




Discourse Analysis in the speeches of Indonesian Parliamentarians about Handling COVID-19

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Received 18 July 2022 | Received in revised form 17 September 2022 | Accepted 15 November 2022

APA Citation:

Fauzan, U. (2022). Discourse Analysis in the speeches of Indonesian Parliamentarians about Handling COVID-19. *Eurasian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 8(2), 56-65.
Doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.32601/ejal.911541>

Abstract

Political communication exemplifies rhetoric and propagandist approach in its various forms, among which the Aristotle's rhetorical theory and its three aspects, ethos, pathos and logos are the major ones. This study used these three as indicators of public rhetoric in the context of Indonesian parliamentary speeches. This study used a qualitative research design, to produce descriptive data comprising sampled speech excerpts of parliamentarians. Secondary data from journals, books, documents, websites, media helped in sustaining the rhetorical criticism. The data was analyzed using data reduction techniques prior to describing, clarifying, and interpreting the data. The study took a discourse analytical approach to find out the implied ideas in the sampled speech excerpts. The theoretical dimensions explained by Wodak (2012) and Fairclough (2000a, 2000b) helped this study to analyze the linguistic data and find out the structures intended by the speakers. The study findings imply that the parliamentarians who speak on the policy of handling COVID-19 in Indonesia are largely determined by their position, whether from parties supporting the government or the opposition. The application of the Aristotelian three principles would provide useful insights to understand the objectives and impact of the political speeches.

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Keywords: parliament, political communication, speech, rhetoric, COVID 19.

Introduction

A speech is the expression of thoughts in the form of words addressed to many people; a political discourse is a kind of speech prepared to be spoken in front of the public. Another term that is often equated with speech and public speaking is rhetoric. This study equates the meaning of speech with that of public speaking, or speaking in front of the public. Since speech or public speaking is a communication activity, another term that can be equated with people who perform speech activities, or public speakers is political communicators. Shahreza (2017) states that political communicators are people who convey political messages; in other words, political communicators are people who carry out political communication activities.

Political communication is a process that has implications or consequences for political activity or consequences. It connects all parts of a political system and is related to the political dimension in all its aspects and problems. For the political communication to run smoothly and naturally, individuals in a political system adopt rhetoric and political discourse ideal suiting their requirement. They understand that for the success of their leadership in a democratic era, they should be able to communicate ideas and thoughts to the public. Without good communication, various negative responses can emerge to the policies made. Shahreza (2017), explains that in a broad sense, the main components of a political communication system

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.32601/ejal.911541>

are found in: (1) Political institutions in their communication aspects, (2) Media institutions in its political aspects, (3) audience orientation towards political communication, (4) aspects of political culture that are relevant to communication. Everyone can and has the right to convey political matters. But few are consistently doing it. Although few of these political communicators play a major social role, especially in the process of public opinion (Shahreza, 2017). When political communication or public speaking is referred to as rhetoric (Jelantik, 2020; Martin, 2022), it is commonly used for public speaking usually done by political actors, such as members of parliament or senators.

Public speaking or rhetoric is also a kind of political communication (Ayuningtias & Hartanto, 2014), which not everyone can do without anxiety or worry. Psychological anxiety affects the quality of the expected effects (Gallego, McHugh, Penttonen, & Lappalainen, 2022). In addition, communication activities can be seen in the form of speaking activities that are always present in social life. Speech behavior in life has a purpose. To achieve this goal, speaking behavior requires language. Seen from the speaker's point of view, language has a personal function, that helps the speaker to express his or her emotions while delivering speech. This speaking activity can also be seen in the world of politics, especially campaign events, election of leaders of an organization, and many more.

A political speech, wherein the political actor carries out the duties either as a member of parliament or a representative of his party, (Ayuningtias & Hartanto, 2014), uses a language influential in carrying out the objective of a political actor. Language is not neutral, it conveys the message of its users, whether in social or political. It helps to portray the perceptions and opinions of the users, and reflects his or her ideas, thoughts and opinions. While listening to the user, it is known what ideological elements is represented by the language. If ideology is defined as a construction of reality that is built through various practical discursive forms, language will become discursive. Various elements of language construct the ideology they carry and the functions they play as well as the power relations they represent.

Eshbaugh-Soha (2010) asserts that a political speech is at the center of the governance strategy. When the President of a nation uses a political speech to communicate his government's policy preferences to legislators and bureaucrats, his speech is liable to create international and domestic disputes when heard in public (Fauzi, 2018). Speech other than as part of communication studies is also one of the skills needed by several professions to support their careers. One of the professions that require communication skills is that of a member of parliament, or a member of the legislature with the ability to speak.

In dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic, the Indonesian government issued various policies related to vaccination, social distancing, protocols dealing with COVID-appropriate behavior, and others (Sari, 2020; Tasnim, 2021). Most of these policies did not get the public support and were criticized. For instance, several political parties expressed criticism of the vaccination program, causing various controversies, ranging from halal and haram vaccines, untested vaccines, vaccine as a business, fake vaccines and like (Sulistyanto & Jamil, 2021). Such pros and cons of a political entity are common in a democracy. The criticism is generally presented by members of parliament who belong to the politically opposing camps and do not support the government (CNN Indonesia, 2020a, 2020b). On the other hand, the pro-government camp, or the party that carries the ruling president, praises the efforts made by the government to handle the pandemic. Such discourses usually take place inside and outside the parliament in the form of speeches and political statements, which can be attributed in the form of rhetoric (Martin, 2022).

This main objective of the current research was to examine the speeches of political figures in Indonesia in relation to the life of the nation and state, particularly in the context of COVID-19. The researcher attempted a discourse analysis of these speeches, by examining how the language was used by these politicians for self-glorification and for portraying a negative image of the political opponents. There was clear evidence found of attempts made by politicians to project their party or political ideology as ideal and accountable to the issues and concern faced by the country, and at the same time portray the opposition ideology as one with no directions and groping in negative darkness. In short, the research questions and objectives of the study were dealt from the point of view of linguistics discourse held by political parties in policy matters.

Theoretical framework

The frame work adopted for this analysis surrounds theories postulated by Wodak (2009, 2012) and Fairclough (2000a, 2000b). Ruth Wodak's theory surrounds the phenomenon of creating a positive-self and negative-other presentation by manipulating language to achieve the desired political goals. "It is strategic for politicians to use political rhetoric to persuade people to act in the way they (politicians) want," asserts Iqbal (2013), which echoes Bhatia's view (Bhatia, 2006), who writes that "political discourse enables politicians to achieve their desired communicative purposes". This political discourse based on the manipulation of language is accomplished by using words and phrases that reflect an attractive image for themselves and a negative image of the opponent. Such words are used in the political discourse that construct a negative image for the opponent, and a positive image for the self. Hence, language proves a strong vehicle

to achieve political objectives. Presenting one's own image positively, and negative image of opponents is therefore the main objective of rhetoric.

When looked deeply, it is revealed that politicians make a choice of high-sounding words for one's own political cult and dehumanize the face of the targeted country or opponents in their political speeches. [Thomas and Wareing \(2004\)](#) also argued that although language is employed to effect a political leader's philosophy but the value of a linguistic expression cannot be underestimated. It means that power of language enacted in a speech is the main soul of a discourse ([Fairclough, 2000a](#)). "It is difficult to imagine politics without persuasion, by its very nature politics requires choices to be formulated, options to be weighed and decisions to be made" ([Martin, 2022](#)). Similarly, [Bhatia \(2006\)](#) asserts "The multidimensionality of political discourse has attracted a great deal of attention from discourse analysts". Hence, the politicians try to create a discourse that benefits their agenda. [Rashidi and Souzandehfar \(2010\)](#) assert that the discourse analysis ponders over the forms of language and context, this helps in the understanding of social and cultural forces that effect our lives.

The current research work attempted a discourse of speeches with these theoretical concepts in view. The study took a discourse analytical approach to find out the implied ideas in them. The theoretical dimensions explained by [Wodak \(2009, 2012\)](#) and [Fairclough \(2000a, 2000b\)](#) helped this study to analyze the linguistic data and find out the structures intended by the speakers. In this paper, the author also attempted to analyze public speaking activities (speech, public speaking, rhetoric or political communication) in several perspectives, particularly the perspective of rhetoric theory, communication theory and public speaking theory.

Literature Review

• *Parliament*

The Indonesian parliament is subjected to criticism for a number of reasons, e.g., from rampant corruption cases involving members of the Council to issues of law enforcement and justice. The parliamentarians are found in political bargaining and accomplishing short-term interests of the elite, mostly busy thinking about leadership succession. The Indonesian politics is seen as a place to enrich self and bring the other down, keeping aside political ethics and morals. In such a scenario, national problems starting from robbery of state wealth by foreigners, widespread corruption in both center and states, problems of poverty, food crises, and like have been neglected even though all of these should be the focus of attention by the parliamentarians ([Parliamen, 2011](#)).

Such a dark view of the Indonesian parliament and the parliamentarians goes contrary to Max Weber's thesis that politics is a duty of office and that, as members of the council, politicians must be able to maintain their honor through the implementation of tasks and make ethics and morality both a foothold and a goal. It also goes contrary to the political moral ethics of Plato's *Academy*, which postulate political institution a center of breeding and exchange of brilliant ideas. A parliament or a council is a place where statesmen, by virtue of their expertise and morals, produce ideas that enlighten the public. In the Indonesian context, politicians are ideally required to enact laws that can guarantee social justice, people's welfare and articulate the aspirations of people's interests. However, legislators are certainly not prophets or angels who are free from sin and have no lust. For that reason, it is not strange if they fail to carry out their duties and ignore the political ethics and morality. They only see Parliament as an arena of inter-party politics, coalition, and defection.

• *Rhetoric*

[Rizki, Usman, Samad, Muslim, and Mahmud \(2019\)](#) state that rhetoric is a strategy used by writers or people to convey ideas orally and in writing. It is also used to organize ideas to be accepted by certain members of society. In addition, it can be a cross-disciplinary analytical tool to reveal certain aspects of the discourse delivered. [Rizki et al. \(2019\)](#) mentions that rhetoric is a strategy to convince arguments and also to identify what makes an argument effective or ineffective. Rhetoric often employs the Aristotelian three elements of ethos, pathos, and logos ([Sanjaya, Biyoga, & Alunaza, 2018](#)). Ethos refers to the personal or projected character of the communicator. It includes credibility and trustworthiness to convince the people with whom to communicate. Some of the characters inherent in ethos are similitude (similarity to others), ingratiating (licking), deference (respect), expertise (expertise), self-criticism (self-criticism), inclination to succeed (tendency to succeed), and consistency ([Higgins & Walker, 2012](#)). Ethos also refers to the character that the communicator wants to display. Nonverbal messages such as physical appearance, reputation, how to convey a conversation are included in the ethos strategy ([Sanjaya et al., 2018](#)).

Pathos refers to the audience's feelings as a persuasive effect. Pathos evokes people's emotions, such as happiness, sadness, satisfaction, pity, and fear. To persuade audiences, communicators sometimes use metaphorical language ([Higgins & Walker, 2012](#)). Pathos is described as the atmosphere of a speech that

animates the passion or will of the audience. Communicators turn on the emotions and empathy of the audience through virtues such as justice, honesty, enthusiasm, friendliness, and wisdom (Sanjaya et al., 2018). Finally, logos refers to the clarity and integrity of the argument. It is identified with several indicators such as argumentation, logic, warrants, justifications, claims, data, evidence, and examples (Higgins & Walker, 2012).

Higgins and Walker (2012); Nimmo (2005) believed that political rhetoric is different from propaganda and advertising. In the current times, rhetoric has been redefined with the presence of new terms like speech communication or public speaking. In the world of politics, rhetoric is important because if someone implements a rhetorical strategy in a nice way, it can be ascertained that the person is capable to achieve the desired goal. Rhetoric can be used in various ways, for example, campaign rhetoric and political rhetoric (Hardiyanti, 2013). When used in a political context, rhetoric consists of three elements, namely goals (ends), means (resources), and ways (methods). These three elements explain that rhetoric is a tool which utilizes available means to achieve the goals that have been set (Nasution, 2006).

- **Public Speaking**

Public speaking is an activity which, in Maslow's framework, can be categorized as the end or culmination of self-actualization. Recognized or not, the need for self-actualization is a need for everyone. Everyone wants themselves to be able to actualize: they want themselves to be accepted by the public. The problem is, although everyone wants all of that, not everyone knows and understands how to actualize themselves through speeches (Fitri & Naryoso, 2016; Pane, 2011). The goal of public speaking is to express thoughts, opinions, and ideas or to provide an overview of something. Public Speaking is usually exploited by a leader (demagogue) to build opinions, communicate policies, provoke the masses, sell products, convince clients, and provide information. The old belief that public speaking is an art and that only talented people can speak well seems to be replaced by rhetorical abilities. It is not the gift or talent that we talk about in public speaking but how much an individual has learnt and practiced the art of public speaking.

The language required in public speaking or build up a rhetoric is not the language which many people speak nor it is a language that one acquires since birth. It is the language which only a few can develop by practice and manipulation. For this reason, people experience fear and nervousness when they need to speak in public. Fear and nervousness arise because they are not used to speaking in front of the audience nor have they intentionally and formally studied the art of public speaking. As a public speaker and if a politician, they need to speak on various occasions, in political assemblies, in the parliament as a leader, in the social meetings as an activist, and often as a manager, as a businessman, as a seller and as a professional. Public speaking is thus still a dominant part of human culture in conveying information, explaining ideas, and disseminating knowledge (Pane, 2011). Public speaking as a political communication covers messages issued in media and to wider audiences. In addition, language plays a dominant role in such political discourses because the use of the right language (rhetorical) determines their political career and electability in the legislative and presidential institutions

- **Political Communication**

Syahreza and El-Yana (2016) believes that often political communication intentionally or unintentionally becomes a daily conversation for politicians and parliamentarians. In the everyday life of a politician, there are political dilemmas and political analyses which become the subject of their daily conversations. Until the time of general elections, whether legislative, presidential or regional, almost all media are busy talking about various things related to political issues. Political communication thus becomes a common public discourse. In all such discourses, often the placement of words is given different meanings by politicians and political commentators, thus exercising their rhetorical power. These rhetorical messages conveyed are related to influence, power, authority, values, ideology, public policies, distribution of power and so on.

Such a political discourse is so widespread that it is practiced by anyone and everyone: vegetable vendors, students, teachers, taxi drivers, shopkeepers, and so therefore not limited only to media and politicians. In all such political communication, the attention of a researcher is focused only on the use of language and the concept of politics. The researchers try to understand the political messages issued by various political actors, or by those in power and government. As an applied science, political communication can also be understood as organizational communication because it can also occur in official or formal institutions (between superiors and subordinates) vertically or horizontally, as it takes places among politicians mostly, though horizontally (Syahreza & El-Yana, 2016). In general, the purpose of political communication is to convey political messages in a certain political system (country) by political communicators to political communicants. In particular, scientists give explicit limitations on the purpose of political communication as follows.

Political communication also contributes to forming public opinion, which is the result of interactions between people in a group. It helps to give shape to people's attitudes about an issue of public interest. Public

opinion is characterized by: (a) opinions, attitudes, feelings, predictions, stances and expectations of individuals, groups in society on issues related to public interest or social issues; (b) it is the result of interaction, discussion or social assessment between individuals based on a conscious and rational exchange of thoughts; (c) it can be developed, changed and formed by the mass media; and (d) it can be applied to followers (Syahreza & El-Yana, 2016). Political communication does not only formulate opinions and attitudes but also portrays the image of the person. With the help of a discourse, people create meaningful perceptions, beliefs, values and expectations of others. Nimmo (2005) rightly observes that a political image is intertwined through subjective thoughts and feelings that will provide an assessment and understanding of certain political events.

Political communication also determines political participation or activities of a person or group (Syahreza & El-Yana, 2016). Political participation means actively participating in choosing state leaders and getting involved in activities that directly or indirectly influence government policies. Huntington (1994) regards political participation as the activity of citizens who act personally/collectively with the aim of influencing the government (decision-making), whether it is done spontaneously or organized, steady or sporadic, peacefully or violently, legal or illegal or effective or ineffective. Such actions can be in the form of: (a) interest aggregation, which is an amalgamation of interests to be later formulated and distributed to the power holders or the government to be used as public policy; (b) the articulation of interests (interest articulation function) where there is a synthesis process of the aspirations of individuals as members of the group in the form of ideas or opinions which are then used as patterns and political programs.

Method

- *Research design*

This study used a qualitative research design, which is defined as a written analysis of words related to ideas, beliefs, feelings, habits and human behavior (Sugiyono, 2017). Rahayu (2018) perceives qualitative descriptive method as helpful in a type of writing that produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from the object being observed.

- *Data collection and research procedure*

Data collection for this study was carried out through secondary data (previous literature) and all such studies from journals, books, documents, websites, media, and so on. The research procedure involved displaying data and verifying it in every step. It was attempted to describe the persuasive power which is reflected by the use of rhetorical style in the speeches (rhetoric, public speaking, political communication) of members of parliament.

- *Instrument for data collection*

The researcher is the key instrument who has all knowledge about the research study (Basrowi & Maunnah, 2019); hence for the current study, the author collected the data, reduced the data and make it more focused and easier to analyze. In addition, the author uses rhetorical criticism to reveal the findings of this writing. Rhetorical criticism is a systematic method for describing, analyzing, interpreting, and evaluating the persuasive power of messages embedded in texts (Rahayu, 2018).

- *Data analysis*

The data analysis technique in this study involved organizing data, data reduction through reading and recording (Creswell, 1994) as well as describing, clarifying, and interpreting data (Agustino & Wicaksana, 2020). The detailed data analysis was descriptive and analytical in nature, as it provided an overview of how the perspective of parliamentarians (or legislators) viewed the function of the state and government in the COVID 19 vaccination program.

Results and Discussion

The findings of the study constitute the speeches delivered by members of parliament, as a political communication, most of which are evidently politically charged (Syahreza & El-Yana, 2016). It is seen that in most speeches, a member of parliament aims to create a positive self-image and a negative other-image, and forming a public opinion and also ensuring political participation of masses accordingly. Each speech was rhetoric in the sense that it was delivered to and for the general public with the view to portray a desired image and form a public opinion (Fitri & Naryoso, 2016; Pane, 2011). The subject of most speeches sampled for this study was the views expressed by the opposition parliamentarians on the Government policies adopted

to curb the COVID-19 pandemic. To facilitate the analysis and to stay focused, these political speeches were seen from the rhetorical point of view or from the Aristotelian trio principle of ethos, pathos and logos (Sanjaya et al., 2018). This section cites a few examples of these speeches.

1. **Speaker:** Member of Commission IX of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, Saleh Partaonan Dauly.
(Source: <https://www.dpr.go.id/berita/detail/id/33899/t/Anggota+DPR+Desak+Government+Respon+Teman+Tim+LaporCOVID-19>, Friday (23/7/2021).

Based on the findings of the COVID-19 Report Team, there were 2,313 self-isolated patients COVID-19 patients who died outside the hospital. Surely the number of people who are self-isolated patients is many times that number. Most of them chose self-isolated patients because they were not accommodated in existing hospitals and health facilities This needs to be a concern for all parties. This is because these findings show various weaknesses in handling people who are exposed to it. Moreover, the data submitted could be different from the data held by the government. We are very sad to see this fact. Because, many of those who receive serious attention and treatment cannot be helped. Moreover, they are not cared for and do not receive adequate treatment.

In the above excerpt, Saleh is asking the government to pay attention to the findings of the COVID-19 Report Team regarding the number of self-isolated patients who died without being attended by health services. According to Saleh, these findings show several weak points in handling COVID situation in Indonesia. First, hospitals and health facilities are unable to accommodate all those exposed. Evidently, many are treated outside the hospital. The pathos and logos aspects are clearly evident in this excerpt. The rhetoric indicator of pathos is seen in the descriptions of death and of logos is seen in the logical appeal to all. The element of logos is also seen when he questions the justifications (truth) and claims (facts) about the treatment of the exposed persons.

2. **Speaker:** Deputy Chairman of Commission IX of the Indonesian House of Representatives Nihayatul Wafiroh
(Source: <https://www.dpr.go.id/berita/detail/id/33808/t/Respon+Emergency+COVID-19%2C+DPR+Minta+Government+Strengthen+System+Health+Nasional> Tuesday (13/7/2021).

We ask the government to strengthen the national health system in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic emergency by ensuring the adequacy of sick beds, isolation beds and intensive beds (ICU), ventilators, oxygen, HFNC, medicines and medical equipment needed, including the provision of hospitals. field/emergency.

Nihayatul is urging the Ministry of Health to strengthen the national health system to improve the emergency response to the COVID-19 pandemic. This was stated by Nihayatul when chairing a working meeting of the Indonesian House of Representatives Commission IX with the Minister of Health Budi Gunadi Sadikin and the RDP with the Head of the Food and Drug Supervisory Agency (Badan POM) Penny K. Lukito at the DPR RI Building, Senayan, Jakarta. Nihayatul also asked the Ministry of Health to immediately improve the policy for handling COVID-19 patients in self-isolation by taking into account all inputs from members of the DPR, including expanding the provision of telemedicine services; creating a mechanism for Isoman who cannot reach telemedicine; to simplify procedures and requirements for accessing government drug assistance.

Nihayatul's excerpt above contains pressure or persuasion so that the government, in this case the Ministry of Health, pays attention to important aspects in strengthening the national health system in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic emergency. The text of the speech above shows that the pathos aspect, which contains arousing the emotions of the audience, animates the passion or will of the audience, animates the emotions and empathy of the audience (Sanjaya et al., 2018).

3. **Speaker:** Member of Commission IX of the DPR RI, Elva Hartati
(Source: <https://www.dpr.go.id/berita/detail/id/33993/t/Elva+Hartati%3A+Perpanjangan+PPKM+Perlu+Supported>)

The number of COVID-19 cases is still high as of August 2, which reached 523,164 people. We continue to encourage the entire health system to continue to be ready with the government to ensure that our health workers are guaranteed their welfare and safety. The supply of medicine, medical equipment and oxygen must be ensured, so that those who need treatment can recover.

Elva is emphasizing that the policy of extending the Implementation of Restrictions on Community Activities (PPKM) until August 9, needs public support. The reason is, according to Elva, that areas that apply PPKM Level 4, the Bed Occupancy Rate (BOR) has decreased in a number of hospitals. However, the central and regional governments still have to be reminded that the positivity rate is still very high, which is still above 20 percent. While the WHO recommendation, the positivity rate must be below 5 percent so that this pandemic can be controlled. The speech delivered by Elva Hartati, from FPDI, is an example of rhetoric that displays aspects of the Logos. Logos refers to the clarity and integrity of arguments, justifications (truth), claims (claims), data, evidence (evidence), and examples (examples) (Higgins & Walker, 2012).

4. **Speaker:** Member of Commission IX DPR RI, Kurniasih Mufidayati,
(Source: <https://www.dpr.go.id/berita/detail/id/34009/t/Kurniasih+Mufidayati%3A+Use+Indicator+WHO+pada+Extend+PPKM+Level+4>)

As of August 1, 2021, our positive rate is still 27.28 percent. Still in the same range when the Emergency PPKM was implemented. With the positive rate still high, the testing target should also increase to 20:1000 per week. All of these indicators can be used as level-based PPKM evaluation materials. It's now August. Our biggest obstacle is still availability. The government must boost various vaccine procurement schemes if the target for group immunity is to be achieved by the end of the year. So how's the Red and White vaccine? Commission IX has unanimously provided whatever support is needed for the Merah vaccine. White to help accelerate the national vaccination target,

Mufida is highlighting the extension of the Level 4 Community Activity Restrictions (PPKM) to 9 August 2021 by the government. According to him, the level-based evaluation of Emergency PPKM must use indicators from the World Health Organization (WHO). In addition to the evaluation based on health data from the WHO, this politician from the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) hopes that equal distribution of vaccinations will become a serious concern for the government. Currently, the number of people who have received the second dose of vaccination is 20,534,823 people or 9.86 percent of the vaccination target of 208,265,720. He also reminds the target of achieving a minimum of 70 percent vaccination by the end of 2021.

The example of rhetoric above fulfills all aspects of ethos, pathos and logos. The characteristic that the speech contains aspects of ethos can be seen from the quote. The content of this political communication questions the credibility and trust in the Government over the policy of extending the emergency PPKM. Because it is considered that there is no significant change. It also questions and persuades the public to cooperate. The speech excerpt by Mufidayati contains the content of questioning the clarity of government programs as well as strengthening the arguments for the PPKM program which did not produce much results (Higgins & Walker, 2012).

5. **Speaker:** Deputy Speaker of the Indonesian House of Representatives, Sufmi Dasco Ahmad,
(Source: <https://www.dpr.go.id/berita/detail/id/33990/t/Satgas+Lawan+COVID+DPR+Dukung+Eas+Izin+Entrance+Produk+Alkes>) (Tuesday, 3/8/2021).

We are trying to integrate and synchronize the incoming goods. "So we appreciate the customs authorities who have provided regulatory conveniences to include items needed for COVID, such as medical devices, medicines, and gas cylinder."

Dasco is appreciating the Tanjung Priok Customs for prioritizing and facilitating the permitting of medical devices to enter Indonesia. He is supporting the ease of bureaucratic entry permits for medical devices entering Indonesia. This speech excerpt is an example of rhetoric that displays aspects of the logos, as it refers to the clarity and integrity of arguments, justifications (truth), claims (facts), evidence and examples (Higgins & Walker, 2012) and also justifies the success of the government program as well as claims and examples that strengthen his statement.

6. **Speaker:** Chairman of the House of Representatives, Dr. (H.C) Puan Maharani
(Source: <https://www.dpr.go.id/berita/detail/id/34016/t/Ketua+DPR%3A+Sasaran+Makin+Luas%2C+Pasokan+Vaksin+Harus+Makin+Lancar>)

If access to vaccines has been expanded to residents who do not have a NIK as well as vulnerable residents and previously also children over 12 years old were allowed to be vaccinated, it means that the vaccination target is wider. Therefore, the supply and distribution should not stagnate, instead it should be smoother.

Puan is appreciating the government's policies that make it easier for residents to get the COVID-19 vaccination. However, according to Puan, this ease of access must be accompanied by an increasingly smooth supply and distribution of vaccines. This speech delivered by Puan Maharami is an example of rhetoric that displays the logos aspect, which clearly refers to the clarity and integrity of arguments, justifications (truth), claims (facts), data, evidence, and examples (Higgins & Walker, 2012) as well as justifying and supporting the success of the government program.

7. **Speaker:** Member of Commission XI DPR RI, Puteri Anetta Komarudin
(Source: <https://www.dpr.go.id/berita/detail/id/34015/t/Ekonomi+Triwulan+II-2021+Tumbuh+Positive%2C+Puteri+Komarudin+Apresiasi+Kinerja+Government>)

We should be grateful because through the joint hard work of the government, the DPR, industry, and the community, we have finally been able to get out of the economic recession. In fact, the achievement of growth in this quarter became the highest since 2004. This is not only due to the low base effect, but indeed the economic conditions are heading towards a reversal in line with the support for the economic recovery stimulus and efforts to control the pandemic.

The future will certainly be full of challenges, especially the impact of PPKM which will be reflected in the third quarter later. To overcome this, we need to optimize the absorption of the PEN budget which also increases to Rp744.75 trillion, in order to maintain people's purchasing power, spur the recovery of the business world, and support the acceleration of the implementation of the COVID-19 vaccination to achieve herd immunity.

Puteri is explaining that Indonesia has finally emerged from the recession trap which had overshadowed the economy for the past few quarters. She is expressing her appreciation for the government's success in spurring economic recovery. She mentions the positive signal of improving economic performance as reflected in a number of indicators; however, she reminds the government to keep this momentum going in the following quarters. This short excerpt is also an example of ethos and logos aspects. The ethos can be seen in the personal projection of the communicator herself, which highlights the credibility and trust to convince the people with whom to communicate, and inclination to succeed (Basrowi & Maunnah, 2019; Higgins & Walker, 2012). Ethos also refers to her portrayal that she wants to display. Her nonverbal messages such as physical appearance, reputation, how to convey a conversation are included in the ethos strategy (Sanjaya et al., 2018).

Likewise, logos refers to the clarity and integrity of the argument, which is seen in the indicators such as argumentation, logic, warrants, justifications, claims, data, evidence, and examples (Higgins & Walker, 2012). The excerpt exemplifies the logos when she talks of challenges and appeals to overcome them, by optimizing the absorption of the budget and recovering the business world.

8. **Speaker:** Member of the U.S. House of Representatives Sukawijaya (*Yoyok Sukawi*)
(Source: <https://www.merdeka.com/politik/demokrat-tolak-cepat-isoman-member-dpr-bisa-gunakan-rumah-dinas.html> (Wednesday (28/7/2021)).

This plan is not appropriate because the average member of the House of Representatives is able to pay for themselves and can be self-isolation facilities in private homes or at official residences. In a situation like this, there are such facilities that are not appropriate.

It is better if the budget is for assistance to people who are self-isolation facilities, I happen to be in the electoral district and monitor many who have difficulty accessing to buy medicine or food when self-isolation facilities. This is more urgent

Sukawijaya is justifying and claiming the success achieved by the Government and rejects the plan to provide self-isolation facilities in five-star hotels for legislators who were exposed to COVID-19. According to him, members of the House of Representatives can pay for the COVID-19 treatment themselves or undergo isolation in private and official homes. According to him, the budget for self-isolation facilities should be allocated more usefully, such as helping the treatment of the underprivileged and affected by the COVID-19 pandemic.

This short excerpt has the characteristics of both ethos and logos. The ethos can be seen in the question which he asks for the exclusive isolation facility for members of the DPR, which he argues as "inappropriate". This depicts empathy for the suffering of the people, who find it difficult to find a hospital for isolation or treatment, nor are they sure about the availability of medicine and oxygen. Their financial capacity is also getting lower because of the falling economy. The logos aspect can be seen when he argues that the budget is for assistance to people and provide them medicine or food. The logos in this excerpt also refers to the clarity and integrity of the argument (Higgins & Walker, 2012).

Conclusion

This study sampled a few excerpts and snippets from the speeches of the Indonesian parliamentarians. The purposive sampling was used to select these excerpts as certain considerations (purposes) were imperative, such as: 1) to facilitate identification and analysis, which required the analysis of using rhetorical indicators of ethos, pathos and logos; 2) the content of the speeches presented by the people's representatives related to the handling of COVID 19, should be relatively diverse, from various sources, especially from the website <https://www.dpr.go.id> and from an independent newspaper <https://www.merdeka.com/politik>; 3) election of speeches for members of parliament based on representatives from the parties carrying the Jokowi government, Makruf Amin (PDI, Golkar, Gerindra, PKB) and the opposition (PKS and Democrats); 4) the content of speeches from the bearer party should have an ethos pattern, praising, supporting, supporting and pathos, support proven by data and persuading the public to respect the government, 5) the content of speeches from non-supporting parties should have an ethos pattern, questioning commitments and policies. The pathos is shown with data/evidence and it persuades the public while logos questions the government's inappropriate policies.

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