic Institut of Metro, and other universities that have also established the Moderation House. The data can be seen from virtual studies conducted by the Religious Moderation House in the PTKIN. These include the Center for the Study of Religious Moderation or Pusat Kajian Moderasi Beragama (PKMB) UIN Raden Intan Lampung which held a virtual study using the media zoom, facebook, and youtube to discuss various strategies to foster an attitude of religious moderation in universities. As well as UIN Syarif Hidayatullah also develop a

¹ Kementerian Agama RI, Moderasi Beragama, (Jakarta: Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, 2019), 16.

² Kementerian Agama RI, Radikalisme Agama & Tantangan Kebangsaan, (Jakarta: Direktur Jenderal Bimas Kementerian Agama RI, 2014), 65.

house of religious moderation.³ The difference is, virtual studies of religious moderation from UIN Syarif Hidayatullah in collaboration with UNDP (United Nations Development Programme or Badan Program Pembangunan PBB) formed "CONVEY", a one-year project designed to identify and address the factors underlying the growth of violent extremism in religious education taking into account gender differences. It is an optimistic response to existing conditions and is a contribution to the serious ongoing efforts to combat violence and extremism by developing all the constructive potential of Islamic and religious subjects to be integrated equally in schools. high-quality learning and instruction - mainstreaming religious education - in Indonesia.⁴

The large number of women and the younger generation recruited to become members of Islamic radicalism has made Convey Indonesia implement several strategies, namely incorporating elements of religious moderation into the curriculum by cooperating with women activists who have charisma and broad insight. For this reason, it is necessary to have a representative from among them who can convey the mission of

the Ministry of Religion to women as well as to convey women's opinions to the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia. Through a webinar that can be accessed on the youtube channel, Convey Indonesia finally chose Alissa Wahid in the event as a figure who represents women.

Alissa Qotrunnada Munawaroh Wahid (born June 25, 1973) or so-called Alissa Wahid is an Indonesian psychologist from Jombang. She is the eldest daughter of the fourth President of Indonesia Abdurrahman Wahid. Alissa is a graduate SMA Negeri 8 Jakarta and a master of profession Faculty of Psychology Universitas Gajah Mada, focuses on the psychology of families, children, and women. From 1991 to 1996, Alissa was active as a manager in a social project called Indonesia Planned Parenthood Association which focuses on youth self-development and reproductive health in various high schools in Yogyakarta. Apart from pursuing a career and social activities, Alissa is also very active in several diversity organizations. Alissa is now the National Coordinator of the Indonesian GUSDURian Network in 2010.⁵

Alissa Wahid's speech at the webinar with the theme Women Talking Religious

³ Prawita Hartati, "Rektor: UIN Jakarta Rumah Moderasi Beragama", <https://ppim.uinjkt.ac.id/artikel/rektor-uin-jakarta-rumah-moderasi-beragama/> (diakses tanggal 20 Maret 2022).

⁴ Convey Indonesia, "about us", <https://conveyindonesia.com/about-us/> (diakses tanggal 20 Maret 2022).

⁵ Wikipedia.com, "Alissa Qotrunnada", https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alissa_Qotrunnada, (diakses 20 Maret 2022).

Moderation on August 13, 2020 was considered successful in inspiring and motivating women. This success is evident from the number of viewers who reached 2,382. Besides Alissa, the webinar was also filled by Siti Ruhaini Dzuhayatin (Staff Office of the President of the Republic of Indonesia), Yunita Faella Nisa (Vice Dean of Psychology UIN Jakarta dan Researcher of PPIM), dan Oki Setiana Dewi (Doctor of SPS UIN Jakarta).⁶

Rhetoric in Latin (*retorica*) means the science of speaking. This term was popularized by Aristotle (384-322 BC) and continues to grow in various fields such as politics, economics, culture, journalism, art, and others. The essence of rhetoric is the efforts made by the speaker (in spoken language) and writer (in written language) in choosing the form of expression that is considered the most effective to attract the attention of the listener or reader.

The essence of rhetoric is the ability to communicate effectively using language as a tool. In this communication event, the main purpose of the communicator is to convey a message that is expected to be known, understood, and accepted by the communicant. The delivery of the message is carried out in a persuasive manner by

developing the most effective ways to support the communication message to be conveyed. On the other hand, the listener also chooses the possibilities to be able to receive the communication message conveyed. Choosing the most suitable expression is the main feature in rhetoric. In the selection process, whether or not an expression is persuasive is considered carefully by the speaker or writer.⁷

According to Aristotle, there are three types of persuasive rhetoric in speech, namely: deliberative, forensic, and demonstrative.

1. Deliberative (politics), is a type of persuasion for calls or prohibitions. This means that in the speech, the orator invites to do something or in it the orator prohibits/prevents doing something. Usually done by lecturers in sermons or recitations. It is also carried out by leaders such as the president and regional heads when setting policies. According to Aristotle in this part of the speech, the orator refers to the future of what must be done after he delivers his speech. The goal is to convey the benefits or harms.
2. Forensic (courtroom informative speech), in forensic speech contains information used to defend or attack someone. According to Aristotle, persuasive forensics is oriented to information that

⁶ Convey Indonesia, "Perempuan Bicara Moderasi Beragama" <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pn2N9nN1b2g> (diakses tanggal 20 Maret 2022).

⁷ Dhanik Sulistyarini & Anna Gustina Zainal, *Buku Ajar Retorika*, (Banten: CV AA. Rizky, 2020), 6-7.

happened in the past. The goal is that through this information, listeners will decide for themselves whether to defend or blame an object

3. Demonstrative, (Epideictic/ceremonial), done to praise or criticize someone. According to Aristotle, the orientation is present, because the orator praises or criticizes what the object is doing at this time. The goal is to show whether the object is worthy of respect or not

To analyze communication in the form of speech or writing⁸, It is necessary to know the supporting factors through the rhetorical triangle concept proposed by Aristotle, namely Ethos (communicator personality), Pathos (emotions and character of the communicant), and Logos (rhetoric message format). Based on these three supporting factors, there are five methodical stages known as the five canons of rhetoric.⁹ The five canons of rhetoric are:

- a. *Inventio* (rhetorical data search)
- b. *Disposition* (rhetorical data compilation)
- c. *Elocutio* (public communication style)
- d. *Memoria* (memorization technique in rhetoric)
- e. *Pronuntiatio* (speech delivery technique)

The purpose of this study was to determine the propaganda rhetoric about women presented by Alissa Wahid through the five rhetorical principles. By knowing the rhetoric of the speech, it is hoped that many women can take the rhetorical concept to be applied in learning, lectures, and so on.

Several previous studies show rhetorical analysis given by female speakers. Among them is Mamah Dedeh's *da'wah* rhetoric which has implemented the rhetorical canons, namely discovery, arrangement, style, delivery, and memory. However, Mamah Dedeh has prepared everything, and is also fluent in speaking and used to it, there are times when she repeats her words when giving a lecture, and this is natural.¹⁰ Furthermore, the analysis on Umi Pipik Dian Irawati, as a female speaker, the *da'wah* rhetoric she uses is quite good, packaged as attractively as possible so that the *da'wah* material is easily understood by the congregation. The *da'wah* he uses is to give advice. able to package *da'wah* material in an attractive way so that the congregation can easily understand it and want to carry out what is meant by the da'i. and entertainment, even in preaching he inserts laughter so that the

⁸ Aristoteles, *Retorika Seni Berbicara*, (Jakarta: Basabasi, 2018), 33-35.

⁹ Zainul Maarif, *Retorika Metode Komunikasi Publik* (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2015), 3-4

¹⁰ Ahmad Zaini. "Retorika Dakwah Mamah Dedeh dalam Acara "Mamah & Aa Beraksi" di Indosiar." *Ilmu Dakwah: Academic Journal for Homiletic Studies* 11.2 (2017): 219-234.

da'wah looks more relaxed and *mad'u* does not feel bored or bored listening to it.¹¹

Method

The method used in this study is qualitative by using content analysis techniques. Fraenkel and Wallen mention that content analysis is a technique of examining human behavior indirectly through the analysis of communication, such as textbooks, essays, newspapers, pictures, and all communications that can be analyzed.¹² In this study, the key instrument used is based on observations of Alissa Wahid's speech on the eve of the launch of the religious moderation action uploaded on YouTube as the primary data source.¹³ While the secondary data sources are books and articles on rhetoric, communication, and discourse analysis. Data collection techniques used are using the Mahsun method, namely watching, listening, reading, and taking notes.¹⁴ So the researcher watched the video on the youtube channel, then listened to all the speeches delivered by Alissa Wahid, then read all the slides that were displayed, finally the researcher recorded everything in the video for analysis.

Furthermore, the researcher calculated the data obtained on the note with the five rhetorical canons that were applied in the *da'wah* activities of a preacher or preacher (rhetor). Before he speaks, he must find ideas or ideas, how to organize ideas, how to frame ideas into language, convey ideas, and finally how to make what is conveyed can be a memory for those who receive it.¹⁵

The data analysis technique used by the researcher is the Miles, Huberman, and Saldana model with four stages, namely data collection, data condensation, data presentation, and verification.¹⁶ Data collection in the data analysis process in this study was carried out by combining the data that had been obtained in one record armed with electronic and non-electronic devices. Condensation is done by sorting the data including the main things and discarding the unnecessary, then focusing the data according to the research theme. This condensation stage is carried out by researchers by sorting data according to the research theme, namely rhetoric, and discarding data that is not related to rhetorical theory. Data that has gone through the condensation stage is presented in

¹¹ Eva Damayanti, "Retorika Dakwah Pipik Dian Irawati." (Skripsi, Komunikasi dan Penyiaran UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2014), v.

¹² Jack R. Fraenkel dan Norman E. Wallen, *Educational Research: A guide to The Process*. (London: Routledge, 2013), 483.

¹³ Convey Indonesia, "Perempuan Bicara Moderasi Beragama" <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pn2N9nN1b2g> (diakses tanggal 20 Maret 2022).

¹⁴ Mahsun, *Metode Penelitian Bahasa: Tabapan, Strategi, Metode dan Tekniknya* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2014), 92-94.

¹⁵ Morrisani, *Teori Komunikasi Individu Hingga Massa*, (Jakarta: Kencana Prenadamedia Group, 2014), 19

¹⁶ Matthew B. Miles, A. Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña. *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook. 3rd.* (London: SAGE Publications, 2014), 18-25.

the form of a table that explains the types of data and their categories. This stage of data presentation is carried out by presenting all the data in accordance with the rhetorical theory first, then presenting an explanation of the type of data obtained, then presenting the classification of data based on the category. Next is verification which is done by drawing conclusions on the data that has been presented. The steps in this verification are sequentially carried out through linking the data that has been presented with the rhetorical theory, then the researcher draws conclusions on the data that has been presented based on the type, then in the last step conclusions are drawn on the data that has been presented based on the category

Discussion

Rhetoric Analysis of Alissa Wahid's Speech in Religious Moderation

Based on Alissa Wahid's video, here are the data obtained by the researcher:

Table 1.1 figures and statistics of speech videos Alissa Wahid

Title Perempuan Bicara Moderasi Beragama	
Uploader	Convey Indonesia (6.25 thousand subscribers)
Upload Date	August 14, 2020
Duration	25 Min 12 seconds (1.28.28 – 1.53.40)
Number of Likes	168
Number of Dislike	0
Number of Comment	403
Total View	2.374 (as of 05 April 2022)
Link Address	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pn2N9nN1b2g

Based on the table, the videos that have been uploaded for almost 2 years have received a warm welcome for YouTube viewers. This can be seen from the number of views which reached 2,374/05 April 2022. In the video there were 403 comments and there was only one responder or account who commented negatively or disagreed with what was conveyed by the source, namely Eneng Sarah's account. These accounts, from the initial sources to the final sources, always provide comments that do not agree or comment with their own opinions.

Types of Persuasive Rhetoric

Furthermore, if the speech is analyzed in terms of the type of rhetoric, then there are the following data::

Table 1.2 analysis of types of persuasive rhetoric

Types of Rhetoric	Type of Sentences	Total	Minutes
Forensic Rhetoric	Defend	2	1.29.40,
	Attack	1	1.41.21. 1.39.40
Demonstrative Rhetoric	Praise	1	1.28.08
	reproach	5	1.42.46, 1.43.03, 1.44.41, 1.45.36, 1.46.03
Deliberative Rhetoric	Exclamation	3	1.51.15,
	ban	1	1.52.13, 1.52.43. 1.42.21
TOTAL		12	

Based on table 1.2, we can analyze as follows:

Forensic rhetoric is basically the passing of information defending or attacking someone. In the speech, Alissa Wahid defended 4 times and attacked 4 times. The details of the defense in the speech are as follows:

1.29.40 *Nanti saya ingin sedikit ke arah sana Bagaimana perempuan sebagai aktor untuk menggerakkan masyarakat bukan controll in engineering seperti yang tadi disampaikan oleh bu ruhaini, guru saya ini, kita tadi banyak mendengar dari berbagai sisi apa melihat moderasi beragama sebagai sebuah konsep kemudian tadi melihat kata moderasi beragama sangat kuat dari sisi keislaman saya akan melihatnya dari sisi sosial-politik mungkin ya atau apa Saya kurang tahu tapi ini terkait akan bagaimana kita menempatkan isu moderasi beragama ini*

1.41.21 *Nah ini praktek beragama yang substantif inklusif ini saya gunakan contoh yang paling mudah itu adalah doktrin atau ajaran dari Kyai Haji Ahmad Siddiq yang mengatakan bahwa umat Islam di Indonesia yang ingin menegakkan Islam rahmatan lil'alam karena judulnya adalah Islam rahmatan lil'alam bukan Islam rahmatan Lil muslimin maka harus menegakkan tiga ukhuvah secara bersama-sama itu substansinya adalah Islam rahmatan lil'alam inklusinya ada di ukhuvah Islamiyah harus menegakkan tiga ukhuvah itu: satu ukhuvah Islamiyah, dua ukhuvah Wathoniyah, tiga ukhuvah Basyariyah*

In both defenses, it can be seen that the object being defended by Alissa Wahid is the opinion on control in engineering from Mrs. Ruhaini (1.29.40) and the concept of *ukhuvah* from Kiai Haji Achmad Siddiq (1.41.21). While the attack in detail in the speech is as follows:

1.39.40 *Doctrin al-Wala wal Baro yang sekarang ini sangat sering kita dengar di masyarakat Indonesia itu mengatakan bahwa kita harus berdekatan dengan kelompok kita tapi harus bermusuhan dengan arus menjauh dari kelompok lawan kita gitu. dengan paradigma yang eksklusif ini aspersesadmanya akan*

terasa sekali "kita umat beragama yang paling benar dan yang lain harus dijaubi"

From the sentence of attack, it can be seen that the object that Alissa Wahid attacked/insinuated was an Islamic group that used the doctrine of *al wara wal baro* (1.39.40). Furthermore, in Demonstrative rhetoric, there are 1 praise and 5 reproaches made by Alissa Wahid. The two compliments are as follows:

1.29.08 *pertama Terima kasih dulu kepada teman-teman convey sudah mengundang saya untuk berbagi bersama para perempuan-perempuan hebat yang lain.*

In this praise, the object that was praised by Alissa Wahid was the committee who had invited several great women to the webinar.

Meanwhile, Alissa Wahid's reproach sentences were not carried out openly but subtly by giving wrong examples that should not be imitated, which are as follows:

1.42.46 *nah teman-teman bisa liat di dalam slide ini sebelah kiri atas itu demo yang dilakukan oleh orang-orang Budha mendemo pembunuhan umat Buddha di Bangladesh*

1.43.03 *tetapi di sebelah kanan atas itu teman-teman bisa melihat bahwa di mandalay di di Myanmar itu yang terjadi adalah kelompok ekstrim budhies itu menargetkan kelompok minoritas muslim robingnya maupun non robingnya itu di Myanmar sama-sama rentan posisinya gitu. Kenapa? karena maba tak kelompok Buddhis garis kerasnya Hai namanya basah itu memang eh menghalalkan darah orang umat muslim. Lucu jadi kalau saya saya kaget dan gimana gitu ya Ketika saya ada dalam satu forum bersama teman Buddhis dari Myanmar, dia Komnas HAM Myanmar, dibilang begini dia menunjukkan foto-foto selebaran dan spanduk begitu ya bunyinya adalah pokoknya sentimen kebencian kepada umat muslim kemudian dilap selebaran itu ada tulisan di spanduknya ada bunyi muslim dilarang masuk kemudian di Kampung ini gitu kemudian juga ada selebaran bunyinya begini "jangan-jangan membeli di*

ke di toko orang Islam karena keuntungannya akan digunakan untuk membuat Islamic Center dan untuk mengislamkan Myanmar” begitu terus saya ke Kenapa karena saya beberapa kali membaca selebaran yang sama narasinya tetapi pelakunya berbeda itu di Indonesia kita tuduhannya adalah eh apa namanya Christian center yang akan melakukan kristenisasi begitu

1.44.41 nah di sebelah kiri bawah ini adalah RSS ini adalah demo terhadap RSS. RSS adalah kelompok garis keras di India yang kerjanya itu swiping, kemudian yang diselipi itu kalau nggak di persekusi bahkan sampai ada 20 orang yang meninggal karena di persekusi oleh digebukin oleh RSS pada saat sweeping itu ya orangnya kemudian dibawa ke kantor polisi dan dilaporkan untuk penistaan agama Siapa yang di sweeping orang-orang Islam dan orang-orang Kristen yang makan daging sapi atau menjual daging sapi begitu kenapa karena menurut RSS yang ideologinya adalah ideologi hindutva eh orang-orang yang menjual daging sapi dan atau makan tapi walaupun itu di rumah sendiri mereka menistakan agama Hindu yang adalah agamanya orang India begitu ya

1.45.36 kemudian yang terakhir di sebelah kanan bawah itu ada stok Islamisasi Eropa ini demo di Eropa menolak pengungsi dari Timur Tengah, mereka menganggap bahwa datangnya orang-orang Islam di Eropa ini adalah babagian dari Great white Replacement begitu untuk menggeser mengusur dan menggeser AOA kaum kulit putih di di Eropa

1.46.03 yang di tengah Ini adalah kampanye dari Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia demokrasi sistem Syirik question stay muslim don't boat kecuali pada saat dibutuhkan itu karena ini adalah Apakah majalah kampanye lama tetapi terus terang dalam kampanye dalam pilgub DKI Jakarta kemudian justru didorong untuk pot jangan sampai penistaagama itu menang begitu waktu itu.

In the five censures, the objects that were criticized were the public figures shown in the slides, namely the Bangladeshi Buddhist radical group, the Buddhist extremist group in Myanmar, the RSS in India, Islamophobia in

Europe, and the radical Hizbut Tahrir group in Indonesia.

The last part on the type of deliberative rhetoric, Alissa Wahid gives 5 calls and 1 prohibition. The 3 calls are as follows:

1.51.15 Kemudian sebagai istri dan ibu dia punya juga peran yang sangat khusus terkait dengan penanaman nilai dan sebagai penggerak masyarakat itu jelas berbeda ini resep KPK terkait dengan praktek pengasuhan penanaman nilai menurut ibu dan anak ibu itu adalah pendidik dan pengasuh dan sementara menurut anak juga Ibu adalah pendidik dan pengasuh karena itu kalau kita bekerja bersama ibu tentang Eropa dalam konteks moderasi beragama maka pendidikan dan pengasuhan penanaman nilai pada anak-anak kita pada generasi kita itu akan menjadi selesai begitu ah

1.52.13 Kemudian yang kedua kalau kita bicara Ibu dalam keluarga Maka kalau Kembali kepada identitas tadi moderasi beragama berbasis keluarga itu berarti kita mewujudkan praktek beragama bercorak wasathiyah dalam keluarga dengan penanaman nilai cinta tanah air toleransi cinta damai anti kekerasan dan penghormatan terhadap tradisi dengan tetap pada prinsip keadilan dan keseimbangan begitu nah eh

1.52.43 sementara kalau kita bicara perempuan sebagai aktor penggerak masyarakat ini banyak sekali inisiatif-inisiatif kelompok-kelompok perempuan iang melakukan proses pendidikan masyarakat dan itu sangat dominan karena itu jelas perempuan itu menjadi aktor yang sangat penting di dalam penguatan modal si beragama di dalam masyarakat.

These five sentences are called exclamations because there is an invitation word; *perempuan sebagai pendidik dan pengasuh* (1.51.15), *perempuan sebagai ibu dan anak mempraktekkan moderasi dalam keluarga* (1.52.13), *perempuan sebagai aktor penggerak masyarakat dalam kelompok-kelompok perempuan*

(1.52.43). While one prohibition on the speech is:

1.42.21 Maka kemudian ada juga reaksi balik yaitu reaksi insecurity, keinginan untuk kemudian menjaga atau preserving conserving kelompok dan agenda-agenda kelompok. Karena itu kemudian kita menemukan banyak sekali narasi eksklusivisme agama dan ekstremisme agama dimana-mana. Cuman beda kalau siapa pelaku dan siapa korban begitu

The sentence is considered a prohibited sentence because it contains the word; *ada juga reaksi balik yaitu reaksi insecurity, keinginan untuk kemudian menjaga atau preserving conserving kelompok dan agenda-agenda kelompok.* (1.42.21).

In the three appeals and one prohibition, the object of the appeal is the same, namely all listeners, especially the stakeholders who were greeted at the beginning of Alissa Wahid's speech at the webinar.

Representation of the Five Canon Rhetoric Principles

Then if you analyze the principles of the five laws of rhetoric in Alissa Wahid's speech, the following data are obtained:

Table. 1.3 Analysis of the five Canon rhetoric of Alissa Wahid

Rhetoric Canon	Amount	Minutes	Data Description
Invention	5	1.28.30	- Understanding and giving opinions and explaining about women as actors in religious moderation
		1.32.16, 1.41.49	- Provide examples of cases of religious moderation, and
		1.37.44, 1.39.41	

Disposition (Rhetorical Data Compilation)		religious intolerance
		- Understand the doctrines related to religious moderation
	9 - 1.28.45	- Opened with greetings, greetings to previous speakers, and the background of their presence at the event
	- 1.29.48	- The introduction begins by describing the religious moderation launched by the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia
	- 1.32.16	- Some examples of cases related to issues in the name of religion are given
	- 1.33.44	- Quoting Serian Jorge's opinion on sentiment towards groups, between religious groups
	- 1.37.44	Quoting the Doctrine of KH. Ahmad Siddiq about Muslims who uphold Islam Rahmatal lil Alamin
	- 1.42.59.	- In the middle, give some examples of inter-religious intolerance or blasphemy that occurs in various countries
	- 1.50.16	- There is an ironic question
	- 1.50.54	- At the end, describes the role of women with their roles
	- 1.53.01	- Closed with words from Gus Dur (in the presentation slide) and ended

Elucatio (Style)	2	- 1.32.16	- Contains with thanks and greetings	<i>bagaimana kita menempatkan issue moderasi beragama ini (1.30.04).</i> <i>Inventio</i> Furthermore, in Alissa Wahid's speech regarding religious moderation, he found out about the concept of various moderation issued by the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, seen from the presentation in minutes 1.30.21 which explains how religious moderation in Indonesia is. Furthermore, it also provides examples of problems in the name of religion that occur in Indonesia, seen in the explanation at 1.32.17 minutes where several violent problems that occur in Indonesia in the name of religion are explained. Alissa Wahid is the coordinator of Gusdurian, where the Gusdurian Network is a moderate Islamic network in Indonesia. Second, disposition or arrangement. In his speech Alissa Wahid was divided into 5 compositions, including the following:
		,	- Contains examples of cases of religious moderation and inter-religious intolerance	
	3	- 1.41.59	- Contains quotes or doctrines	
		,	- Contains irony questions	
	4	- 1.33.44	- Contains quotes or doctrines	
		,	- Contains irony questions	
		- 1.37.44	- Contains irony questions	
		,	- Contains irony questions	
		- 1.39.41	- Contains irony questions	
		,	- Contains irony questions	
Memoria (Memorize)	3	- 1.30.13	- Repeat critical questions	
		,	- Repeat critical questions	
		- 1.35.10	- Repeat critical questions	
		,	- Repeat critical questions	
		- 1.38.50	- Repeat critical questions	
Pronountatio (Delivery)	1	- 1.38.32	- Repeat critical questions	
		,	- Repeat critical questions	
		- 1.46.32	- Repeat critical questions	
		,	- Repeat critical questions	
		- 1.48.12	- Repeat critical questions	

Based on the table, the analysis is based on the five rhetorical principles as follows:

First, inventio or discovery. In a dialogue organized by Convey Indonesia entitled "Perempuan Bicara Moderasi", Alissa Wahid delivered her speech from the point of view of women as actors in religious moderation through the sentence: *nanti saya akan ingin sedikit kea rab sana, bagaimana perempuan sebagai aktor untuk menggerakkan masyarakat, melakukan Contro Engineering seperti tadi yang sudah disampaikan oleh bu Ruhaini (1.29.30).* then Alissa Wahid also delivered her speech from the socio-political side through the sentence: *saya akan melihatnya dari sisi sosial politik mungkin ya atau apa saya kurang tau,*

Table 1.4 Dispotition Analysis of Alissa

Wahid's speech

No.	Minutes	About	Analysis
1.	1.28.45	Opened with greetings, greetings to the previous speakers, and the background of their presence at the event	It opened with greetings, greeting the previous speakers who had delivered their speeches. Then explain the purpose of his presence at the event.
2.	1.29.48	The introduction begins by describing	Opening by explaining the concept of religious

		the religious moderation launched by the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia	moderation issued by the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, then giving examples of the problem of violence in the name of religion and quoting Serian Jorge's opinion on sentiment between groups, between religions. And give opinions about moderation vary			moderating factors
	5.	1.53.01	Closing with words from Gus Dur (in the presentation slide) and ending with thanks and greetings			At the end it closes with Gus Dur's words (in Slide) “ <i>Tidak boleh ada perbedaan kepada setiap warga negara Indonesia berdasarkan agama, bahasa Ibu, kebudayaan, serta ideology</i> ”. And end the thanks and greetings
3.	1.37.44	In the middle of the speech quoting the Doctrine of KH. Ahmad Siddiq, and gave several cases of religious intolerance or blasphemy against people in various countries	In the middle, he explains about examples of good religious moderation and then takes the doctrine of KH. Ahmad Siddiq, then explained about examples of cases of religious intolerance or blasphemy that occurred in various countries and gave opinions about the moderation of various			
4.	1.50.54	At the end, it describes the role of women with their roles	At the end of the speech, he explained about the role of women as various			

From the table, it can be seen that the dispositio used by Alissa Wahid is more coherent with five stages, in contrast to the speech of Basuki Tjahja Purnama (Ahok) for example in Moch's article. Ferdy Ardiansyah wrote that there are three dispositio Ahok, namely introduction, argumentation, and closing.¹⁷

Third, Elucio (Style), there is a style that provides examples of problems of violence in the name of religion in Indonesia, “*apa yang terjadi, apa yang sedang kita hadapi di Indonesia yang pertama meningkatnya insiden kekerasan dan intoleransi dalam 15 tahun terakhir bukan 10 tahun tapi 15 tahun, ada titik, kalo kita lihat lintasan sejarah titik baliknya ada di tahun 2005 kita nanti bisa bicara lebih banyak di sana tetapi intinya adalah 2005 itu titik balik poin setelah itu kemudian*

¹⁷ Moch Ferdy Ardiansyah, “Analisis Retorika Basuki Tjahaja Purnama Dalam Kampanye Rakyat Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta di

Rumah Lembang 2017 (Kajian Retorika Aristoteles)” Jurnal Bapala 5 (1) (2018):1-16.

serangan-serangan yang apanamaya yang cukup banyak, ... (1.32.16)

Furthermore, Alissa Wahid's style is to provide doctrines. For the example, the doctrine of KH Ahmad Siddiq “*yang menyatakan bahwa umat islam di Indonesia yang ingin menegakkan islam Rahmatal lil Alamin, karna judulnya Islam Rahmatal lil Alamin, bukan Lil Muslimin, maka harus menegakkan 3 ukhwh secara bersama-sama, nah itu substansinya adalah islam Rahmatal Lil Alamin, inklusinya ada di ukhwh islmiyah, harus menegakkan ukhwh 3 ini, pertama ukhwh islamiyah, kedua ukhwh wathaniyah, ketiga ukhwh basyariyah, (1.37.44)*

Fourth, *Memorial* (Memorize) in his speech, Alissa Wahid reminded the importance of religious tolerance between religious communities

Fifth, *Pronountatiatio* (delivery). In his speech Alissa Wahid used power point slides, in the power point various examples of cases of inter-religious intolerance were explained. Then the delivery uses informal language where the language used is not the standard language in conveying the contents of the speech. Furthermore, in the presentation of the contents of the speech about women as actors it was not very clear because the moderator had warned to shorten the time, (1.50.01) “*moderator menyuruh mempercepat*”. so that the explanation of women as actors is less detailed.

Conclusion

Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that Alissa Wahid's speech contained several implementations of Aristotle's rhetorical theory. In the speech there were a total of 41 data findings with details of 12 data from the concept of persuasive rhetoric and 15 data from the five principles of Aristotle's rhetorical law. In the 12 persuasive rhetoric data, there are 3 forensic rhetoric (2 sentences of defending and 1 sentence of attack), 6 demonstrative rhetoric (1 sentence of praise and 5 sentences of comment), 4 deliberative rhetoric (3 exclamatory sentences and 1 prohibition sentence). Meanwhile, in the 29 principle data of the five laws of rhetoric, 5 data of inventio, 9 data of dispositio, 9 data of elucio, 5 data of memoria, and 1 data of pronotatio.

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