
Political-persuasive speech of Indonesian social affairs minister: Critical discourse analysis

Rachmi Retno Nursanti* & Sulis Triyono

Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, Indonesia

*Corresponding Author; Email: rachmiretno.2019@student.uny.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This study aims to identify the persuasive discourse used by Risma during her speech in the firsthand takeover of her position as Indonesian Minister of Social Affairs. Teun Van Dijk theory is chosen in this study due to the purpose of this study is critical discourse analysis. Teun Van Dijk theory divides three parts of critical discourse analysis; macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure. During her speech, Risma used persuasive utterances to influence the audiences of the staffs in the Ministry of Social Affairs Indonesia. This research designed in qualitative approach. The researcher used content analysis combined with Teun Van Dijk theory in critical discourse analysis in analyzing the data. The findings showed that Risma eventually used particular expression to persuade the audiences. Risma tended to give examples related to the job function of Ministry of Social Affairs. These actions were supposed to engage the staffs work well at the government institution. This study contributes the future researchers to dig up critical discourse analysis in depth.

Keywords: political, persuasive, critical discourse analysis, Risma

Pidato persuasif politis menteri sosial Indonesia: Analisis wacana kritis

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi wacana ajakan yang digunakan oleh Risma selama pidatonya dalam serah terima jabatan sebagai Menteri Sosial Indonesia. Teori Teun Van Dijk dipilih dalam penelitian ini dikarenakan tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah analisis wacana kritis. Teori Teun Van Dijk membagi tiga bagian analisis wacana kritis, yaitu makrostruktur, superstruktur, dan mikrostruktur. Selama pidatonya, Risma menggunakan ucapan yang mengandung ajakan untuk mempengaruhi peserta yang mana mereka adalah staf Kementerian Sosial Indonesia. Penelitian ini dirancang dengan pendekatan kualitatif. Peneliti menggunakan analisis isi yang dikombinasikan dengan teori Teun Van Dijk dalam analisis wacana kritis dalam menganalisa data. Temuan hasil menunjukkan bahwa Risma sering kali menggunakan ekspresi ajakan untuk membujuk para peserta. Risma memberikan contoh-contoh yang berhubungan dengan fungsi dari pekerjaan para staff di Kementerian Sosial. Aksi yang dilakukan Risma ini diharapkan dapat mengajak para staf untuk bekerja lebih baik di institusi pemerintahan. Penelitian ini juga bermanfaat bagi para peneliti lainnya untuk meneliti dan menganalisis lebih dalam kajian wacana metode Van Dijk secara lebih dalam.

Kata Kunci: politik, ajakan, analisis wacana kritis, Risma

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INTRODUCTION

In speech context, the speaker always presents the material passionately. Speakers can be identified and distinguished not only by the precise sounds of their vowels or the way they pronounce post-vocalic –r, as we know from classical work in sociolinguistics (Dijk, 2008). In the theory of speech genres, as one of the existing practice patterns of verbal communication, considering the situation and sphere of communication, style, intentional factor, form of speech, ways of beginning and ending the speech, initiative transfer in the dialogue, as well as strategies and tactics of communication (Dementyev, 2016). In political scope, the ability of speaker to

interpret the material is important to influence the audiences. The sufficient diction and appearance are the coreference in speech performance due to the aims in political speech is persuading the viewers and audiences. Politicians attempt to convince people to change their views using persuasive strategies in their political discourse (Mirzaei, Eslami, & Safari, 2017).

Critical discourse analysis concept

A discourse is simply means language being put to use in actual situations, to communicate and express thoughts and ideas, both spoken and written (Tenbrink, 2020). It is a set of sanctioned statements which have some institutionalized force, which means that they have a profound influence on the way that individuals act and think (Mills, 2001). The notion of discourse analysis encompasses a wide range of methods that generally aim to gain a better understanding of discourse. A discourse analysis explains the aspects of language use implicitly in wider perspectives, instead of words or sentences. Due to a language is the heart of critical discourse analysis, the ‘language turn’ formulates a system that constitutes meaningfulness of terms (Locke, 2004). Typically, the terms of ‘text’ and ‘discourse’ could be distinguished by the context and meaning. Text is structure of messages or message traces which has a socially ascribed unity. Furthermore, a discourse is the social process in which texts are embedded.

Persuasive metaphor in political sphere

A conceptual metaphor is noticeable at a ‘culture-close’ specific level of generalization by which the equally obviously is across cultures (intercultural), and somewhat less obviously is within cultures (intracultural) (Musolff & Zinken, 2009). Within-culture (intracultural) dimension attempts an important role in naturally occurring discourse, such as language used in the media. The style of linguistic choice varies according to the communicative setting, subject matter, medium, audience, etc. In one hand, the metaphor usage of key cultural figures, such as presidents and media stars, can differ markedly from one person to another and from general population.

In political discourse analysis (PDA), the perspective focuses on the reproduction and contestation of political power through political discourse (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). The notion of ‘politic’ itself is closed to ‘power’ as *who* gets *what*; *when* and *how* is dependent on who possesses the power and knows how to exercise at the right time (Li, Lui, & Fung, 2020). Actually, the nature of political science is in line with the governance of a society or nation. The politic focuses on the individual/groups (*who*) receive (*gets*) benefits and influence (*what*) at what time (*when*) and through what means (*how*).

In this notion, the power of politician is upon the linguistic concept. The subject matter of PDA draws the discipline of linguistics and political science. Both linguistics and PDA conceptualized the theoretical perspective of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) which emphasis between context and meaning production to analyze the theory of political discourses as political acts to achieve political agendas in political events (Li et al., 2020). Meanwhile in this study, the writer emphasis the concept of political persuasive speech in the aspect of critical discourse analysis (CDA) developed by Teun Van Dijk. Dijk, (2008) differed context and text in a discourse, whereas context is not ‘text’, because the definition of context is largely implicit and presupposed. The context influence talk and text in indirect ways for specific circumstances (problems, errors, misunderstandings) that are explicitly appeared in talk and text. In this study, the rhetorical aspect of speaker is explicitly delivered in speech performance.

Mirzaei et al., (2017) investigated that in political discourse of Rouhani’s political speech was explored different rhetorical devices to aim the audience accept his views, thought, and policies. Rouhani criticized the current socioeconomic and cultural situation of Iran by virtue of different devices to embed his messages deep into the electorate’s mind. Furthermore, Payuyasa, (2017) explored a debate for Jakarta Governors Election that contributed the main programs of the delegations. Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) and Anies Baswedan (Anies) had superior programs. Ahok explained his programs to establish Jakarta society to be highly educated, cultured, religious, health, and have sufficient welfare. Indeed, he was going to arrange transparent bureaucracy. On the other hand, Anies added Jakarta also needs a good leader for society, instead of transparent bureaucracy. The nature of a good leader explained by Anies should solve Jakarta problems of

poverty, job vacancy, qualified education, and affordable economics. In another political case, especially in Indonesia, the latest election was held on April 2019. The delegations were Jokowi and Prabowo from different political party and future programs. Yanti, Putrayasa, & Artika, (2019) found that Jokowi was not deliberately claimed the triumph of Indonesian President Election, instead of providing the data recapitulation and survey from The Election Commission. Meanwhile, in Prabowo corner, the triumph has been declared explicitly from the resources of his victory teams. In both cases has been shown that in political aspect, the participants declare their priority programs on to their future positions.

The study conceptualizes the speech of Tri Rismaharini (Risma) in the first position as Indonesian Social Minister. The background of Risma experienced as a mayor in Surabaya city, East Java Province, Indonesia. Her capability in leading Surabaya as the capital city in Surabaya brings valuable achievement. However, Risma is expected to establish Indonesian society to get sufficient life especially in this COVID-19 outbreak. In her first speech, she delivers particular metaphor that influences the audiences to involve her movement. The study also conceptualizes a discourse analysis in the way she delivered the speech with the theory of CDA. The nature of discourse analysis previously concerned on the communication and conversation. The discourse analysts were critical on the tendency for linguists to concentrate solely on sentence structure (Mills, 2001). However, a conversation can be seen on the structure and can be analyzed in terms of the moves which participants make to signal that. The theory of CDA brings Teun Van Dijk style which contributes three aspects: macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure. The metaphor in political views also contributes how Risma persuade the audiences, particularly the staff in Social Ministry. However, her persuasion is dealing with the welfare of Indonesian society. Therefore, this study discovers the persuasive utterance used by Risma politically during her handover ceremonial speech of the Minister of Social and Welfare Affairs.

METHOD

This research used qualitative approach in designing the data. In qualitative research, the information or data collected and analyze is primarily consisting textual materials such as interview transcripts, field notes, and documents, and/or visual materials such as artifacts, photographs, video recordings, and internet sites, that document (Saldana, 2011).

Research design

The researcher chose content analysis in analyzing the data combined with Teun Van Dijk theory in critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analyses used by Van Dijk, the structures are classified into macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure. Macrostructure is not postulated for cognitive information processing (Dijk, 1992). They are accounted for a semantic representation, in other words, in the whole meaning of the sequence information is hierarchically ordering the respective meanings of its sentences. Furthermore, super structural form consists of a number of categories that appear in a specific hierarchical or linear order, following some rules or other general principles that explains the further meaning in syntactic or schematic feature (Dijk, 2004).

Data collection

The outcomes in this qualitative research represent the findings into documentation of the critique of existing social orders and the initiation of social justice. The data in this study were obtained in internet by YouTube channel of Kemensos RI (Indonesian Social Affairs Ministry) (Ministry, 2020). The video was published on December 23rd, 2020, at 11.00 AM using streaming video facility in YouTube. The video had 46.10 minutes duration of time; however, Risma did the speech in 18.18 to 40.38. The first speech was delivered by Muhadjir Effendy and guided by a moderator. Meanwhile, the last speech was finished by recite praying activity.

Data analysis

The data were analyzed by applying Teun Van Dijk's Three-Dimensional Model. The analysis was conducted in three stages: microstructure, superstructure, and macrostructure. In each classification, the data were divided into sub-topics, and they are described briefly. In critical

discourse analysis of using Teun Van Dijk theories, the macrostructure focused of theme and dominant concept of the text (Perdana, 2019). Meanwhile, superstructure analyzed the body of the text started from introduction to conclusion. On the other hand, microstructure discussed specifically in prescriptive linguistics, as follows; semantic, syntactic, and rhetoric.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

This research found persuasive expressions used by Risma during her speech. The result will be shown in tables which is classified in three divisions: macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure.

To find out the numbers of devices delivered by Risma during her first speech at Social Affairs Ministry, she was deliberated numbers of utterances dealing with persuasive approach. Table 3.1. below represents the frequency of persuasive speech.

Table 3.1. Persuasive utterances frequency

No.	Persuasive utterances	Number	Frequency
1.	" <i>Mungkin (persuasive expression)</i> " <i>Maybe ... (persuasive expression)</i> "	15	47 %
2.	" <i>Coba (kita) bayangkan!</i> " " <i>Let's imagine!</i> "	9	28 %
3.	" <i>Panjenengan pirsaa</i> " " <i>Do you know?</i> "	1	3 %
4.	" <i>(Coba) Mari kita rasakan!</i> " " <i>Let's feel!</i> "	3	9 %
5.	" <i>Ayo (mari) ...!</i> " (<i>persuasive expression</i>) " <i>Let's (please) ...!</i> "	4	13 %
	TOTAL	32	100

Based on the frequency above, the result is shown that Risma was relatively used persuasive utterances to get in touch with the staffs. During the speech, Risma used informal style of language in which she presents the phenomenon of Indonesian society with various examples. She uses Bahasa Indonesia along the occasion and switched with Javanese language in Surabaya accent. This way makes the staffs easily persuaded because Risma also applies simple words. This phenomenon was contrary with the performance of the 6th Indonesian President, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). Sumarti, (2013) found that SBY referred to utter the sense of the first person (I, we, us) and reformation. He used the word "I, we, us" directly, as like "*Saya berterima kasih, pembicaraan saya dengan para pemimpin.....*". However, the "firs person" words indicate the government, Indonesian, and Indonesia. Meanwhile, the "reformation" word is the original word. It does not indicate another meaning. The word of "reformation" is meant to be the Indonesian movement after colonialism in the 20th decade.

However, the result of the study is analyzed using Teun Van Dijk theory In critical discourse analysis, Dijk, (1980) classified the structures and analysis into three classifications; macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure. Each aspect has its elements which is presented in detail and proved by the evidence of Risma's utterance during the speech.

Discussion

Macrostructure analysis

Table 3.2. Macrostructure data

Structure of Discourse	Elements	Evidence
Macrostructure	Thematic: Theme/Topic	Title: "Handover Position of Indonesian Social Affairs Minister" (Serah Terima Jabatan Menteri Sosial) Muhadjir Effendi: Expectation to Risma as the new Social Affairs Minister Tri Rismaharini: Unbelievable moment

Thematic

Macrostructure characterizes the higher and more abstract levels of semantic information and information processing. The complex information is dealing with the meaning of one word, phrase or clause, and various cognitive processes that are relatively to cognitive functions of object recognition. The notion of macro-structure is approximately related to the point of view, that is the explication of the intuitive notion of topic (Dijk, 1992). In this case, the notion is topic of discourse which is relatively different with the topic of the sentence. The topic is about the whole point of view of the discourse itself and it is related to the linguistic aspects of the discourse. In this speech delivered by Risma, the topic is *“Handover Position of Indonesian Social Affairs Minister (Serah Terima Jabatan Menteri Sosial RI)”*. The occasion is begun by a ceremonial opening while singing Indonesian anthem “Indonesia Raya”. The following occasion is signing the handover position declaration of Muhadjir Effendy and Tri Rismaharini. In the first opening speech, Muhadjir Effendy delivers the speech under the topic.

- 1) *“Dan yang tidak kalah penting adalah untuk jangka pendek ini harus bisa membangkitkan rasa percaya diri dari seluruh jajaran Kementerian Sosial, tidak boleh mengalami demoralisasi. Tetapi harus bangkit karena tumpuan harapan rakyat Indonesia terutama dalam menghadapi COVID-19 ini adalah Kementerian Sosial ini. untuk itu saya yakin Bu Risma adalah orang yang tepat untuk berada di posisi Kementerian Sosial sekarang ini.”*

From the statement of Muhadjir Effendy above, Indonesian Social Affairs Ministry maintains the action and movement of Risma as the new Social Affairs Minister in managing the social effect in Indonesia during COVID-19 outbreak. Due to the valuable reputation of Risma in Surabaya, Indonesian government believes that Risma is capable to handle the funds for Indonesian society. In this case, the sentence *“...karena tumpuan harapan rakyat Indonesia terutama dalam menghadapi COVID-19 ini adalah Kementerian Sosial ini...”* (“... because the foundation of the hopes of the Indonesian people, especially in facing COVID-19, is the Ministry of Social Affairs ...”) explains that Social Affairs Ministry is the power of Indonesian welfare. However, Risma also delivers her speech for this handover position.

- 2) *“Saya juga tadi masih kaget-kaget, sopo iku kemensos ya. Karena dipikiran saya, saya masih walikota Surabaya.”*

The statement above indicates that Risma is chosen to becoming Indonesian Social Affairs Minister is unpredictable. Furthermore, she is being a mayor in Surabaya. Her job description in Surabaya is being done for 2 months later. Therefore, she permits to president to do both jobs. On contrary, Indonesian Inside Ministry declares that the position is cut as mayor in Surabaya.

In macrostructure analysis, the coreference is the purpose of the topic in the discussion. The topic is ‘first handover to the new minister of social affairs’ has expectation to the newest social affairs minister, Tri Rismaharini to bring a bright future for Indonesia citizen. It is in line with the research of Payuyasa, (2017) who found that in the final chapter of Jakarta Election which was broadcasted at Mata Najwa TV Show, the purpose was to figure out the programs of the candidates. The programs were expected to bring citizen-based needs. The use of interesting topic eases the speakers to be persuaded.

Superstructure analysis

Table 3.3. Superstructure data

Structure of discourse	Elements	Evidence
Superstructure	Schematic	Orientation: The main role of Indonesian Social Affairs Ministry Content: Engage the staffs to cooperate in Social Affairs Ministry job description Reorientation: The effect of helping people

Schematic

On the other hand, the superstructure does not belong to linguistic or grammar, but it is more general theory of discourse or semiotic practices. Schematic as the element on superstructure arranges the structure of a discourse and support the topic in a conversation to express the opinion and data that support the proportion (Rumata & Elfrida, 2019). Besides, superstructure analyzes three aspects in a discourse; orientation, content, and reorientation (Payuyasa, 2017). In this study, the orientation is delivered by Muhadjir Effendi in the first opening speech. Meanwhile, the main orientation is exactly delivered by Risma.

Orientation

- 3) *“Saya ingin menyampaikan teman-teman semuanya, kepada teman-teman semuanya. Mungkin kita tidak menyadari bahwa kita mempunyai peranan yang sangat penting sekali untuk seseorang yang membutuhkan. Mungkin kita sekedar mmenandatangani berita acara apa, bantuan apa, namun yang diberi bantuan mereka sangat luar biasa senangnya. Coba kita bisa bayangkan! Mungkin yang kita bantu tidak terlalu banyak, misalkan Rp.100.000,- . Bagi kita mungkin Rp.100.000,- apa, tapi bagi seseorang itu Rp.100.000,- itu jadi luar biasa.”*

The statements above indicate that Risma emphasized to the staffs or Social Affairs Ministry that working in social affairs has important role for Indonesian society. Risma also emphasized to the supporting sentence:

- 4) *“14ob akita bisa bayangkan! Mungkin yang kita bantu tidak terlalu banyak, misalkan Rp.100.000,-. Bagi kita mungkin Rp.100.000,- apa, tapi bagi seseorang itu Rp.100.000,- itu jadi luar biasa.”*

In this statement, Risma gave an example to the staffs to help somebody sincerely, even though the amount is not so high. She represented that helping some with Rp.100.000,- is meaningful for someone, especially for lower class.

Content

Risma also emphasized her statement below:

- 5) *“Jadi saya ingin nyampaikan...Bu Risma kenapa tau? Karena saya sangat mendalami, mulai anak jalanan, mulai...di Surabaya itu ada 1.300 orang gila, yang dibuangi hampir 98% itu bukan orang Surabaya. Sudah sembuh, saya pulangkan terus balik. Bu, saya diusir katanya.”*

The statement of Risma in this aspect persuaded the staffs to include in handling poverty because she experienced in handling psychotic and homeless in Surabaya.

- 6) *“Coba bayangkan! Kalau kita bisa membantu satu orang saja. Kemudian orang itu karena dia kita bisa bantu, dia bisa menghidupi keluarganya.mungkin dia punya 2 anak, 3 anak dan satu istri. Coba bayangkan! Dengan satu orang, maka kita bisa mbantu segitu banyak orang. Mungkin bisa sekolah kemudian si anak itu Sehingga kemudian kalau dia sekolah dia tidak jadi penjambret. Dia tidak perlu nodong, karena dia bisa sekolah, karena dia bisa makan. Jadi yang kita lakukan ini sungguh sangat mulia.”*

Risma always used such invitation clause “Coba kita bayangkan!” (Let’s imagine!) indicates that she recognizes the staffs feeling the condition of Indonesian society. By imagining and feeling the condition, Risma expected the staffs to involve in sharing the happiness for someone, for example, that brings other happiness for his family. The context is supported by her statement below:

- 7) *“Sehingga kemudian kalau dia sekolah dia tidak jadi penjambret. Dia tidak perlu nodong, karena dia bisa sekolah, karena dia bisa makan. Jadi yang kita lakukan ini sungguh sangat mulia.”*

By this statement, helping someone also contributes education for his children. In this case, the children will not do juvenile delinquency; such as stealing and grabbing. This phenomenon is expected not to appear in Indonesia because the children get education at schools.

- 8) *“Kalau kita niatnya hanya sekedar oh..iya aku bekerja di Kementerian Sosial, selesai, selesai. Tapi coba kalau kita benar-benar niatkan itu untuk kita bisa membantu, menolong orang lain, maka kita tidak akan pernah berhenti disitu. Hanya sekedar administrasi.”*

The statement above indicates that Risma persuades the staffs to work hard and sincerely. Her words *“benar-benar niatkan”* (*“keep your willingness”*) indicates to work by heart, not only by the job descriptions. Moreover, she emphasized to the staffs to always help people, because the blessing comes continuously.

- 9) *“Jadi, saya ingin nyampaikan kenapa? Karena banyak sekali di luar sana yang butuh bantuan. Panjenengan pirsaa ya bapak ibu sekalian, teman-teman. Itu yang saya rawat, itu orang gila itu ada yang dari NTT, ada yang dari Sumatera. Jadi bukan hanya Jawa Timur. Kenapa tahu? Setelah sembuh kita pulang dan ternyata betul darisana. (stress) Coba ada yang ketemu seneng karena sudah sekian tah un dicari ga ada, tapi ada yang ga seneng, kemudian orang itu kembali.”*

The statement above represents that Risma achieves in educating the psychotic people in Surabaya. They are not only officially Surabaya society, but also from East Nusa Tenggara, Sumatera, and other parts in Indonesia. After getting rehabilitation in Surabaya, Risma and her government sent them back to their cities. Furthermore, some of their family rejected them, thus they went back to Surabaya. In this case, the experience of Risma to handle psychotic people is no doubtable so does the homeless. Indeed, her statement persuades the staffs because she always asks them to feel the condition outside.

- 10) *“Coba bapak-ibu sekalian, mari kita rasakan! Kalau kita tidak menolong mereka, kemudian itu terjadi pada kita atau keluarga kita. Coba mari kita rasakan! Ada saudara kita. Maka, coba kita bisa bayangkan itu! Saya selalu katakana itu ke temen-temen pemerintah kota. Tolong, kalau kita bantu niatkan kita bantu. Saya harus ngajari sampai bawah. Mulai Satpol PP yang paling bawah sampai Linmas bawah.”*

Risma says *“Coba bayangkan!”* (*Let’s imagine!*) many times indicates that had felt and done the similar phenomenon in Surabaya. The clause above shows that Risma tried to ask the staffs gently.

Risma also added about the outcomes of helping people.

- 11) *“Saya ga punya uang untuk dicalonkan jadi walikota. Namun kenapa jadi? Katanya Pak Muhadjir. Karena memang saya dari kecil hidup dengan anak yatim. Orangtua saya punya rumah yatim. Tapi yang terjadi adalah, ya mungkin ya mungkin adalah karena orangtua saya suka nolong orang sehingga itu implikasinya kepada saya.”*

Her statement shows that the implication of helping people sincerely will bring an effect for the future. Her parent always helped orphan, so that she get an abundance life, such as being a mayor in Surabaya for two periods; 2010 – 2015 and 2016 – 2020 and also other achievements.

In superstructure analysis, the researcher found that Risma tended to use the word *“mungkin (maybe)”*. The word *“mungkin (maybe)”* as a modality that has double meanings in Risma’s speech. The first meaning indicates a conditional moment that never happened. Meanwhile, the second meaning refers to cause-effect because Risma asked the staffs to imagine the pervious moments using the word *“mungkin (maybe)”*. On the other hand, Sholikhathi & Mardikantoro, (2017) did similar research to the stake holder government speech, they investigate the word *“mungkin”* conveys a modality of “probability” of the effect from the sincerely action of the social affairs ministry staffs to the society. Risma expected that by giving amount of money or helping someone, the bad thing of poverty will be decreased.

Furthermore, the words *“coba, mari, and ayo”* indicate persuasive invitation. Risma preferred to give examples from those three words which contribute persuasive meanings. By using this

strategy, the staffs are supposed to be more attractive, empathy, and active to work at the ministry of social affairs. On the other hand, Risma also used Javanese language words in polite form, a.k. krama inggil. She used “*panjenengan pirs*a” that is usually used to talk with elder people brings special meaning to talk with her lower class staffs. In this case, Risma is trying to respect to the teamwork. Meanwhile, Mirzaei et al., (2017) in their research about Rouhani, Iraqi president campaign found that the president candidate preferred to use the sentence “*my line, my path, and my thought that have not changed over the years (after the Revolution)*” conveyed the stable character and viewpoints. The phrases “*my line, my path, and my thought*” intends the speakers to increase the persuasive force of the utterance.

Microstructure analysis

Semantics

In microstructures of discourse, the section is described at the local or short-range level including words, phrases, clauses, sentences, and connections between sentences (Dijk, 1980). The semantic interpretation rules represent the basis of word meanings and the semantic structures whether the meaning of the whole sentences is well-formed, or the sentence is meaningful.

Table 3.4. Microstructure data in semantics

Structure of discourse	Elements	Evidence
Microstructure	Semantics: Background Details Meaning Presupposition	Background: Movement of Social Affairs Minister to suppress poverty Details: Risma’s experiences in handling Surabaya Meaning: The outcomes of helping people Presupposition: A movement to and from Dolly prostitution place

Background

In discourse, background is a part of news and influences the semantic meanings of the context. In this case, the background is related to the Social Affairs Ministry’s movements toward COVID-19 outbreak in this approximately one-year disaster. Risma’s statement:

12) “*Mungkin kita tidak menyadari bahwa kita mempunyai peranan yang sangat penting sekali untuk seseorang yang membutuhkan.*”

Her statement emphasizes the Social Affairs Ministry has an important role for Indonesian society. She also adds the statement below:

13) “*Mungkin kita sekedar menandatangani berita acara apa, bantuan apa, namun yang diberi bantuan mereka sangat luar biasa senangnya.*”

Her statement above means that the movement of Social Affairs Ministry is affected to Indonesian life. In this case, Risma asks the staffs to break the old style and releases a new valuable movement to society. Therefore, she emphasizes that the presentation of Social Affairs Ministry is being waited for society.

Details

Details explains the specification of context about good things or bad things to remain vague and general (Dijk, 2004). In this study, the details information is based on Risma’s statement during her speech.

- 14) *“Mungkin yang kita bantu tidak terlalu banyak, misalkan Rp.100.000,-. Bagi kita mungkin Rp.100.000,- apa, tapi bagi seseorang itu Rp.100.000,- itu jadi luar biasa.”*

From her statement, she explains the detail information to suppress poverty in Surabaya. She gives an example by giving Rp.100.000,- which is relatively high amount in Indonesia currency. However, Rp.100.000,- is cheap for rich people in Indonesia, instead of lower class of Indonesian people. Rp. 100.000,- is meaningful for them because they can buy daily needs. Besides, Risma adds the examples of her successful governance in Surabaya in stopping and closing Dolly, one of the biggest prostitution places in Southeast Asia. Dolly is located in Surabaya and lived by the prostitutes. This phenomenon is proved by Risma’s statement below:

- 15) *“Dan bapak ibu kalau tau sekarang orang Dolly betapa bahagiannya mereka, yang dulu tidak pernah mereka rasakan kebebasan itu. anak-anak dulu jam 5 sore harus masuk rumah. Sekarang mereka bisa bermain, bisa belajar.”*

Indeed, Risma also experienced in handling homeless and psychotic people. Her statement:

- 16) *“Karena saya sangat mendalami, mulai anak jalanan, mulai...di Surabaya itu ada 1.300 orang gila, yang dibuangi hampir 98% itu bukan orang Surabaya. Sudah sembuh, saya pulangkan terus balik. Bu, saya diusir katanya.”*

Her statement above means that the psychotic people are being normal human again so that they can do their daily activities like other people. By the data about 1.300 psychotic people above, Risma is succeeding in handling them. Therefore, when they are ignored by families, they are coming back to Risma.

Meaning

The meaning in discourse is directly expressed the ideological of content which is related to the words, sentences, and clause (Dijk, 2004). In this study, the meaning of this discourse is the way of Risma to make the staffs believe toward the outcomes of always helping people, particularly the Indonesian society. In this case, the main point of Risma’s speech is being a staff at Indonesian Social Affairs Ministry should work hard and by the hearts. The staffs should not work administratively and officially at the office. The evidence is related to Risma’s statement:

- 17) *“Kalau kita bisa membantu satu orang saja. Kemudian orang itu karena dia kita bisa bantu, dia bisa menghidupi keluarganya.mungkin dia punya 2 anak, 3 anak dan satu istri.”*

Her statement signs that by helping one person, the person can give a sufficient living for his children and wife. Indeed, Risma adds:

- 18) *“Ga usah kuatir, kalau kita niat kita baik, Tuhan itu tidak akan nutup mata, pasti Tuhan akan bantu kita. Mungkin tidak kita langsung, mungkin anak kita, mungkin cucu kita.”*

Her statement indicates that the power of helping someone brings valuable effect to the family. She believes that God always sees people are doing, so that the outcomes of helping people are such a boomerang. Also, the effect will be felt by the family; children until grandchildren.

Presupposition

In critical discourse analysis, presupposition expresses information explicitly that is not ideologically neutral (Dijk, 2004). Presupposition information is not generally shared or accepted and thereby introduces it so to speak through the backdoor. Risma’s statement which presupposes contrast information based on her achievement in majoring Surabaya is proved by her experience about prostitution localization in Surabaya.

- 19) *“Saat nutup Dolly betapa beratnya itu saya. Sudah diancam dibunuh, tiap sore itu ada ular datang ke rumah. Belum lagi polisi di depan rumah itu, Bu rumahnya kebakaran, saya keluar gapapa.”*

The phenomenon is contrast when Dolly is closed and the prostitutes are educated by the government to have a better life. Risma adds the contrast evidence related to the close of Dolly.

20) *"Kemarin (saya) dituntut ada warga disitu nuntut 1 triliyun. Batinku wes aku melok ae lek 1 triliyun, duit darimana itu? Tapi ternyata yang mbel orang Dolly semua. Mereka masuk ke pengadilan semua."*

In this case, the presupposition is appeared by the contrast evidence. When Dolly was closed, Risma got terrors, meanwhile, when Risma got a law case, the prostitutes from Dolly declared the judges that Risma was right.

Syntax

Table 3.5. Microstructure data in syntax

Structure of discourse	Elements	Evidence
Microstructure	Syntax: Sentence Form Coherence Pronoun	Sentence Form: Risma's habitual actions Coherence: The outcomes of handling Surabaya city Pronoun: Persuades the staffs to imagine

Syntactic structures are analyzed categorically in which words and phrases combine to more complex structures according to the various syntactic categories to which they belong (Dijk, 1980). Syntax is dealing with the variation of sentence structure; such as word order, active and passive sentences, and nominalizations (Dijk, 2004). The words are put up front through so called 'topicalization', or they may be 'downgraded' by putting them later in a clause or sentence, or leaving them out completely.

Sentence Form

In sentence forms, the discourse are not actually identifies the grammar, indeed the meaning of the sentences. In Risma's speech, she presents her habitual activities since being a child.

21) *"Ndak usah kaget kalau saya datengnya pagi sekali. Itu sudah kebiasaan dari dulu kala gitu. Sejak sekolah saya punya kebiasaan itu."*

Her statement indicates that her habitual activity is very discipline. In her statement, she persuades the staffs unconsciously to follow her habits. Therefore, the staffs may not be late coming to the office. Furthermore, Risma adds another habitual activity that contributes her job description lately.

22) *"Tapi, kadang-kadang saya berputar dulu." ... "Saya harus cari itu mungkin ada yang ga bisa makan, ga bisa tidur, saya harus tangani itu. jadi saya harus mutar."*

The statement indicates that her habit is always helping people. Based on some resources and news of her governance in Surabaya, Risma always brings equipment in her car. The equipment is dealing with the welfare of society; such as books, boots, hoes, etc. Her characteristic is relatively suited to be a new Indonesian Social Affairs Minister.

Coherence

The coherence in discourse is defined as a sequence of actions, events or situations that are mutually related, by relations of causality or enablement (Dijk, 2004). In this study, the coherence is about the way of Risma engage the staffs. She calls *"teman-teman"* (friends) to make the situation warm in the office.

23) *"Saya mantan pejabat, mantan walikota"*

In another word, Risma explains her experiences involve in government indicates her achievement in both activities were significant to continue her position today.

24) *“Saya baik hati, rajin menabung, tidak sombong”*

Her statement above explains that the society in Surabaya, particularly the children who call Risma was being the best major in Surabaya. This notion brings the effect to the whole society agree that Risma could do the better life for Indonesia.

Pronoun

Also, the discourse analyzes pronouns that influence the audiences toward the context of speaker. A pronoun is linguistic element to manipulate the audiences engaging the situation. In this study, Risma has a significant capacity to persuade the audiences. She uses *“Coba bayangkan!”* (*Let's imagine!*) for many times indicate that she asks the staffs to feel the situation outside. Within the sentence, the staffs will be easily to work together because Risma gives examples of poverty outside many times using the sentence *“Coba bayangkan!”* (*Let's imagine!*) Moreover, she also uses another sentence *“Mari kita rasakan!”* (*Let's feel!*) supports the previous sentence *“Coba bayangkan!”* (*Let's imagine!*)

Stylistic

Table 3.6. Microstructure data in stylistic

Structure of discourse	Elements	Evidence
Microstructure	Stylistic: Lexicon	Lexicon: 1. Risma's examples to get in touch with the staffs 2. Javanese language

Lexicon

A stylistic in discourse explains the chosen words, in other words called as diction. The use of stylistic shows an ideology of the context. In this study, Risma gives examples related to the poverty in Indonesia.

25) *“Jadi 19is a resource kita, kita gunakan, 19is akita efisien di kantor ini, maka itu 19is akita bantukan untuk nolong orang lain.”*

Her statement emphasizes from the word *efisien* engages the staffs to work properly by the job description. Therefore, the poverty in Indonesia will be decrease. In line, she declares that:

26) *“Dan apa yang salah dari diri kita, dengan tangan kita, dengan kaki kita, dengan mata kita, kita bisa membantu orang lain.”*

Her statement indicates that using all of our organs will bring benefits for other people. Thus, she emphasizes many times that helping people will bring joy and blessing.

Rhetoric

Table 3.7. Microstructure data in rhetoric

Structure of discourse	Elements	Evidence
Microstructure	Rhetoric: Graphic Metaphor	Graphic: The ways to help people Metaphor: The outcomes of cooperation

Graphic

A graphic is the part to examine the emphasis of speaker toward the context delivered. Risma emphasizes to help people sincerely because the result is not only for one person, but also for many people.

27) *“Ya kalau semua ngomong kerja ini ibadah, di Kementerian Sosial ini ibadah, ibadah, ibadah pangkat berapa gitu, karena nolong itu. Tapi kita benar-benar harus dengan turut ikhlas.”*

Her statement indicates that the staffs in Indonesian Social Affairs Ministry will get many blessings from God because of their sincerely hardwork.

Metaphor

The metaphor in discourse explains the ornament of the news within the use of some words that contributes the main clue of the context.

28) *“Pemikiran banyak orang akan lebih baik jika dipikirkan satu orang”*

The last statement from Risma is a motivation to cooperate with the staffs in Social Affairs Minister due to another habit of Risma to create discussions among the staffs. The motivation aims to coordinate all staffs to gain a better thought in Social Affairs Ministry. Therefore, all staffs can work together cooperatively.

In microstructure context, Risma's statements are significance to influence the audiences, particularly the staffs. She preferred to explain the job description within examples related to the social affairs ministry. Risma emphasized the social affairs ministry is to be closer to the society. Her irony statements will ease her staffs to engage with Indonesian society, especially in this COVID-19 outbreak era. Also, the use of word *“teman-teman (friends)”* would be easily to engage the sense of the chief and staffs without differentiate the social statuses. This phenomenon is contrast with the research of Sumarti, (2013) about SBY's statements in his speech. He preferred to use *“saya (I), kami (we), kita (us)”* that distinguished the social statuses between the president and society. Sumarti, (2013) explained that the use *“saya”* and *“kami”* was clearly differentiated the position of president and society, meanwhile the use of *“kita”*, the president tried to make a community between president and society.

On the other hand, the use of first person *“saya (I)”* in her speech indicated her experience achievement in as the major in Surabaya. The use of first person *“I”* and the non-modal present tense build authority and agency that takes ownership of them (Mirzaei et al., 2017). Therefore, the use of first person indicates that he/she is able to handle the policy based on experience achievement. Furthermore, the use of *“kita (us)”* in Risma speech showed in the ways of stylistic used *“Jadi kalau resource kita, kita gunakan, kita bisa efisien di kantor ini, maka itu bisa kita bantukan untuk nolong orang lain”*. She repeated *“kita (us)”* in a sentence indicated the social affairs ministry teamwork should be more give benefits to the society. Meanwhile, as the previous explanation by Sumarti, (2013), the use of *“kita (us)”* indicated the president and society.

CONCLUSIONS

In a critical discourse analysis, the linguistic aspects are relatively needed to analyze due to the prominence of the context. This study investigated the political speech by Risma in her new position of Indonesian Social Affairs Minister. During her first speech in the first day of handover position, she presented some utterances in persuasive style. She liked to give examples to ask the staffs follow her actions. In line, Sumarti (2013) also found that in political speech, particularly in Indonesia that had delivered by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the president preferred to use personal pronoun during the speech. Thus, this condition was similar to Risma who used the word *“kita”* in order to persuade the staffs. In Aini, Baskoro, & Firmonasari (2021) also found that in political speech by President Trump, the ideology to influence audiences were gone through intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Both ways indicated his position, his stance, and his allies.

Risma always used invitation expressions of helping people. However, her contribution as an ex-major in Surabaya city, East Java brings many achievements as an implication to her life. Risma's speech is not aggressively ambitious to the position, instead of softly by hearts. In this case, Risma asked the staffs to work properly and sincerely. She also enclosed a clause "Let's imagine!" to ask the staffs involve in helping Indonesian society.

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