

**A RHETORIC OF JOKOWI IN THE LAST DAY CAMPAIGN SPEECH ON 13 APRIL 2019:
THE PERSUASION OF LOGOS, PATHOS, ETHOS**

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the rhetoric of Jokowi's 2019 campaign speech texts by using the theory of Aristotle's proofs: *logos*, *ethos*, and *pathos*. The data of this paper is the last major campaign speech texts on 13 April 2019 were analyzed. The data was the last major campaign speech taken from Live TV. The analysis was by qualitative and content analysis. The analysis showed emotional appeals (*pathos*) dominant used by Jokowi. Therefore, the result suggests the emotion (*pathos*) dominantly used over half during the speech, whereby the emotion consists of (thank, promise, and praise), followed by *logos* (logical reason) to ensure the audiences with the argumentation, claim, and evidence, and credibility and trustworthiness (*ethos*) was scarce. Therefore, the results suggest the emotion (*pathos*) by thank, praise, and promise how to gain the audience's interest and sympathy extremely effective. The findings suggest that *pathos* as the prominent persuasion gains the trust and sympathy from the audiences in terms of the proponents for the political parties, alliances supported organizations, and community and fully supported by (*logos*) argumentation and evidence.

Keywords:

campaign speech, rhetoric, pathos, logos, ethos

INTRODUCTION

The paper presents the rhetoric in the campaign speeches of Jokowi the presidential election 2019 in the last major campaign speech. Especially, the paper aims to analyze the rhetoric used in competing on how the use of Aristotle's proofs: *logos*, *ethos*, and *pathos* to persuade as an incumbent president. He is a simple style figure since he was nominated as the 7th president of the Republic of Indonesia with the experiences in administering the government from the middle level as a mayor, governor, and president in two periods. The "media darling" and "playing victims" were claimed as the prominent power over the political processes. The last day campaign is the prominent moment to ensure people by giving the closing statements regarding the election. Likewise, Language could be used in two main functions regarding the use of it in the daily activity, which function to involve to express a social relation and personal attitude both as transactional and interactional (Brown and Yule, 1983, p. 1). It is the knowledge in social relationship as persuasion skill and mostly uses to involve in the social relation as a politic instrument on how to deliver the thought to others. Subsequently, the political media is effectively applied to the sensitive situation and offering a quality and excellence program to gain support at the election (Awang, 2014, p. 54).

Language power is the key to the people's success in conveying messages and information to others in the political context and rhetoric is the art of communication and writing, and its concerns on how language and symbol forms influence an audience, such as act, feel, and thinks. Therefore, a political process is currently speaking of the international and national position. A superpower country is challenging as a place of political competition. According to Mills & Rosefielde (2017, p. 4) states that the political process currently speaks of internationalist and nationalist positions when it stoops from vitriol to dealing with this extraordinarily important matter. The phenomenon of

political process could not be avoided making the position could be on stable and stronger in the local, national, and international political competitiveness then it is increasingly tight world political struggle commonly. Thus, they correlate with the skill of communication to convey meanings. The most classical and common of theory regarding the Aristotle's rhetoric impervious consists of *logos*, *pathos*, and *ethos*. Persuasion is used in many ways to send messages or ideas and it is awful relevance to be used in many social relations, such as business, the political world, and education.

The rhetoric expresses the ability to obtain the people's interest over the persuasion in every given case. Normally, persuasion is used in spoken and communication to deliver a message to another. The word of rhetoric had existed since the philosopher Plato (422-384 B.C) applied it in the speeches. While (Kennedy, 1991) expressed that rhetoric is the skill of giving an opinion, braveness, and extraordinary intelligence. The rhetoric, concerning the beneficial entities, is commonly used by philosophers to deliver the truth messages to communities. In the history of Aristotle (384-322 B.C), he was the student of Plato and embraced the art of rhetoric in the phrases in the title of Rhetoric. According to (Arnhart & Aristoteles, 1981) stated that rhetoric's function to persuade and convince. Subsequently, following to Hartelius and Browning (2008) stated that rhetoric is recognized by a focus on a persuasion, and implicit in some definitions are one of it as the nation of power and *logos* (*logis*, reason, and proof) refers to clarity and integrity argument (Brummett, 2000). The other word, it is the art of communication and written and it is primarily "the art of persuasion", its secondary role as "an instrument of discovery and sound judgment" (Simons, 1990, p.15). Despite that, the voice stressing is to influence audiences and complete the language, rhetoric used with a strong argument and message in it. It commonly uses to persuade and encourage other people like the art of communication. It is as a strategy over the language to gain people's interest.

In the concept regarding two traditional rhetorical intentions, such as figurative language which is an ornament and action of persuasion (Kayam, 2014). In the rhetoric as an author or speaker, it has three posts proof or the rhetorical power and the rhetoric of Aristotle's characters, such as *logos*, *pathos*, and *ethos*. For instance, first, *logos* focus on the offspring with the statement contains an argument, data, facts, evidence/examples, and reasons by statistic as part of the message. Second, *pathos* is in audiences, in which the speaker needs to understand the following elements, such as emotional, fear, anxiety, sadness and it attempts to reduce or awaken the audiences to obtain sympathy. Third, *ethos* contains believe in something causing a reputation or charisma (Emanuel, Rodrigues, & Martins, 2015). The rhetorical analyst is to determine how constructions of the real are made persuasive (Simons, 1990, p.11).

In common years, many researchers have focused to analyze the rhetoric through some kinds of rhetoric study. The persuasion strategies accelerate the social effect (Berlanga, García-García, & Victoria, 2013; Higgins & Walker, 2012; Ting, 2018). The persuasion, concerning the written, is benefited to conform to the norms and to adapt it to suit the cultural expectation. Therefore, we found that variants of persuasive appeals were used in the three elements of Aristotle. Each of these appeals constructs intersecting persuasive appeals to logical reason (*logos*), credibility (*ethos*) and emotion (*pathos*), some studies tend to be various in use. Thus, for a presidential election to result from this circumstance must have accurate and appropriate platforms persuasive strategies, such as *logos* are rational appeal and persuasion is done using 'the proof, provided by the words of speech itself and it refers to the charity and integrity of the argument (Holt & Macpherson, 2010). It stresses logic and the appeal to reason (Aho, 1985). Importantly, *logos* in rhetoric is not just rationality, but the appearance of rationality, more like "common sense" thus not requiring the same verbal proofs as logic for its persuasiveness.

In addition, the last day campaign speech before the presidential election was analyzed in this paper and it used rhetorical techniques on focusing on the *pathos* as dominantly. It draws that emotional manner to be used regarding the condition and attendance coming from the political parties, supported organization, and endorsers. It was just to give an appreciation and spirit for them concerning the presidential election to gain a closer.

METHODOLOGY

The main focus of this paper aims to analyze the logos, pathos, and ethos by Jokowi in the last major campaign in Gelora Bung Karno. The study is a qualitative approach and content analysis. The data was examined concerning the campaign speech texts on 13 April 2019 as the objective to gain the persuasion strategies in the presidential election as the incumbent.

The paper employed a qualitative method that used campaign speech texts as a source of evidence.

The rhetoric theory in this paper consists of three theoretical elements based on table 1 below. The elements include logos, pathos, and ethos. The first aspect is pathos with thanking, feeling, manipulate merits, promising, and praising. The ethos consists of credibility and trustworthiness with expertise and self-criticism, and logos are related to evidence, data, claims, and argumentation. Therefore, the data were analyzed by using (Miles & Huberman, 1984). It stated on the four classifications consist of data collection, data reduction, data display, and concluding data or clarification. The data is identified as the tendency of the campaign.

Table 1. Persuasion on the Aristotle's framework

No.	Element	Defenition & Indicator	Example
1	Logos	Reasons consists of behavior, action regarding reason, data, evidence, justification, claim, and argumentation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> o our country is very big [L01] o we are a large nation consisting of different tribes, different tribes, different traditions and cultures [L02].
2	Ethos	Credibility and trustworthiness, such as respecting and showing the similarity to audiences, expertise and personal criticism.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> o I was very excited this afternoon [E05], o Optimistic even though I knew you "ladies and gentlemen" since morning, since noon, already since in the early morning, who have been stayed at GBK since yesterday [E06].
3	Pathos	Emotion consist of thanking, feelings to manivulate, values, desire of purposes, promising, and praising.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> o In the afternoon I was very happy [pat02] o Ladies and Gentlemen, brother and sisters and all Indonesian that I love [pat17]. o Whatever the area, wherever it comes from, without exception, all that we do is for the nation for the State, for the people of Indonesia [pat19].

Sources of information:

Higgins and walker, 2012

Ting, S.H, 2018

Berlanga, I., García-García, F., & Victoria, J., 2013

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Pathos

The analysis of the rhetorical strategies showed that there were three types of Aristotle's proofs at the last-major of campaign speech on 13 April 2019 for the presidential election (1) pathos is the emotional indicators (thanking, promising, mentioning the feelings, and regretting), (2) Logos related to rational reason (argumentation, data, evidence, examples, and logical reason), and (3) ethos consists of credibility and trustworthiness (respecting, expertise and self-criticism). From the result, it could present the political situation and strategy of the incumbent to obtain interest from

the audiences or people. The emotional appeal, pathos was dominant, which was over half during the last day of the campaign to persuade and convince its support and sympathizers for the coming vote. Pathos (emotional appeal) was the “weapon” of the incumbent, however, it contains thanking, promising, express the feeling, and regretting. Because the audiences were the chairman of parties, parties’ members, alliances of supporting organizations, and communities who came from all over the country from Sabang to Merauke. On 13 April was the last day of the campaign to gain the emotional and interest in winning the incumbent because they have spent their energy to compete and socialize the parties and the president’s candidate.

The emotional based on the rhetorical analysis in the campaign, which pathos was used prevailing on the speech. Likewise, pathos is an emotional appeal and involved “putting the audience into a certain frame” (Demirdogen, 2010, p.190). Pathos persuades by using security, love, guilt, greed, pity, and humor (Beason, 1991), accordingly, it consists of anger, insult, empathy, fear, and confusion (Mshvenieradze, 2013). The following are excerpted of the contents, as follows:

Excerpts of pathos

P01: In the afternoon I am very happy

P12: How are you every one?

P13: How are you Indonesia?

P19: Whatever the area, wherever it comes from, without exception, all that we do is for the nation for the State, for the people of Indonesia

P28: We must thank God Almighty, don not forget to grateful, do not let us be kufr of the grace,

P29: All my beloved Indonesian people, ladies and gentlemen who are present at Gelora Bung Karno Stadium.

P30: Prof. Kh. Ma'ruf Amin and I agreed to accept both of us for the welfare of all the people of Indonesia

P49: I also want to say thank you to all the volunteers who present, volunteers, alumni of the millennial generation volunteer who present,

Excerpts showed that the audience’s feelings and relies on a persuasive effect on triggering the audience’s emotions such as happiness, sadness, satisfaction, pity, or fear in the emotional appeals (Aho, 1985). In the excerpts contain, for instances P01, P12, and P13 expressed that looked at the audiences on the common situation, it could make a happiness for him and it has as a representative from all over Indonesia because the audiences came from all islands in Indonesia, they were awful enthusiastic to see the speech of Jokowi as the president and the incumbent for the second period of president of the Republic of Indonesia. Thus, in P19 stated that to keep the tolerances because Indonesia has many ethnics, languages, and different culture, P28 uttered the feelings as human being need to appreciate the God for the life process that people face, P29 conveyed that emotional feelings to persuade the thousands audiences in the last day campaign speech, and P30 and P49 stated that the spending time since the political campaign period was awful tiring for whole the parties’ members and supported organization to socialize the parliaments and president’s candidate during the period of the campaign. Subsequently, the incumbent applied *pathos* to express its emotional feeling and value to appreciate the political parties and supporting organization.

The emotion approach used by Jokowi in the last campaign was attended by thousands of supporters and sympathizers from all over Indonesia including the 9 political parties and community institutions who expressed the support to the incumbent. Thus, Jokowi on that occasion, Jokowi uttered the expression concerning his feelings as a person who has been supported by many people, who came to Gelora Bung Karno stadium in Jakarta. They came to listen to the speech from the figure of Jokowi as a presidential candidate.

To gain the sympathy and gratitude, he expressed the feeling with the “*pathos*” consists of (thanking, promising, praising, needs, and desire), however, the appreciation will have a positive impact on the emotions to the incumbent supporters, as a result the appreciation and respect and thanks, the support for strengthening the involvement of existing emotional audiences (Cyphert, 2010). Thus, in the mayor campaign, Jokowi attempted to gain closer to his supporters in terms of the struggle to socialize the Jokowi and KH. Ma'ruf Amin pairs as president and vice president's candidate how to find out an enthusiasm as in the contents of the pathos, which was to give, such as thanks, promising, praise, and desire because of the trust, support and hard work for applying a democracy on the political process.

In general, expressing the gratitude was as an incumbent candidate's effort to ensure that support remains consistent and Jokowi attempted to position himself close to them and removes the attribute that he is an active president because during the campaign he did not take leave until polling day. How the incumbent is carried out to maintain and burn the emotions of his supporters was the emotional approach. In short, he carried out his rhetorical strategy involving emotional elements, which included: (1) thanks, values, and desires of the target (2) giving praise and praise to the figures and places, where the speech was conducted to involve the emotion of people, (3) attempted to gain sympathy from all audiences that he needed a great supporting from them.

Logos

The analysis of rhetorical appeals in the campaign speech of the presidential election in some states, which were the logical reason and evidence more dominant in all states. However, the logical reason (logos) refers to the clarity and integrity of the arguments (Holt & Macpherson, 2010), Thus, it was applied to vary greatly circumstances concerning for who we speak and where we are speaking.

The analysis of the last day campaign speech by attending of thousands' people and as the president, he has awful power to compete but it still needed a strategy to gain interest from other people. According to (Holt & Macpherson, 2010) stated that logic and reason appeal (logos) refers to the clarity and integrity of the argument, however, it stresses logic and the appeal to reason (Aho, 1985). Thus, logos (logic reason, data, and example) used the argumentations or reasons, which affected and could be accepted by society and the community. The argument was sustained by precise and convincing references, for instance, calculation of profit and loss, probability of success, risk mitigation, statistical data, or articles, jurisprudence, statistical data for the achievements. The following are excerpted of the contents, as follows:

Excerpts of logos

L10: We have joined with the G20 country,

L11: the country with the strongest economy, and 20 countries with the strongest economy.

L12: Our country- Indonesia in 2045 will be the 4th strongest and largest economy in the world.

L13: we must prepare, we must face challenges, and we must face the obstacles that are in front of us.

L14: Don't let us to feel pessimistic, don't let us feel weak, don't let us feel inferior because this nation is a big nation,

L15: this country is a big country, big country, big nation has a good future.

L17: in the numbers that we already have, we know that our current poverty rate is at the number one digit before the two digits we should be grateful for, the unemployment rate also declined from 5.9 to 5.3 percent.

L19: We should also be grateful, right? In the midst of a difficult global economy, in the midst of a global economy that continues to decline.

Excerpts showed the logical reason appeals (logos) in L10, L11, and L13 stated that emphasized the administration during the first period of president found a significant development both national and international. It commonly faces the best economic growth and Indonesia had shown the enormous dedication by involving itself into G20 countries as the strongest economic power in the world, and it was the evidence and examples were shown by its administration during 5 years' leadership. The claiming to be the strongest largest economic in the world competing with superpower countries such as China, Japan, and South Korea as the representative of Eastern countries and some other in Western countries. In L14, L15 expressed that warranty and claim Indonesia has power among countries as the emphasizing the issues from the opposition to spread evenly the economic of Indonesia was worse as the result of a loan to pay the infrastructure and others program of its administration. Thus, affordable to ensure people by giving an argumentation and how to show a logic reason to them was as the way to protect from the rumour nearly the presidential Election Day.

The effect of the issues was the trust of people about the leadership and administration for almost 5 years. He countered the rumor by showing the data, claim, and examples concerning the achievements. L17 stated that the poverty rate gradually decreased to under 10 percent, and it was the lowest during the administration in Indonesia since the first president. Accordingly, it claimed the best rate based on the statistical data and the unemployment also decreased from 5.9 to 5.3 percent. It showed to the audiences, however, the administration succeeded, it could be also as an indicator of the awful achievement as the president and the claiming of success could be as "weapon" to compete and gained sympathy from society and community. L19 declared that he claimed and could face the difficulties of the economic global by attempting to ensure the audiences to believe in it and trust its administration to overcome the economic global issues.

Ethos

Ethos refers to the credibility with respecting, expertise, and criticism and it refers to the persona, or projected character of a speaker, including the credibility and trustworthiness (Hartelius & Browning, 2008). The analytical categories, particularly identify appeals to ethos, such as competence, expertise, and self-criticism, exposing the right feelings, and inclination to succeed. The other term of ethos also knows as the ethical appeal of the personal character of the speaker. The following are excerpted of the contents, as follows:

Excerpts of ethos:

E05: I was very excited this afternoon

E06: optimistic even though I knew you "ladies and gentlemen" since morning, since noon, already since in the early morning, who have been stayed at Gelora Bung Karno Stadium yesterday,

E09: But honorable ladies and gentlemen.

E12: Ladies and gentlemen, whom I love, I'm proud of.

E13: All of us are united here for modern Indonesia.

E14: choose leaders who care and know the needs of the people.

E07: I want to check and control directly that the programs we are doing are running in the field.

Excerpts showed the credibility and trustworthiness, this persuasion, all devices attempted to gain the credibility for the role and rule, expertise and self-criticism, positioning and ingratiating, inclination to succeed and exposing the right feeling. In E05 said his expression by looking at the audiences. he attempted to show his right feeling in terms of the great moment to inform them and showing the credibility and trustworthiness as a leader, E06, E09 described the appreciation for all

audiences that had allocated their long time to attend the last day of a major speech of the president and as a candidate for the second period of administration in Indonesia. They were enthusiastic listen to what the president said and informed them. E12 expressed that deep feeling and respectfully to all thousands of the audieces in the stadium of Gelora Bung Karno on 13 April 2019, which was the last day of the campaign. Subsequently, he said to people regarding the appreciation and attention to him for all the people in the stadium, E13 uttered about the modern of Indonesia applied for the next period of his administration to develop the country by forming the policy and a great administration to be modern.

That Jokowi could realize development and make policy breakthroughs in the future so that Indonesia becomes a modern country. As a complement in the description above that on this occasion, he gave a lot of praise and appreciation to people who had been both supportive and who still doubted his leadership style. Likewise, giving claim for success and conditions to convince others, especially supporters that Jokowi could lead the country that has been proven for 5 years.

In addition, he always appreciates his supporters who were so enthusiastic to be present in the context of a grand speech on the last day to prove to the opponent's camp and match the opponent's camp's campaign a few days earlier. He delivered the remarks to show the respect and an atmosphere of the excitement shown to his supporters, accordingly, to remain a united in winning the second presidential election.

DISCUSSION

The objective of this paper is to analyze the rhetoric used by Jokowi in 2019 presidential election for the last day in a major speech followed by approximately thousands hundred people including the political parties and organizations who came from all part of Indonesia. They just came listen to the last day speech of Jokowi. The theory used in this paper was Aristotle's elements consists of (1) *pathos* with the emotional appeals in terms of feeling, thanks, desires, and praising, (2) *logos* with the logic reason with the argumentation in it, claim, data, and evidence, and (3) *ethos* with credibility and trustworthiness consist of respecting and expertise and to replace the right position concerning of the speech target.

Furthermore, the *pathos* (emotional appeals) that involve more emotions used by the president or incumbent candidate were caused by some reasons, consists of (1) Jokowi clearly speeches in front of his supporters, both the chairman of the political parties and the head of state parties, such as regional and sub-districts from all over Indonesia and other alliances of social organizations, (2) he was well aware that in front of the audience this was openly a supporter, subsequently, the approach's using was only how to convince them in terms of the condition of the nation of Indonesia, (3) it explained how the position of the State both in national and international contexts during Jokowi's leadership so that it became an added value to further convince the sympathizers to choose and invite others to support the incumbent's slaves, and (4) attempting to show the faithful personality to be more convince investigators to be trustworthy as possible that president Jokowi was a pleasanter candidate comparing its political opponent in 2019's presidential election. According to (Aho, 1985) stated that the *pathos* consistency of thanking, values and desires of the target. However, in the occasion, Jokowi involved *logos* (logic reason), it was just to ensure the audiences, however, and the achievements during the first period were successfully administration. According to (Holt and Macpherson, 2010) expressed that the argumentations, logic, warranty, justification, data, and evidence. In the case, Jokowi combined both *pathos* and *logos* as a way to attract the sympathy of the audience. Thus, success in communication leads by uttering meaningful words, phrases, and sentences (Normaliza, 2018). Likewise, it is significant influence the audiences with the combination of emotional by thanks, praising, and promising as "the weapon" and logic reason consisting of data, argumentation, and justification as the "ammo" and

supported by (ethos) as the credibility with respecting and expertise the personality of criticism. According to (Awang, 2014, p. 55) states the personality of the figure and media construction play a role to sustain the political image.

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis concludes that persuasion is used to convey messages and Aristotle's rhetoric of *pathos* (emotional) was as the dominant used. The emotion consists of thanks, promising, praising, and giving a valuable feeling. Besides, to obtain trust regarding the leadership needs some evidence to ensure the audiences from all the supporting of political parties and alliances. Therefore, *pathos*, emotional appeals (Aho, 1985). It might be influenced by the audience's perspective and thoughtfulness. Using *pathos* in certain conditions is awful effective to gain closer emotionally to the audience. The purpose of this strategy is more to maintain and gain sympathy from the participants or the alliances concerning to the political field. Because the thousands of participants are mostly supporters, it could be concluded as supporters of the incumbent president. Thus, *logos* (logic reason) need also to ensure the argumentation and showing facts during its administration in the first period. In short, to speak in front of the supporters is enough to use an emotional approach to appreciate the existence of them and provide a set of facts as a supporting instrument so that they believe that we are figures who awfully qualify.

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